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THOMAS JEFFERSON.



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LESTER'S
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.
VOL. II.

Checked
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THIRD PERIOD, 1815-1848.

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THE GREAT ORATOR-STATESMEN, WEBSTER AND CLAY.

Daniel Webster. Born January 18, 1782. Died October 24, 1852. The father of Daniel Webster raised a log cabin in the wilds of New Hampshire, at so early a period, that the smoke of its rude chimney, curling over the frozen hills, was the last sign of the white man's habitation the hunter met, till he reached the rivers of Canada. Its ruins still existed during his lifetime; and to them, as to some venerated shrine, the Senator went on a yearly pilgrimage. He often took his children there, to teach them the hardships endured by their fathers.

For that humble cabin, the home of a brave, free, self-relying man, its owner fought under the flag of England in the French war, and against her in the Revolution. From the field he went to his farm, and wrung from an ungenial soil an honest subsistence for a large family. With a respect for labor, nowhere so deeply felt in the world as in New England in those days, he brought up his children to work; and their education began in the district schoolhouse—the Portico of the People—which the descendants of the Pilgrims bear with them wherever they go, as the Hebrews did the Ark of the Covenant.

Daniel was the youngest but one, of ten children. Early displaying uncommon talents, with feebleness of constitution, he was chosen to be the scholar of the family, with the intention of fitting him to teach school during winters, as a means of support. The powerful grasp of his mind fastened on every grain of science that lay in his path; while agricultural labors, and vigorous rural amusements, kept up throughout life, finally gave him gigantic powers of endurance. He was prepared for Dartmouth College, where he distanced all competition, and was graduated in 1801. He began his law studies in his native town, under Mr.

Thompson, and completed them under Governor Gore, at Boston, where he was admitted to the Bar in 1805. He commenced practice in Boscawen, a little village near his birthplace, his father then being a judge on the bench. In 1807 he removed to Portsmouth, where he was brought into collision with Jeremiah Mason, and other great jurists and pleaders. In what would have been with most men a hopeless struggle, the young lawyer was compelled to put forth all his abilities, and by unsparing and profound studies, crowd the investigations of years into days and hours.

The next nine years was the period of his Herculean labors. They fitted him for the trials and triumphs of his life. The war of 1812, which drew into the public councils so many statesmen who have since reflected lustre upon the nation, found Webster, at the age of thirty, a member from New Hampshire of the Thirteenth Congress. His first speeches established his reputation. Although opposed to the war in the beginning, he made in 1814 a powerful speech on Naval and Frontier Defence, in which he showed as much jealousy for the honor of the nation as any other man. He opposed the scheme of an irresponsible National Bank, and saw it defeated by the casting vote of the Speaker. Although elected for the third time, he retired from public life in 1816, to recover his fortunes, which had been swept away by the great fire of Portsmouth. Finding that field too narrow for him, he removed to Boston, and for several years devoted himself to his profession with the greatest assiduity and success. In 1818, his argument for Dartmouth College, in the Supreme Court at Washington, placed him in the front rank of American jurists.

He could now have reposed securely on his fame; but more brilliant occasions than the fortune of any other American orator has ever awarded, were waiting on his genius. In the Convention of Delegates to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, over whose deliberations the venerable John Adams presided, Webster was the controlling spirit.

A greater occasion was at hand. The last hour of the second century from the landing of the Forefathers was sounding, and the Passover of the Pilgrims was come. From the consecrated rock, by whose everlasting base the Mayflower first swung to her new-world moorings, he pronounced an oration, which was at once stereotyped on the heart of America, and it passed permanently into the literature of the world.

Once more this representative of whatsoever was great in the character of Plymouth men, was called to interpret the heart of New England. Fifty years after the smoke of battle rolled from Bunker Hill, the corner-stone of an obelisk 'which now meets the sun in his coming,' was to be laid. A vast multitude stood on the holy ground, with the heavens above their heads, and beneath their feet the bones of their fathers. That oration will be a part of the birthright of every child born of New England ancestry. Again, July 4, 1826, our greatest festival, just half a century after the Declaration of Independence, two patriarchs of freedom left their blessing on the nation, and died almost at the same hour. The day was now hallowed by a holier consecration, and Webster commemorated the services of the ascended patriots.

Finally, on the 22d of February, 1832, which completed the century of Washington, he portrayed the character of that great deliverer. With these august names and occasions, the genius of Webster is linked forever. He returned to Congress in 1823, and remained in the Lower House until 1827, when he was raised to the Senate. In that high position he continued his illustrious services till his death, with an interval of two years, while he filled the office of Secretary of State and negotiated the Treaty of Washington under Tyler, and another period while he held the State Department under Fillmore.

We have no space to record even the dates of his achievements in the Tribune, much less to trace their history. His reply to Hayne was a triumph of genius; his later speeches on the Union were victories of patriotism and statesmanship. He

THE PATRIOT'S PRAYER ANSWERED AT LAST.

was called the expounder of the Constitution during his lifetime ; he will be known hereafter as its chief defender. He was to it, during the third period of the Republic, what Washington was to its liberty in the first. Vast as were the powers he displayed, those who heard his reply to Hayne, in which he surpassed the models of antiquity, felt that there were still within him hidden fountains of elemental fire yet unstirred. The majesty of his person : the unfathomed depths and varied intonations of his voice ; his manner always just as excited as his soul ; the Doric substantiality of his mind, and the unwasting resources of his learning and imagination, stamped him the colossal intellect of America. His great soul has passed into the heroism of the nation, like the memories of the men of the Revolution. We recall his image still, when we think of the Mayflower rocking in Massachusetts Bay, or speak of Warren, 'the first great martyr in our great cause.' We remember his early history, when we look on the satcheled boy beating his own snow-path to the district school-house of New England. Whenever we were told that the Union was threatened, and the Constitution in danger, we looked to him while he lived, and after his death, we involuntarily turned our eyes to that illustrious tomb at Marshfield. Whenever a day of trial came on the nation, we felt the steady control of his gigantic arm. Above all do we think of him now when we stand by the tomb of Washington ; for over his memory such words have never been uttered as Webster spoke. He had wrought himself so entirely into all that is holy and grand in national history and feeling, that even before he was taken from us, he stirred in our minds the same emotions of veneration and sublimity as did the fathers of the Republic who had been long dead.

At last his career had closed, and he laid himself down calmly to die. In earlier days he had uttered in the Senate House one prayer which the Almighty was now to answer : 'When my eyes shall be turned for the last time to behold the sun in heaven, let them not look upon the dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union ; upon States discordant, dissevered, belligerent ;

upon a land rent with faction, and may be wet with fraternal blood. Let their last lingering gaze rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout all the world, still full high advanced; all its arms and trophies beaming in their original lustre; not a single stripe erased; not a single star obscured; bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor this other worse delusion and folly, "Liberty first, and Union afterwards;" but streaming from all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heaven, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart, *Liberty and Union*, now and forever, one and inseparable.'

Henry Clay. Born in Hanover County, Virginia, April 12th, A. D. 1777. Died, 1851. The leading mind of the post-Revolutionary Statesmen of America—the mind which has most impressed itself upon our institutions, and more than any other given direction to our domestic and foreign policy, is that of Henry Clay. The son of a highly respectable and educated, but poor, clergyman, born in '77, in the very clangor of the Revolution, he first began to listen to and comprehend the language of men amidst the gratulations of a triumphant people. Mingling with the masses on terms of equality, he learned to sympathize with their wants and their wishes, their pleasures and their antipathies, their hopes and their fears. By birth, therefore, by position, by the training of his infancy and childhood, he was fitted to become the great leader of the people. His boyhood was spent in aiding to support a widowed mother; his youth in the office of the Court of Chancery at Richmond. His vivacity and genius attracted the attention of Chancellor Wythe, Governor Brooke, and other eminent jurists, by whose advice he applied himself to the study of the law. Intense application prepared him for admission in one year, and before the age of majority he received his diploma, and followed his mother and family to Kentucky. He began his career at Lexington, and was soon known as the most powerful advocate throughout the

West. Before the termination of the first decade of his professional life, he led the bar of his State.

In his twenty-seventh year—1803—he consented to serve in the Legislature. On this congenial soil he sprung up like one of the giants from their mother earth. At once he took rank with the oldest and the best. In three years he became the leader of Kentucky, and was sent to the National Senate. On his return, he again entered the Legislature, of which he was chosen Speaker. Two years after, he was returned to the Senate at Washington, from which he withdrew in 1811, for a seat in the Lower House, as the more commanding position. It was an epoch in our history. Torn by unequalled party rancor, trampled upon by the belligerents of Europe, the nation required a strong hand to guide her. Clay was selected. On his first entrance he was placed in the speaker's chair. From that moment he became the acknowledged champion of the country. He roused her sleeping honor, hurled defiance at her haughty insulters, and denounced war upon England. Under his gallant leadership the nation assumed a noble attitude, compelling the admiration and respect of the world. The wisdom of the young statesman guided the war which his eloquent appeals had created. When congratulated on its successful conduct and termination, Madison replied, 'To the right arm of the Administration, to the young Hercules of the West, the credit is due.'

To the genius which had guided the war was confided the negotiations which ended it. Although the youngest of the august synod of the chosen men of England and America at Ghent, to his sagacity the country was mainly indebted for an honorable peace. One of the most skilful of his colleagues—Mr. Gallatin—declared that on every question Mr. Clay was always prepared with the best and most practicable proposition. Peace restored, we find him again in the Speaker's chair, leading the deliberations of Congress, till President Adams and the compulsive voice of the country, in 1825, selected him to fill the

office of Secretary of State. Under the previous Administrations of Madison and Monroe, he had peremptorily refused to hold a place in the Cabinet. The appeal was now made to his patriotism, not to his choice, and he yielded.' In defending himself from the charge of having said or implied in debate that Mr. Clay owed some portion of his greatness to Mr. Crittenden, whom Mr. Thomas Marshall, of Kentucky, was then supporting, in a heated contest for a seat in the Federal Senate, and whose interests the charge was calculated to damage, the last-named orator paid the following tribute to Mr. Clay: 'As Secretary, he negotiated treaties with Russia, Denmark, Prussia, the Hans Towns and Austria, with Mexico, Colombia, and other South American States. He struck a fatal blow at legalized piracy, under the name of letters of marque; he liberalized commercial intercourse by discarding the English rule of restricting foreign nations to the direct trade; he procured the intervention of Alexander of Russia with the Porte, to liberate the Greeks, and with Spain, to acknowledge the independence of South America.' Soon after the termination of the Administration of Adams, Mr. Clay yielded to the wishes of Kentucky again to represent her in the Senate of the United States. And there he stood till the last moment, one of the guardians of the Republic; the scarcely abated fire and vigor of his youth guided by the wisdom of age; admired, revered, the champion of no party, the honored counsellor of all.

¹ Mr. Clay did fall in 1828, and from a lofty height; but sprang, as he always springs, like the antique wrestler, the stronger for his fall—more terrible on the rebound than he was ere shaken from his feet. I have studied his life, his speeches, his actions, his character; I have heard him at the bar and in the Senate; I have seen him in his contests with other men, when all the stormy passions of his tempestuous soul were lashed by disappointment and opposition to the foaming rage of the ocean, when all the winds are unchained, and sweep in full career over the free and bounding bosom of the deep. He owes less of his commanding influence to other men than any great leader I have ever known, or of whom I have ever read. He consults nobody, he leans on nobody, he fears nobody; he wears nature's patent of nobility forever on his brow; he stalks among men with an unanswerable and never-doubting air of command; his sweeping and imperial pride, his indomitable will, his unquailing courage, challenge from

all submission or combat. With him there can be no neutrality. Death, Tribute, or the Koran, is his motto. Great in speech, great in action, his greatness is all his own. He is independent alike of history and the schools; he knows little of either, and despises both. His ambition, his spirit, and his eloquence are all great, natural, and entirely his own. If he is like anybody, he does not know it. He has, never studied models, and if he had, his pride would have rescued him from the fault of imitation. He stands among men in towering and barbaric grandeur: in all the hardihood and rudeness of perfect originality; independent of the polish and beyond the reach of art. His vast outline, and grand but wild and undefined proportions, liken him to a huge mass of granite, torn, in some convulsion of nature, from a mountain side, which any effort of the chisel would only disfigure, and which no instrument in the sculptor's studio could grasp or comprehend.—*Tom Marshall, of Kentucky*

A glance along the crowded and brilliant path of his public life is enough to paralyze the hand of his biographer. What then can we say of him in a thousand words ! America owes to him the first impulse to home manufactures ; the spirit of internal improvements ; the Cumberland road ; the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi ; the integrity of the Union ; and her exalted position among the nations. The world is his debtor for extending popular governments to South America and to Greece, and for uniting civilized nations more closely under a more Christian law.

Genial, sympathetic, and generous, he was personally the most beloved man that has lived in the Republic. Eloquence—perseverance—strong will and unequalled moral courage, were his characteristics. No obstacle discouraged, no opposition daunted him. Scarcely forty votes in Congress sustained his first proposal to recognize the South American States. Year after year he poured forth his inspired eloquence ; his speeches were read by Bolivar at the head of his armies to reanimate their courage. He finally triumphed. Nature created him an orator. Tall and erect in form ; dignified and courteous in bearing ; an expressive countenance : a piercing eye ; a trumpet-toned voice, deep, flexible, clear, and of great compass : and a perfect master of every art of oratory, he was most remarkable for an absence of studied effort or intended effect. With him oratory was never an embellishment, but a means of more successfully winning his end ; his argument never paused, his eloquence comes nearer to the Greek definition ‘earnest reasoning’ than that of any modern orator. He won in succession the titles of The Western Orator—The Great Commoner—The American Statesman—The Great Pacificator—and during the last year of his life, while discord was threatening the Union, his life seemed to have been prolonged by Providence to add to his long career of public services the crowning glory of securing to his country the last peaceful years she was to see before the madness of Rebellion whelmed her in an ocean of fraternal blood.

THIRD PERIOD.

1815—1848.

DEVELOPMENT AND WORK.

FROM THE PEACE OF GHENT TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR
WITH MEXICO.

SECTION FIRST.

HOW THE NATION GOT READY FOR ITS WORK.

Repose comes to the Republic.—The United States had now conquered its enemies by land and sea—at home and abroad—and a long and glorious peace had come for the American People. During such periods there are few startling events for the historian to record ; but there are scenes of prosperity and progress far more grateful for the philosopher and statesman to contemplate, than all the garlands that have decked the brows of military and naval chieftains.

The Treaty of Ghent opened a new era in the political and social affairs of the country. Hitherto the nation had been passing through a period of formation. Government alone had been crystallized ; and even solid as that structure seemed to us, it was still regarded by mankind at best only as a hopeful experiment.

From the beginning of the French and Indian war, our people had known little of peace. That conflict was followed by discontent and disturbances growing out of vexations and injuries inflicted by Great Britain,¹ which culminated in the Revolution of Seventy-Six. Nor had the Treaty of Paris secured the blessings of lasting peace. The exigencies of England, and the impossibility of conquering America—which Chatham had prophesied,—

¹ After having crowned herself with laurels and enriched herself with conquests ; after having become mistress of all seas ; and after having insulted all nations, England had turned her pride against her own colonies. North America had long been displeasing

to her ; she wished to add new vexations to her former injuries, and to destroy the most sacred privileges.—*Lafayette's Memoirs, Correspondence, and MSS., published by his family*, vol. i. p. 12.

rather than enlightened statesmanship, or a spirit of amity, had finally brought that Iliad of suffering to a close. But the embers were still left smouldering after the fire appeared to have gone out. The next thirty years were little more than a protracted armistice, and another fierce collision had to supplement the war of the Revolution to establish our complete independence, and rid us forever of our first, last and only foe. Finally the Treaty of Ghent brought us actual peace. From that event we date the opening of the THIRD PERIOD of the Life of the Republic.

How I Propose to Write the Second Volume.—I do not deem it necessary or desirable in the remaining half of my work, to adhere even so closely as I did in the former, to a chronological relation of events. I shall be more desirous to show how the Life of the Republic began to unfold itself, and to trace the workings of its vital forces. What is to come will therefore more resemble historical sketches of Society, than records of political events. I have shown—imperfectly I am only too well aware—‘how,’ in the words of THE OPENING, ‘the fair structure rose ; and how it is at last enriched by trophies of art in every field of labor, and crowded with emblems of national glory. To the *stranger* I would offer a landscape of our social life and history, from which he may more readily get a broad, but clear view of what has been done by Americans at home—what useful contributions we have made to the world, not only in multiplying wealth and comfort, but in elevating *men* : how human life has got a new value here. For this, after all, is the grandest lesson which the European can learn from us. If he misses this, he misses all : since, if we have solved no higher problems than in mechanics, we have lived in vain. If man himself has gained no new worth on this continent, it may just as well have been left unawakened from its dreamless sleep of ages. If the European does not see something of all this, he may almost as well have staid at home.’

Retrospective Glances.—Before we could begin in earnest the great work which lay before us, two obstacles had to be removed. One concerned our commerce abroad, the other our tranquillity at home.

When the close of the Revolution had left the ocean open to our commerce, our merchant vessels soon found their way into the Mediterranean. But that greatest of all inland seas was still infested by Algerine pirates, who had long compelled the European nations to purchase immunity for their navigation at the price of enormous tribute. During the short period of eight years, ending with 1793, these corsairs had captured and carried into Algiers, fifteen American vessels, with their cargoes, and one hundred and eighty officers and seamen, who were reduced to the most terrible and revolting slavery. Washington had earnestly recommended the construction of a navy,¹

¹ Congress formed a quorum on the 5th day of December, 1796, the first day of the session which succeeded the publication of the Farewell Address. On the 7th, Washington met the two Houses of Congress for the last time.

In his speech he recommended an institution for the improvement of agriculture, a military academy, a national university, and a gradual increase of the navy. —*Irving's Life of Washington*, vol. v., pp. 262, 263.

chiefly for the protection of our Mediterranean commerce, with the design of liberating our enslaved countrymen, and commanding by force that immunity from aggression which other nations had not felt themselves degraded in purchasing by tribute. But the measure was so long postponed, that in 1795, the United States engaged by treaty to pay eight hundred thousand dollars for the ransom of those Americans still alive; to make a present to the Dey of a frigate, besides the payment of an annual tribute of twenty-three thousand dollars. This treaty remained in force till the beginning of the Second war with England. When our commerce was once more liberated by the peace of 1815, and it began to seek its old path up the Straits of Gibraltar, the Algerine corsairs renewed their depredations with increased atrocity, since the Dey's insolence had been augmented by the belief that in the late struggle, England had annihilated our navy. The Dey exacted from the American Consul a large sum of money, and forced him, and all American citizens then living in Algiers, to leave the country, except those whom he retained as prisoners.

War declared against Algiers.—On the communication of this fact to Congress by President Madison, war was declared,—March, 1815,—against the Algerines. An expedition was at once fitted out, and sailed for the Mediterranean under the command of Commodore Decatur, whose gallant feat in the harbor of Tripoli eleven years before, while only a lieutenant, had inspired so salutary a terror. Not long after passing the Straits,—June 17th,—Decatur fell in with an Algerine fleet, which was cruising for American vessels,—engaged and captured the frigate flag-ship of the Algerine admiral, who fell in the conflict; and, sending his prizes into Cartagena, the victor sailed with his four hundred prisoners for the bay of Algiers. On his arrival,—June 28,—he was able to dictate his own terms:—the instant surrender of all American prisoners, full indemnity for all property that had been destroyed, and the final relinquishment of tribute in the future. These humiliating terms were at once complied with, when, in a spirit of magnanimity, Decatur restored the captured vessels, and sailed for Tunis, where he arrived a few days later, when he exacted from the Bashaw, forty-six thousand dollars as damages for American vessels which the English had been allowed to capture in his harbor. A month later, he entered the harbor of Tripoli, where his demand for twenty-five thousand dollars and the restoration of all American prisoners, was at once complied with.¹

The results of this brief but brilliant cruise were of immeasurable service to the interests of civilization. At a single blow, American commerce was liberated from barbaric outrage, and the American name became more dreaded and honored along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, than that of any other nation, since the Republic of the West had done

¹ As soon as this service was concluded, most of the squadron returned to the United States. In November, 1815, Decatur was appointed Navy Commissioner, which position he held until his death. He was killed in a duel with Com. James Barron, which grew

out of the affair between the Chesapeake and Leopard. Both fell at the first fire; Decatur mortally, and Barron very severely wounded.—*The American Cyclopædia*.

a work which the combined powers of Europe had never ventured to attempt.

I am obliged—entirely against my feelings—to trace certain painful events, which I could not omit to notice, to the quarter where the responsibility belonged. One of the greatest misfortunes which had attended the late war with England, was the necessity forced upon us to compel the Indian tribes to leave the white settlements, and move beyond the Mississippi. Although it had taken a long time to heal the animosities which the British agents during the Revolutionary War had inflamed among the savages towards the American people, yet no pains had been spared to bring about this desirable result ; and these efforts had been crowned with great and unexpected success. But when the first war with England began—as I have already been compelled to show—the same policy of inflaming the same animosities had been pursued by the agents of Great Britain, and once more all this work of burying the hatchet, had to be done over again.

In speaking of the border wars, especially on the Canada line, and more or less along the whole of the Western frontier,—which the humanity of Carleton had in vain attempted to arrest, and which ended in his disgrace,—Bancroft (vol. ix. page 152) says : ‘The British people were guiltless of these outrages ; it was Germain, and his selected agents who hounded on the savages to scalp and massacre the settlers of the new country, enjoined with fretful restlessness the extension of the system along all the border from New York to Georgia, and chid every commander who showed signs of relenting.’

The Battle of the Horse-Shoe, and what came of it.—England had made the Creek Nation our irreconcilable foe. ‘The British agent Tecumseh had, in the spring of 1813, gone among the tribes in the Southern States—after the manner of Pontiac, his prototype long before in the north-west—and stirred up a general conspiracy among the Southern Indians, with the object of waging a war of extermination against the white colonists. Returning to the north, Tecumseh had fought and lost his last battle, and with it his life. But the fruit of the seed he had sown, was now to be reaped by the hapless savages whom he had fired with fanatical hatred.

Most of my readers are doubtless familiar with the history of the great battle of the Horse-Shoe. An indecisive struggle had for a long time been carried on with the Creek Indians, who had avoided the hazards of open warfare, hoping at last, by forest ambuscades, and stealthy eruptions, to weary out a foe they did not dare to meet in a general engagement. But this kind of warfare was soon to be brought to an end. They had a foe to contend with who overmatched them in subtlety, and all the daring impetuosity of his nature was bent upon their destruction.

General Jackson’s army encamped at Fort Williams, exceeded two thousand men, and his spies were scattered far and wide through the for-

ests. Retreating from village to village, and point to point, the savages had gathered all their effective force on a bend of the Tallapoosa, where a thousand warriors—the chivalry of the Creek Nation—following the guidings of their prophets, had taken their last stand, resolved to risk all upon a single struggle. This bend, which they called To-ho-pe-ka, or the Horse-Shoe, is accurately described by its name. It is a peninsula of about one hundred acres, opening on the north, where it was then protected by a massive breastwork, —reaching down to the river on both sides,—composed of three tiers of heavy pine logs, with two rows of skilfully arranged port-holes.

On the morning of the 27th of March, Gen. Jackson reached the Horse-Shoe, and immediately prepared for action. In a few hours, by a masterly arrangement of his forces, he had completely invested the peninsula. Gen. Coffee had early in the morning, crossed the river at a ford two miles below, with a body of mounted men, and nearly all the force of friendly Indians serving under Gen. Jackson; and at ten o'clock he had drawn up his lines on the south of the bend, cutting off all escape from three sides of the peninsula. In the meantime, the General had advanced towards the north side of the bend, with his main force, and drawing up his lines, he ordered the two pieces of artillery to play upon the Indian breastworks. The first gun was fired at about half-past ten o'clock, and a brisk fire was maintained till nearly one, apparently without much effect; the small cannon-shot playing almost harmlessly against massive timbers. No opportunity had yet been given to the main army to show their valor; but a rattle of musketry, mingling with the sharp crack of a hundred rifles, was heard, and a heavy column of smoke came rolling up from the southern part of the peninsula.

The Cherokees, under General Coffee, had discovered a line of canoes, half concealed by the bushes on the opposite shore, and, in a few minutes, they had swum the stream, and brought the canoes across. Richard Brown, their gallant chief, leaped into a canoe, followed by his faithful Cherokees, and with Captain Russell's companions of spies, crossed the river. They first set fire to the cluster of wigwams near the shore, and, as the smoke rose over them, advanced upon the rear of the compact band of warriors who were sheltered from the artillery on the north.

When General Jackson's troops heard the firing, and saw the smoke, they knew that their companions had crossed the river, and they were impatient to storm the defences. But the General held them steady in their lines till he had sent an interpreter to remove all the women and children in the peninsula—amounting to several hundreds—to a safe place beyond the river. The moment this was effected, he gave an order to storm the breastworks.

The action soon became general, and more than two thousand men were struggling hand to hand. Arrows and balls were flying; swords, spears, and tomahawks were gleaming in the sun; and the whole peninsula rang with the yells of the savages and the groans of the dying.

The thousand warriors who had gathered there that day, were chosen men.

A brother of Tecumseh had, some months before, visited all the villages of the Creek Nation, and stirred up their passions for blood and revenge, proclaiming to their prophets that the voice of the Great Spirit had called him to go on the mission,—that the flower of their people should assemble to give battle to the pale faces, since the day would be crowned with the final destruction of their foes. There was in this strange mission, enough of mystery to inflame all the superstition and malignity of the nation; and, following their prophets, they had at last met the pale faces on the day that was to give victory to their people. The battle had come, and warriors by hundreds were falling; but they were firm in the belief of their prophets, who still proclaimed that they would win the day. The Great Spirit, they said, would sweep their enemies away with a storm of wrath; his signal would be a cloud from heaven. And it is proper to add, that when the struggle was decided, and the commander-in-chief was issuing an order to stop the carnage, and had sent an interpreter to tell the foe their lives should be spared if they would surrender, a cloud suddenly overspread the sky. The superstitious warriors, believing it the signal of their promised redemption, fired upon the interpreter after his message was delivered, and again the action began.

But the eagerly-watched signal ended in a quiet April shower, and no deliverance came to the brave, but devoted people. Not a warrior offered to surrender, even while the sword was at his breast. Hundreds had already fallen, and were weltering in their gore; multitudes of others had been shot or drowned in attempting to swim the river; the ground of the peninsula was strewn with the dead and dying, and the battle was supposed to be over. To the last moment the old prophets stood firm, and gazed up towards the sky. Around them warriors clustered, believing to the very last moment that relief would come. Hope expired only with the expiring groan of the last prophet, and the warriors who gasped at his side.

But the victory was still incomplete—the work of slaughter was not yet finished. A large party of Indians had secreted themselves in a portion of the breastworks constructed over a ravine in the form of the roof of a house, with narrow port-holes from which a murderous fire could be kept up whenever the assailants should show themselves. Here the last survivors of the Creek warriors of the peninsula were gathered; and, as the artillery could not be brought to bear upon the place, they could be dislodged only by a bold charge, which would probably cost the lives of the brave men who made it.

An offer of life, if they would surrender, had been rejected with scorn by these desperate savages, which sealed their fate. Gen. Jackson now called for a body of men to make the charge. As there was no order given, the lines stood still, and not an officer volunteered to lead the forlorn hope. Supposing some captain would lead forward his company, Houston¹ would wait no longer. Calling on his platoon to follow him, he dashed down the precipitous descent towards the covered ravine. But his men hesitated.

¹ I allude to the young soldier who had now made his mark—under the eye of a general who was to become one of our most illustrious presidents.—Sam.

Houston was to achieve the independence of Texas and open the way to Mexico.

With a desperation which belongs only to such occasions, he seized a musket from one of his men, and, leading the way, ordered the rest to follow him. There was but one way of attack that could prevail—it was to charge through the port-holes, although they were bristling with rifles and arrows. As he was stopping to rally his men, and had levelled his musket, within five yards of the port-holes he received two rifle-balls in his right shoulder, and his arm fell shattered to his side. Totally disabled, he turned and called once more to his comrades, and implored them to make the charge. But they did not advance. Houston stood bleeding till he saw it would do no good to stand any longer, and then went beyond the range of the bullets, and sank down exhausted to the earth. The Indians were at last dislodged from the sheltered ravine, by its being set on fire. The sun was going down, and it set over the ruin of the Creek nation. Where but a few hours before, a thousand brave savages had scowled on death and their assailants, there was nothing to be seen but volumes of dense smoke rising heavily over the corpses of painted warriors, and the burning ruins of their fortifications. Thus perished the chivalry of the Creek nation. We shall hereafter meet with but a fragment of a once powerful tribe, who were adopted as the wards of the Republic,—for whom exhaustive efforts have been made—but when the traveler to the Indian Territory looks on them, the words of Sprague rise unbidden to his lips: ‘How unlike their bold, untamable progenitors!’

Close of Madison's Career, March 4th, 1817.—His administration had been inaugurated, March 4, 1809, and it had lasted eight years. It was now drawing to a close. It cannot be dismissed from our record, without some tribute, however incomplete, to the character of this great man. In leaving it, we feel as if we were parting from some venerated shrine, where our fathers had long worshipped.

Madison was the last but one, of the statesmen of the Revolution yet left in the chief councils of the nation. Not that all that great company of Revolutionary patriots were gone; for very many of the signers of the Declaration of Independence yet lived; nor would it perhaps be an extravagant estimate to say, that if all the American patriots of the era of the Revolution still living in 1817, had been collected together, they would have made an army that would have commanded the respect of all nations. It was a goodly host that still lingered. John Adams was yet spared in a serene old age, and at his house in Quincy was an object of the deepest veneration. Thomas Jefferson was still enjoying the society of old friends, and entertaining illustrious and humble guests from every land. Those who had come to look upon the wondrous spectacle of the young Republic now firmly planted on a solid foundation, desired after the pilgrimage to the tomb at Mount Vernon, to extend their journey to the classic shades of Monticello.

An Etching of Madison and his Times.—The fourth President of the United States was born at King George, Virginia, March 16, 1751. Descended

from John Madison, an Englishman of good blood and solid substance, who had settled in Virginia one hundred years before—the oldest of seven children—after receiving a good primary education, sent to the college at Princeton, graduating 1771, but remaining another year under Doctor Witherspoon, for maturer reading—pursuing a course of legal study at home, but diverted from intense application by his zeal to defend the cause of absolute liberty of conscience, especially in the cause of the Baptists and other nonconformists to the Established Church of Virginia,—and by his heroic and liberal spirit winning fame and love—elected a member of the Virginia Convention in 1776—a member of the Council of State in 1777, and two years later chosen a delegate to the National Congress—taking his seat in that body in 1780, and holding it three years—distinguishing himself by great services—resisting with all his power the issue of paper money by the States as an unwarrantable grant of one of the attributes of supreme sovereignty, and pleading for a declaration by Congress against its continuance—boldly asserting the claims of the United Colonists to Western territory and the free navigation of the Mississippi River—becoming in 1783 the author of a proposition to establish a system of revenue for war expenses, which met the deliberate and earnest approval of Washington—appearing in the Legislature of his native State in 1784, in connection with Pendleton, Whyte and Jefferson, and securing the thorough revision of the old statutes, abolishing entirely primogeniture, and clearly announcing religious freedom—aiding in the separation of Kentucky from Virginia, and the formation of that new State—resisting the federal issues of paper money, favoring the payment of debts honestly due to the British creditors—resisting a general assessment for the support of religion, and defeating the measure—in 1786 becoming the father of a plan for a general assembly of commissioners from the Confederate States, to meet at Annapolis to establish a new system of commercial regulations; and when only five States sent delegates, persisting in a national convention of all States to be held 1787 at Philadelphia—a delegate in that body whose deliberations resulted in the abrogation of the old articles of Confederation, and the formation of the Constitution of the United States—becoming if not the author of the Constitution, at least one of its principal framers, and in connection with Hamilton and Jay—one of the trinity of names to which honors ever have and ever will be paid, for having convinced the American people, that the system under which we have grown into prosperity and power, was the best that could have been adopted under the pressure of the times.

This should have been enough to have secured him lasting fame. But there was still left a long series of titles to immortal remembrance. A member of Congress in 1789, and differing widely from Hamilton on his policy of the funding bill, the National Bank, and other questions, he was placed in a most trying position. His love for Washington, and life-long affection for Hamilton, made it hard for him to oppose measures which might alienate his best friends. His sensibilities were so tender—his chivalry of soul,

was so great, that he suffered as all such men must, by standing as a chosen mediator between two hostile parties. He was not an extremist ; but so perfectly had he preserved the respect of both of the parties which had now begun to divide the country, that each invoked his aid. Washington loved him to the last ; and on Jefferson's return from his mission to France, Madison was requested to fill it ; nor was his refusal accepted for a whole year. Neither would he accept Jefferson's offer of the Secretaryship of State, since he thought his usefulness might be impaired by unavoidable antagonisms. Thus he remained till 1792 in Congress, becoming at last thoroughly identified with the republicans and sustained as their acknowledged leader. In the subsequent complications in our foreign relations, he showed all the zeal of a patriot and the wisdom of an illuminated statesman.

In his inaugural address, President Monroe thus describes the fruits of the Constitution under which the country had reached such a height of prosperity, and of which so much was due to Madison :—‘ Under this constitution, our commerce has been wisely regulated with foreign nations, and between the states ; new states have been admitted into our union ; our territory has been enlarged, by fair and honorable treaty, and with great advantage to the original states ; the states respectively, protected by the national government under a mild parental system, against foreign dangers, and enjoying within their separate spheres, by a wise partition of power, a just proportion of the sovereignty, have improved their police, extended their settlements, and attained a strength and maturity, which are the best proofs of wholesome laws, well administered. And if we look to the condition of individuals, what a proud spectacle does it exhibit ? On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our union ? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property ? Who restrained in offering his own vows in the mode in which he preferred to the Divine Author of his being ? It is well known, that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent ; and I add with peculiar satisfaction, that there has been no example of a capital punishment being inflicted on any one for the crime of high treason.’

In addition to what I have already quoted, Jefferson left this record of his life-long friend, Madison :—‘ From three and thirty years' trial I can say conscientiously, that I do not know in the world, a man of purer integrity, more dispassionate, disinterested, and devoted to pure republicanism, nor could I in the whole scope of America and Europe, point out an abler head.’

In leaving the Presidency and retiring from the National Capital, to his farm at Montpelier, where his life was to be so beneficently prolonged till June 28, 1836, he devoted his time to his beloved pursuit of agriculture—a pursuit so noble, and filled with such magic charms for great and generous minded men. He became president of the county agricultural society. By his large acquisitions in many departments of literature and science, he found those priceless charms which Cicero has so exquisitely painted in describing the pleasures which attend the scholar to his retirement.

‘ In this pleasant retreat he passed his days tranquilly in agricultural

pursuits. He had married in 1794, Mrs. Todd, a Virginia lady, the widow of a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia, and though their union had not been blessed with children, this amiable and accomplished woman's faithful devotion was the source of the greatest happiness to him. She survived him, dying at Washington, July 12, 1849, at the age of 82. During these years, in spite of his infirm health, Madison still busied himself in services to his neighbors and the commonwealth. He was chosen president of the county agricultural society, and for a long time acted as visitor and rector of the University of Virginia. In 1829 he sat in the Virginia convention to reform the old constitution. When Madison rose to utter a few words, the members left their seats and crowded around the venerable figure dressed in black, with his thin gray hair still powdered as in former times, to catch the low whisper of his voice. This was his last appearance in public. If not endowed with the very first order of ability, Madison's mind was symmetrical and vigorous. An unfailing accuracy and precision marked the operation of his faculties. He was naturally deficient in powers of oratory, and yet made himself one of the most effective public speakers of his time, although the epoch was illustrated in Virginia by such men as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and Edmund Pendleton.' ¹

'Mr. Madison,' says Jefferson, 'came into the House in 1776, a new member and young; which circumstances, concurring with his extreme modesty, prevented his venturing himself in debate before his removal to the council of state in November, 1777. From thence he went to Congress, then consisting of few members. Trained in these successive schools he acquired a habit of self-possession which placed at ready command the rich resources of a luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterward of which he became a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical, and copious, soothing always the feelings of his adversaries by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great National Convention of 1787, and in that of Virginia which followed, he sustained the new Constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason and the fervid declamation of Mr. Henry. With these consummate powers was united a pure and spotless virtue which no calumny has ever attempted to sully.' ²

His life was embellished to the last by his accomplished wife, who after closing the eyes of an incomparable husband, survived him many years, grac-

¹ See a very admirable article on Madison in *Appleton's New Cyclopadia*, of which I have made free use in the above sketch.

² From his earliest years Madison was a hard student. His memory was singularly tenacious, and what he once clearly discerned became assimilated and was ever after retained. He thus laid up that great store of learning which in the conventions of 1787 and 1788 especially proved so effective. After Washington no public man of his time was more widely respected and beloved. The public confidence in, and respect

for his honesty and singleness of aim toward the good of the country ripened into an affectionate attachment. His bearing and address were characterized by simplicity and modesty. He resembled a quiet student rather than the head of a great nation. He was somewhat taciturn in public, but when he conversed his tone was weighty and impressive. It was often naked, abstract reasoning, mild, simple, and lucid, but summing up long trains of thought.—*Appleton's American Cyclopadia*.

ing by her presence the highest circles of the Capital, till at last at the extreme age of eighty-two, she also was gently dismissed from earth on the 12th of July, 1849.

SECTION SECOND.

ADMISSION OF NEW STATES TO THE UNION.

Louisiana becomes a State of the Union, April 8, 1812.—Soon after the establishment of the French in Canada, they explored the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The first settlement near its mouth was made by Iberville, at Biloxi—now in Mississippi—in 1699. The first permanent colony within the present limits of the State, was founded at New Orleans in 1718. A year before, the Province of Louisiana had been granted with extensive powers to the ‘Western Company,’ which became fatally involved in the failure of John Law’s ‘Mississippi Scheme.’ But what proved so disastrous to a thousand European fortunes, laid the foundations of future prosperity to a vast region, for population and wealth flowed in from the Old World.

Louisiana remained in the possession of the French till 1762, when it was ceded to Spain. It languished, however, under its new and unpopular rulers till 1800, when it was retroceded to France, which sold it three years later to the United States, when its fortunes became permanently blended with the Republic.

Extent of the Purchased Territory.—None of the parties to that treaty could have had any adequate conception of the magnitude of the transaction, much less of its influence upon the well-being of the American people. Nor could any eye but a prophet’s have caught even a dim view of the limnings which the pencil of the great Artist was tracing on the canvas of the future. The region comprehended in the purchase, included all the country west of the Mississippi not occupied by Spain. It stretched north to the British territory, and comprised nearly all the present States of Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska and Oregon, and the Indian, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming Territories.

It was amidst few regrets, and with many rejoicings, that on the fair morning of December 20th, 1803, this mighty domain passed under the American flag. It was at once divided into two governments—1st, that of Orleans, including the present State of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and a portion east of that river; and 2d, that of Louisiana, all the country north and west of it. On Feb. 11th, 1811, an Act of Congress enabled the inhabitants to form a constitution and State government, and on April 8th the following year, the Territory of Orleans was admitted to the Union under the title of the State of Louisiana.¹ Its population was about 80,000. It has increased tenfold, and it now ranks as the 21st among the States.

¹ LOUISIANA.—By Act of March 26th, 1804, to take effect October 1, 1804, the southern part of the ‘Province of Louisiana,’ ceded by France, was constituted the Territory of Orleans, which, on the east of the

Indiana joins the Union, December, 1816.—Before Madison's eventful administration closed, this one of the great interior States, which has done so much to enrich and bless the whole country, entered the sisterhood as the sixth in order admitted under the federal constitution. Her population gave her rank as the 18th among the States, but the ninth census showed an increase to 1,680,000, which ranks her as the 6th.¹

Admission of Mississippi as a State, December 10, 1817.—With Monroe's administration, a new State was added every twelvemonth for five years. The first was Mississippi. ² Her population numbered about 65,000 on her admission, but in 1870 it had reached 828,000.

Illinois enters the Union, December 3, 1818.—Her population, two years after her admission, was 55,211, which gave her rank as the 24th. In 1870 it had reached 2,539,891, which made her the 4th.³

Next comes Alabama, December 14, 1819.—The significance of this beautiful Indian name is, 'Here we rest.' She had a population of 127,901 the year after her admission; but in 50 years afterwards it had risen to within a fraction of one million.⁴

Maine, March 3, 1820.—This Northeastern territory of the Republic ⁵

Mississippi River, included only the land south of the 'rivers Iberville and Amite and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.' By Act of February 20, 1811, the same was enabled to become a State; by Act of April 8, 1812, to take effect April 30, 1812, the same was admitted as a State, with the name of Louisiana. By Act of April 14, 1812, there was added the territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the 'rivers Iberville and Amite and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.'—*Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 576.

¹ INDIANA.—By Act of May 7, 1800, to take effect July 4, 1800, formed as a Territory from the territory northeast of the river Ohio. It consisted of all the last mentioned territory west of the present eastern boundary of the State of Indiana, extended northward to the international boundary line. By Act of April 30, 1802, that part of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, which was not included in the State of Ohio, was annexed to the Territory of Indiana, which, by this increase, was extended eastward to include the whole of that now known as the lower peninsula of Michigan. By Act of March 26, 1804, to take effect October 1, 1804 (the act dividing the 'Province of Louisiana,' ceded by France, into the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana), the District of Louisiana, being all of the French cession west of the Mississippi River except the present State of Louisiana, was committed to the government of the officers of the Territory of Indiana. By Act of April 19, 1816, the southern portion of the Territory of Indiana was enabled to become a State. By Joint Resolution of December 11, 1816, the same was admitted as a State.—*Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 575.

² MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.—By Act of April 7, 1798, formed subject to the claims of the State of Georgia to the jurisdiction and soil thereof, afterward ceded by the State of Georgia to the United States; bounded west by the Mississippi River; north by a line from the mouth of the Yazoo River due east to the Chattahoochee River, east by the Chattahoochee River, and south by the Thirty-first parallel. From 1764 to 1783 these parcels were part of the British Provinces of West Florida, which included also all of the territory south of

the Thirty-first parallel and between the river Appalachicola on the east, and Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas and the river Mississippi on the west. By Treaty with Great Britain, in 1783, the portion of this province north of the Thirty-first parallel was ceded to the United States, while the remainder was, by Treaty of the same year, ceded to Spain. These facts secured to the United States a title to the parcels in question, anterior to and independent of the cession by Georgia. By Act of March 27, 1804, there was added all that territory ceded by the States of South Carolina and Georgia, and lying between the Mississippi River and the State of Georgia, and between the territory as above bounded and the State of Tennessee. By Act of May 14, 1812, there was added the territory ceded by Spain, lying between the Pearl and Perdido rivers. The whole territory has since been absorbed by the States of Alabama and Mississippi.—*Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 575.

MISSISSIPPI.—By Act of March 1, 1817, formed from the western part of the final Territory of Mississippi, and enabled to become a State, by Joint Resolution of December 10, 1817, admitted as a State.—*Idem*, p. 576.

³ ILLINOIS.—By Act of February 3, 1809, to take effect March 1, 1809, formed as a Territory from the Territory of Indiana; was then bounded on the east by the present eastern boundary of the State of Illinois, extending northward to the international boundary line, on the north by British America, and on the west and southwest by the Mississippi River. By Act of April 18, 1818, enabled to become a State as now bounded; by Joint Resolution of December 3, 1818, the same was admitted as a State.

⁴ ALABAMA.—By Act of March 3, 1817, formed as a Territory from the eastern part of the final Territory of Mississippi; by Act of March 2, 1819, enabled to become a State; by Joint Resolution of December 14, 1819, admitted as a State. *Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 576.

⁵ MAINE.—By Act of March 3, 1820, to take effect March 15, 1820; admitted as a State, formed from Massachusetts.—*Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 576.

which had so long shared her fortunes with her sister Massachusetts, finally determined to enter upon an independent existence.¹

Missouri, March 2, 1821.—On this day, after a prolonged and bitter contest, this great State from beyond the Mississippi entered the Union.² Her population, by the census of 1820, was 66,586. In 1870, it was 1,721,295.

Her admission marked a period which began the first geographical division of political parties in the United States. The repugnance of a republican people to the institution of slavery would naturally be instinctive; it was not only instinctive in the United States, but had been cultured by all the souvenirs of our history. And yet, the vast territory of Missouri had been peopled chiefly by planters from the slave States, who had gone into the wilderness and bent the forests, and opened the soil. Those pioneers felt that, if free government meant anything, it meant the right of the men who lived on the soil to frame their own organic laws; regarding the objections raised against the introduction of slavery in that State, as an interference in their domestic affairs. An angry controversy grew up; but, fortunately as it was almost universally considered at the time, it ended in the famous Compromise of 1820, which left the State free to frame such laws as she pleased on this subject with the prohibition of slavery forever in all territory belonging to the United States, north of 36° 30'. This Compromise was ever after regarded by all parties, as a political compact of binding obligation, until the final collision came, which ended in the downfall of human bondage throughout the domain of the Republic.

SECTION THIRD.

ADVANCEMENT OF THE NATION UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF MONROE, 1817-1825.

The Era of good Feeling—James Monroe becomes President March 4, 1817.—Soon after his inauguration, the new President visited all the Eastern and Northern States. It was a proper tribute to pay to millions of men who had never seen their favorite chief, and wherever he went he was received with tokens of even affectionate recognition. The sharp and angry passions of

¹ Ever since the Treaty of 1783, a dispute existed between the governments of the United States and Great Britain as to the proper interpretation of that treaty so far as it related to the boundary between Maine and the British possessions. The controversy, which had at length created much excitement and ill-feeling among the population in the neighborhood of the territory in dispute, and was endangering the peace between the two countries, was finally settled in a satisfactory manner by the Treaty of Washington in 1842, by which Maine and the United States agreed to cede to Great Britain a small portion of the territory claimed by her in return for the concession of Rouse's Point and the free navigation of the river St. John.—*Appleton's Cyclopedia*. (Art. Maine.)

² MISSOURI.—By Act of March 26, 1804, to take effect October 1, 1804, formed from the northern part of the 'Province of Louisiana,' and styled the District of Louisiana, but committed to the government of the officers of the Territory of Indiana. Its southern

boundary was the present southern boundary of Arkansas, and it contained all of the lands of the United States west of the Mississippi River not within the State of Louisiana. By Act of March 3, 1805, the same was organized as the Territory of Louisiana; by Act of June 4, 1812, to take effect on the first Monday of December, 1812, the same was reorganized as the Territory of Missouri. By Act of March 6, 1820, the northern part of the Territory of Missouri, bounded as the present State of Missouri, except on the west, where it was limited by the meridian passing through the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri Rivers, was enabled to become a State under the name of Missouri. By joint resolution of March 2, 1821, admission of the same as a State further provided for; by Proclamation of August 10, 1821, admitted as a State. By Act of June 7, 1836, which took effect by the Proclamation of March 28, 1837, the western boundary of the State was extended to the Missouri River.—*Historical Notes of Ninth Census*, p. 576.

other days were allayed. He had not been elected by the triumph of a party—he was chosen to lead the nation and he did it with the calmness, the impartiality, the justice, and the integrity of a great and good man. Under his administration the country prospered, and the lie was given in history for the second time, by our Republic, to that infamous declaration that had been recorded for ages, that political conflicts necessarily end in the overthrow of popular liberty.

American manufactories now began to be founded, and our public men wore into the Senate House with pride, cloth woven in America from American wool. The genius of invention began to teem with startling creations; and the thirteen States, which a few years before had occupied but a narrow belt along the Atlantic coast, began to stretch forth their arms, and adventurous frontiersmen were pushing their way towards the Rocky Mountains.

Already Fulton's steamboats had begun to plow up our waters; and they were penetrating the continent-piercing rivers of the Great West. Our army had been reduced to ten thousand men, which, till the troubles of later days, always proved adequate to the defence of the Republic; since we had upon the soil millions of fighting men, ready to leap from it as armed men sprung from the soil of Greece, where Cadmus sowed the teeth of the dragon. Political asperities began to die away, and they finally almost lost themselves in the great current of patriotic feeling which fired every American breast. The common and the equal interest which all our citizens had and felt in the public good, made every man a soldier in the hour of danger, and we may almost say, a statesman in periods of tranquillity. The fourth census, which numbered the inhabitants in 1820, gave us nearly ten millions. A cluster of new stars had been set in the national constellation, and they were blazing forth with all the intensity of primitive light. The products of agriculture were everywhere increased; our exports and imports rapidly augmented; and the sails of our commerce began to whiten distant seas. An unparalleled example of progress and prosperity was unfolded to the world, and wherever the sun shone in his circuit of the globe, he looked upon no such spectacle. The American name was honored among mankind. We were represented at all the council-boards of civilized nations. The clanking of machinery began to be heard through our valleys, and a deep and solemn recognition was everywhere made of the inestimable blessings which the God of the universe had poured down upon our country.

The American System of Protection, and Internal Improvements.—When Henry Clay delivered his first great speech on Domestic Manufactures in the Senate of the United States on the 6th of April, 1810, he uttered the germ of all he ever said on the subject; although in many brilliant and powerful speeches, he afterwards more fully developed what became known as the *American System*—the policy of protecting American manufacturers against the rivalry of other nations. In that speech, while arguing for such an extent

in favoring domestic manufactures as would redeem us from all dependence on foreign countries, he uttered these words: 'There is a pleasure—a pride (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity those who cannot feel the sentiment), in being clad in the productions of our own family. Others may prefer the cloths of Leeds and London, but give me those of Humphreysville.'

When he spoke, he was clothed in a dress made from an American loom, and from that hour he became the champion of the policy of Protection. This principle he never surrendered, although he afterwards became the author of a compromise tariff, by which, on a sliding scale, the duties were to be gradually reduced on foreign importations, so that time enough might be given for us to build up a system of domestic manufactures that would enable us not only to reduce our prices to a lower standard, but under this fostering encouragement to enter into competition with other nations for supplying foreign markets.

When the first charter for a National Bank, which had been originally founded under the auspices of Alexander Hamilton, expired, Mr. Clay opposed the re-charter of the institution,—1811—but like a wise statesman he changed his policy with the change of circumstances; and he was fairly, all through life entitled to the honor of this highest attribute of statesmanship—always to meet an unexpected exigency by corresponding measures. The war of 1812 threw our whole financial system into utter confusion. The general government was without an authorized fiscal agent, and commerce and industry suffered for the lack of a uniform currency. When the war was over, in the judgment of the wisest and best men in the nation, the time had come for the Federal government to lay its steadying hand upon finance, and in April, 1816, the National Bank was established with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. To this measure Mr. Clay gave his heartiest concurrence. Nor had he any cause to regret it during the rest of his life. The Second war with England had trained the economy, and developed the industrial resources of our people in a school in which the best qualities of character and soil were favorably and vigorously nurtured. But, like other wars, it disturbed the foreign relations of the country, and seriously interrupted its business. All products which came from abroad rose to high prices, and the stagnation of business which followed the peace, had been attended with financial embarrassments.

The charter of this Bank at once inspired confidence, and during its twenty years' existence it worked beneficent results, giving to us what we never had before, and what we never have had since, but once, a uniform currency of equal value in every part of the nation. It executed all the financial business of the government without charge, receiving for its compensation the use of the public deposits; it acted as a salutary regulator of the currency by its check on State banks, and no party or person ever suffered the loss of a penny by this bank. When it wound up its affairs, and the veto of President Jackson made a re-charter impossible, Nicholas Biddle procured from the State of Pennsylvania the charter of another bank,

which he proposed should be a substitute for the old one. A fraud was committed here, for he gave to this State institution the same name—'United States Bank.' Accustomed to the broad basis of credit and capital which belonged to *the* United States Bank, he converted the new institution into an irresponsible instrument of finance and speculation, until it burst like any other unsubstantial bubble.

This was a national misfortune, because groundless prejudice was thus excited against the only sound principle of banking that ever existed, or ever can, viz., to make the good faith of the sovereign nation the only basis for paper circulation, since it has been proved from the first day that the Bank of England, or any other bank, was allowed to issue paper money on any other basis than the guaranteed faith of the whole nation, gold has never proved a reliable basis for the redemption of bills in any monetary crisis, but a fallacious fraud and imposition. In another place I shall illustrate what I have here said.

The policy of Internal Improvement was first fully announced in the Fourteenth Congress, 1816-1817, and a bill introduced and an act passed to set apart as a fund for internal improvement, all revenues which the government should derive from its grant of the charter to this bank, and from its shares in the institution. It is a curious circumstance that John C. Calhoun and Mr. Clay stood side by side in their advocacy of this bill, as well as in the policy of rechartering the National Bank. Mr. Madison, among the last acts of his administration, vetoed the Internal Improvement bill, on grounds of its unconstitutionality, although he saw the necessity of the measure. In the following year the policy of internal improvements was again brought up, when Mr. Monroe opposed it on unconstitutional grounds, but recommended an amendment to the Constitution, granting the power, and in this recommendation Jefferson and Madison, then retired from office,—heartily concurred. The struggle was for the completion of the Cumberland Road, but no amendment could be passed in time to meet the exigency, and the measure failed.

But the spirit of internal improvement had gone forth. De Witt Clinton had already infused into the popular mind in New York his own idea of progress, and had it not been for the extreme views which Monroe, with other Virginia statesmen held, the whole power of the administration would have been given to the Cumberland Road and other great public works; for Monroe was inspired by this feeling which had gone through the nation.

It pervaded every branch of the government. But, being one of the framers of the Constitution, a judicious, an enlightened, and a patriotic man, Monroe did not think that the Constitution had delegated to the Federal Government the power to carry out public works of this description in the various States; and he felt compelled, although with reluctance, to express this opinion to Congress. The Constitution had given to Congress the power to make military and post roads; but, like all founders of republics,

he felt jealous of loose interpretations of those constitutional clauses which delegated power. The people now wanted to have canals built everywhere, and have the whole country traversed by great roads. He put an effectual and salutary restraint upon this spirit of dangerous adventure. He regarded our government as one of limited powers. He did not deem it proper for Congress to transcend, by a single line, the limits which had been fixed to its power by the Federal Constitution. He entertained opinions on this subject which were ultimately adopted by the nation; and they have passed through an ordeal as severe as any opinions on government in any age. Like many others who had done the hard work of laying the foundations of the Republic, as well as fighting its battles, he had surveyed the ground in the beginning; he had been made familiar with every side and every argument, of every specious view that had been presented; and now, when he had reached his conclusion, he was certainly entitled to the candid and reverent attention of his countrymen. He told the American people that our government is one of limited powers; that those powers proceed directly from the people; and that any prerogative which is assumed by the government that has not been clearly given to it, is an infraction of 'the inalienable rights of men.' }

Congress had indeed been compelled to commence the building of the Cumberland Road, but this had been only in pursuance of a solemn obligation. When Ohio came into the Union, one of the conditions was, that the government should build a road across the Alleghanies, to connect the new State with the capital and the Atlantic border. Ohio, with her enormous resources for enriching herself and the world, had no means of access to the world's market, except by the circuitous route of the Mississippi River. The eye of this new State was fixed upon the Atlantic border, and she had asked the government, and the government had agreed to build the Cumberland Road, from the Capital to her frontier. Congress had to fulfil this obligation; for it imposed upon her the conditions of a contract. But Ohio had been generous, for she had consented to have the road built out of the proceeds of her public lands. New England men were swarming in her territory; her lands were selling rapidly; and, by good management, the revenue from that source would have constructed a road over which Cæsar might have marched his legions with pride to the conquest of Gaul. Consequently, the Cumberland Road was built most of the way. But in later years, when General Jackson, who then being President, vetoed a bill which gave a new appropriation to this road, strong as the complaint was that was raised against him, the nation ultimately rejoiced that he had saved it from a further expenditure of public treasure on an enterprise which had ceased to be necessary, or even useful; because the country, in its electric progress, had shot beyond the exigency for which it originally provided.

the influence of Monroe, that the great policy of Internal Improvements first had birth. The enterprise of American character had stamped itself upon the world. Men read it even on the shores of barbarous nations. But what that enterprise meant, few men out of this country understood. Blessed by a continent which heaven seems to have endowed with everything that Nature held in her bountiful hands when she enriched the earth, the genius of the American people was not satisfied. A transformation was wanted in the nineteenth century, and the mind of man found full scope for its best conceptions in atoning for those oversights of Nature which the Creator always leaves as a field for the intellect of man to revel in. There was a great chain of lakes stretching from Erie, through Michigan, and over the broad bosom of Superior, to the very roots of the Rocky Mountains; and all their waters went plunging in headlong splendor over the Falls of Niagara—drifting away in a magnificent current *from* New York, which had been destined to be the metropolis of the New World. And yet, a great river was flowing down, bringing its wealth of waters by Manhattan Island; and that river found its sources in rivulets and springs, which gushed from the hills that overlook the majestic St. Lawrence.

De Witt Clinton.—Here, as in so many other crises of the world's progress, there was room for a great idea. Here, also, as in all such cases, a strong man came to carry it out. De Witt Clinton was a man of great genius. Descended from an ancestry which had long been illustrious, and clothed with the glory that belongs to the founders of States, his fathers had offered their best blood and treasure for the political life and freedom of the New World. Inferior to none of that long line he passed in walking through the gallery of his ancestors—with a love of study, and a comprehension great enough for Art, for Science, and for Government—he had an instinctive yearning for the progress of his country, and a prophetic gaze into its future. He had looked upon the St. Lawrence flowing off—away into the fog-enshrouded regions of Newfoundland, and he lived upon the green banks of the Hudson. He determined to bring these waters together, and he persevered and lived to carry out the mighty enterprise of excavating a channel nearly four hundred miles long, over the bosom of New York, through which the waters of Lake Erie rushed into the Hudson. As the joyous tide came down, and the magnificent river received this tribute of pride, the men of our metropolis looked upon a boat which had been launched upon Lake Erie, and was now receiving on its deck, in the city of New York, an exultant party of internal improvement men.¹

¹ William L. Stone in his letter concerning the public career of De Witt Clinton, dated Feb. 20, 1829, thus describes the celebration of the completion of the Erie Canal. Those who are familiar with that graceful and picturesque writer, will be glad to read his brief but beautiful sketch of the occurrence of that festival:—

“The work was finished on the 26th of October, 1825—eight years and four months from the time of its commencement. Extensive preparations were made for the celebration of this auspicious event, not only in New York and Albany, but along the whole line of the canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie. It had been arranged

that a procession of boats should start from Lake Erie for New York, immediately as the last blow should be struck. On board of one of these boats Governor Clinton and Lieutenant-Governor Tallmadge, with the canal commissioners, and other distinguished gentlemen took passage, and the other boats were occupied by committees of gentlemen from the different villages along the route, participating in the festivities which everywhere marked the progress of the novel flotilla. To guard against mistake or disappointment in Albany and this city, in case the work should not be completed within the time designated, pieces of ordnance were

About the same time the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain, those two mirrors which lie like visions of beauty among the mountains of our northern frontier, sent down, by another canal, their tributaries; and, one by one, artificial channels of navigation were opened, which brought the wealth of the continent to the feet of New York.

It was not a small thing which De Witt Clinton carried into execution,¹ nor

planted at suitable points along the whole intermediate distance, so that a signal gun could be fired at the moment the boats should move from the lake into the canal; which signal being repeated from gun to gun, was to serve the double purpose of a grand salute, and a medium of intelligence. The plan was accurately and effectively executed. In one hour and thirty minutes from the firing of the first gun, at Buffalo, its echo was heard in this city; and in about the same period of time, by the same process, the people of Buffalo were apprised of the fact of our having received the grateful intelligence—a distance, both ways, of nearly eleven hundred miles. Throughout the whole extent, from Erie to the ocean, it was a voyage of triumph. Every village had prepared its festival, each vying with the other to excel; and for the whole week, the commissioners only left one scene of rejoicing to mingle in another.

The procession reached Albany on the morning of Wednesday the 2d of November, and arrived at this city on the morning of the 7th. I have elsewhere had the honor of writing a detailed account of the festivities observed during this memorable celebration, from the commencement at Buffalo to that scene of enchantment with which they were concluded in this city; to which I beg leave, to refer those who are desirous of further particulars.*

Suffice it, therefore, to say, in conclusion, that the celebration at Albany was upon a far larger and more brilliant scale than had ever been witnessed in that venerable capital before. The descent of the Hudson presented a glorious spectacle along the whole river—the canal-boats being accompanied by a fleet of steam-boats, all gorgeously decorated with flags and streamers of every variety. The banks were lined with people, whose loud huzzas, mingling with the roar of artillery at every village, proclaimed the joy with which all were animated by the event, and by the beautiful and cheering pageant passing before their eyes like a delightful vision. Of the celebration in this city, I need only say, that we shall “never look upon its like again.” It was a tranquil, beautiful day, and a thousand circumstances, both upon land and water, conspired to increase the interest and magnificence of the scene. Never before was there presented to the eye of man so rich and splendid an exhibition, upon the water, as was displayed on that day in the harbor of New York. And never, in this country, was there so brilliant a procession upon land, or such universal demonstrations of proud and heartfelt joy among the people. And the prominent figure in this scene of public exultation, was a man whose name will be preserved from the stroke of time, by the benedictions of remotest posterity;—one of those men whom one age is insufficient to appreciate; whose thoughts and purposes run through many ages;—and whose minds are never fairly developed till their conceptions have been embodied in plans and measures, which continue blessing a nation from generation to generation. That man—need I add his name?—was DR. WITT CLINTON.

I have the honor to remain, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM L. STONE.

‘Dr. David Hosack.’

In Dr. Hosack’s memoir of De Witt Clinton, we find, among the eulogies pronounced at a meeting of the citizens of New York, for the purpose of expressing

*Vide the quarto volume published soon afterwards by the Corporation, containing Colden’s Memoir, and many other documents connected with this celebration.—Appendix, pp. 288-311 inclus. &c.

their feelings in relation to the death of the lamented statesman, the following words of Mr. Elbert Herring:

‘It is creditable to our nature to weep over departed worth; and it is alike our duty and interest to mourn over, and to deck the graves of the illustrious dead. And could death have struck down a nobler victim? Could the grave have closed upon one more devoted to his country? or more useful to the human family? or more endeared to the wise and the good? Whatever was great, or good, or useful—whatever we respect, or admire, or applaud—whatever tended to dignify human nature, and meliorate the condition of man, to promote the cause of virtue, and exalt the character of his country, was sure to find in him zealous support and efficient aid. To his indefatigable exertions, the school fund, in a great measure, owes its prosperity. His efforts have pre-eminently diffused education through our State; and to thousands has the book of knowledge been opened, who but for him would have been uneducated and unenlightened, blind to its beauties and its blessings. He saw in the diffusion of knowledge and the mental culture of his countrymen, their just appreciation of their own rights, their love of freedom, and the stability of our civil institutions.

Under his fostering care, agriculture left its unprogressive position, and made rapid strides in improvements. He realized the blessings that follow in her train. He knew that she dispensed wealth, cherished independence, and inculcated morality, and he therefore made it the subject of special communication to our Legislature.

He was the constant advocate of charitable and moral institutions. He considered them the handmaids of benevolence and virtue,—ministering to the happiness, and advancing the best interests of society; and he lent them the influence of his talents, and of his great name.

‘And, sir, his energy and influence and foresight, intermingled the lakes and the Hudson. The great Western Canal owns him as its efficient patron. His comprehensive mind grasped its stupendous importance. He viewed, in its completion, the prosperity of the State, and the glory of the nation. And on its accomplishment he hazarded his renown. The pledge was nobly given. That work alone will immortalize his name, and the benefits resulting from it will transcend the power of computation.’

Mr. Clinton, at an early period of his life, attached himself to the ancient fraternity of Free Masons, and, many years since, was advanced to its highest degrees, and has filled the most important offices of that highly-respected order. In 1816, he was unanimously elected to the highest masonic office in the United States, which he retained until his death. His long continued connection with that institution which spreads its benign influence throughout the civilized world, which enrolls among its members the illustrious names of Washington, Warren, Lafayette, Franklin, Pinckney, Robert R. Livingston, and the venerable Chief-Justice Marshall, including many of the most highly-respected dignitaries of the church, as well as the clergy of different denominations, is of itself the most unequivocal evidence of the purity of the principles, the correct morals, and the religious tendency of the precepts masonry inculcates.—*Memoir of De Witt Clinton* by Dr. Hosack, p. 33.

In the *Evening Post*, April 20th, 1824, in an account of ‘the great meeting of the citizens of New York,’ who met to stigmatize the resolutions of the Senate and Assembly of the State, which removed De Witt Clinton as Canal Commissioner, and to return him thanks for his long, able, and gratuitous services in the prosecution of the New York canals, we find this record:

‘Such a meeting,’ says the *Post*, ‘take it all in all, had never taken place in this city. From all we can learn,

was New York unworthy of the grand conception which another citizen of the State first projected.' The whole nation caught the spirit, and from that day onward we may date a new era in the physical development of the resources of the whole country.

Independence of the Spanish Provinces in the New World.—It was early

the number who assembled must have been from eight to ten thousand.' The venerable William Few presided. Charles G. Haines, in opening the meeting:

The New York canals,' he said, 'were nearly completed. The Hudson and Lake Champlain were united; and in a few months the waters of the Atlantic Ocean would mingle with those of our inland seas. In grandeur and usefulness these were the first works of the present age, whether we look to this or to the other side of the ocean. Already we begin to feel their vast influence, as it strengthens the union of the east and the west, reaches the relations of interest, trade, and exchange—animating industry and enterprise, and facilitating the rapid circulation of capital—as it gives new life and vigor to agriculture and manufactures, unfolds the resources of the State in ten thousand ways; bringing to her waters the trade of the western world, and rendering her commercial capital, the city of New York, the grand emporium of the western continent. No wonder all Europe was astonished at the boldness of the State which undertakes and is rapidly finishing, such works.

'But there was a day of unbelief in the land; a day when not only the uncandid and the unselfish, but when many of the purest and most enlightened among us doubted as to these works. Public opinion was undecided. Some master-spirit was wanted to draw this opinion from beaten paths and conduct it to new and bold conclusions. Some pioneer was required to inspire the ardent, to lead on the timid, and to persuade the wavering. Who was the man? Who stood forth as the triumphant advocate of the Great Western Canal? Who stood foremost in convincing this community of the extent of her own resources? Who devoted toilsome days and sleepless nights to demonstrate, by every argument, the practicability and advantages of the Great Western Canal? Who placed in jeopardy his hold on public confidence and respect? Who aided in exploring the route of this grand channel of trade and intercourse? Who, after he became the chief magistrate of the State, identified his administration with this work, and risked its duration on the success of the project? Who aided in obtaining loans for its advancement? Who had traversed the State for years to watch over its progress? Who for nearly ten years had presided over the Board of Canal Commissioners? Who had waded through streams and torrents of ridicule, calumny and insult, in the prosecution of this canal? Who, throughout the American Union, and who, on the other side of the ocean, was connected as a leading and efficient personage in this splendid work? Need any man stand here and pause like Brutus among the Romans, for a reply? *De Witt Clinton is the man!* Every tongue utters his name; every heart bears testimony to his services.

'And what was Mr. Clinton's reward? Had his long, unwearied, and persevering efforts covered him with the titles and honors of public office? Had he put his hand into the public treasury and amassed wealth and fortune? Was he the proprietor of palaces and had he bought over men to his purposes? Had he purchased power and popularity with the public funds? Had he advanced his family to posts of honor and profit? No; for fourteen years De Witt Clinton had devoted his time, his thoughts, and his labor to the New York canals, without receiving a single farthing in the shape of salary, or a solitary cent of pecuniary profit.

The proceedings of that meeting would be echoed from the shores of the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the north of the Hudson. They would reach, and they would rouse, every city, every town, and every village in the State. In one week a million of people would reciprocate every sentiment which they breathed. They would traverse the Union, and serve

to convince the Union, that although a great man may become the victim of a petty act of party vengeance, yet, that the State disavows that act, and that his talents, his vast and comprehensive views, and his undaunted perseverance, united to integrity, and blended with a course of private life that was destitute of a stain or a blemish, have gathered around him the confidence, the admiration, and the sympathies of a grateful people, without party names or distinction!'

A committee of thirty was appointed to communicate the proceedings of this meeting to the insulted statesman. That list I here record, that the act of magnanimity and justice thus done by men of that generation should not be forgotten. Their names are historic names on Manhattan Island, and I hope this little tribute will increase the veneration we all feel for noble citizens, though they may have all passed away.

Committee:

Matthew Clarkson,	Joseph G. Swift,
William Bayard,	Philip Hone,
Thomas Addis Emmet,	Robert H. Bowne,
Nicholas Fish,	John Rathbone, Jun.,
Charles Wright,	Lockwood De Forrest,
Thomas Hazard, Jun.,	James Oakley,
Thomas Eddy,	Mansel Bradhurst,
Cadwallader D. Colden,	Benjamin Stagg,
James Lovett,	Thomas Gibbons,
Robert Bogardus,	Eli Hart,
Preserved Fish,	Noah Brown,
Thomas Freeborn,	Stephen Whitney,
Peter Cray,	Thomas Hertell,
Lynde Catlin,	Campbell P. White,
John Rathbone, Secretary.	W. Few, Chairman.

'In bestowing praise, let us be fully just.

In a manuscript letter now before the writer, dated 'Albany, 4th March, 1822,' De Witt Clinton says to Jesse Hawley, to whom the letter is addressed: 'In answer to your letter, I have no hesitation in stating that the first suggestion of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, which came to my knowledge, was communicated in essays under the signature *Hercules*, on Internal Navigation, published in the *Ontario Messenger*, at Canandaigua. The first number appeared on the 27th of October, 1807, and the series of numbers amounted, I believe, to fourteen. The Board of Canal Commissioners, which made the first tour of observation and survey, in 1810, were possessed of the writings of *Hercules*, which were duly appreciated as the work of a sagacious inventor and elevated mind. And you were at that time, and since, considered the author.' De Witt Clinton was a son of General James Clinton, of Orange County, New York. He was born in March, 1769. He was mayor of New York ten years, and was elected governor of the State, 1817, and again in 1820 and 1826. He died suddenly while in that office, in February, 1828.—*Lossing's History of the United States*, p. 457.

In a valuable article on 'The New York Canals,' in the *North American Review*, vol. 14th, these Essays of Jesse Hawley are thus noticed: Mention is made of fourteen essays which appeared in 1807, and are attributed to Jesse Hawley, Esq., of Rochester. The account given makes us regret that we have never been able to see them. The route of the canal is laid down, the distance calculated, and the expense estimated, as experience has shown, with remarkable accuracy. Our readers will recollect that this was before any legislative proceeding on the subject, and is, therefore, more worthy of observation, on account of the minuteness of the details, the boldness of the conception, and the courage of supporting that which was then esteemed a wild and extravagant attempt.'

seen by all statesmen, that the triumph of the Thirteen Colonies of Great Britain, would spread a spirit of discontent throughout the hemisphere against European domination, and before the first half a century from the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia had passed, the Spanish and Portuguese possessions were in a blaze, from the Halls of the Montezumas to Cape Horn. One by one they lit their torches from our altar, and commenced the life and death struggle for their independence. This movement at first excited the contempt of Spain, who although in her decadence, still cherished the souvenirs of her ancient invincibility. She would relax none of the severities of her despotism, and like her prototype—Great Britain—she drove her victims to desperation, thus compelling freedom to an untimely birth.

Mr. Monroe—whose sympathies were with every struggling nation—had already sent a commission of inquiry to South America, to examine into the condition and prospects of the insurgent Provinces, and had asked an appropriation for the expense. Mr. Clay, who was to become the great champion of South American Independence, now had an opportunity to enter the field. In an amendment to the bill providing an appropriation for the expenses of Mr. Monroe's commission, he moved to send a minister to the La Plata Republic, and thereby recognize its existence *de facto*, which could not be construed into a *casus belli* by Spain.

This speech, pronounced on the 24th of March, 1818, was one of the most eloquent ever uttered in Congress. It seemed to sweep the whole field of Spanish-American history, and exhaust the subject. He allowed four days for the opponents of his bold but beneficent measure, to urge their timid and feeble objections, when he again met and overthrew them with the might of his invincible arguments. His measure had been sprung upon the House of Representatives with the suddenness of a bolt from a clear sky. Men stood appalled, but delighted: only forty-five voted for his amendment. His measure was, however, only postponed—not defeated. But he had won his cause, and from that hour the strong hand of the Republic of the North was extended like a waving olive branch over every altar erected to liberty in the southern hemisphere, and henceforth the starry flag of our union was to be the oriflamme of chivalry on every battle-field from the Gulf of Mexico to Patagonia. All through the civilized world these mighty orations were read, and everywhere men said, '*The emancipation of South America is achieved.*'¹

¹ These South American provinces were in fact independent, and were becoming more and more so every year. Spain could neither hold nor reduce them. Still it was a difficult matter to persuade the government of the United States of North America to recognize this position of our southern and sister Republics, and Mr. Clay was the only man that would take the lead in it. To his immortal honor, he allowed himself to be borne along by the current of his sympathies—a movement visible to all the world, and which made an ineffaceable impression of gratitude on the people of those countries whose cause and independence he so gallantly advocated in the time of their greatest need. Henry Clay, of North America, was loved by them, celebrated in song, and monuments of gratitude were erected to his memory which are standing to this day. Thanks were voted to him by the governments of those States, and his name, as a heroic advocate of their independence, is incorporated with their history.—*The*

Speeches of Henry Clay, edited by Calvin Colton, LL.D., vol. i. p. 163.

'Mr. Clay was the earliest advocate in Christendom for the recognition of the independence of the South American States, and had labored long and hard in this cause before it obtained favor in Congress, or with the administration. Now, however, in 1820, it was said that the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, was running a race with Mr. Clay, to get ahead of him in appropriating the glory of this movement. As President of the United States, Mr. Monroe certainly had the advantage, inasmuch as a favorable disposition in him towards a recognition of the independence of those States, might seem to have a greater official consequence. Nevertheless, Mr. Clay's early zeal in this cause, and his persistency, had made too deep an impression on the public mind of the world to admit of a rival. It is also a remarkable fact, that

Sunlight breaking over Africa.—Liberia, too, sprang into existence during this same period. The history of that community, which has been steadily growing into a respectable Commonwealth, and is recognized as an independent Republic by the great powers of the earth, is worthy of more attention than can be given to it here.

The American Colonization Society was the first form under which the American people, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, manifested their restlessness under the incubus of negro slavery. The objects of that Society can be best stated in the words of Henry Clay—so long its president. In his address at its annual meeting in Washington, January 20, 1827, he said:

‘The object of the Society was the colonization of the free colored people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments are also voluntary. But it was said that no free colored persons could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation whether a colony can or can not be planted from the United States, of free persons of color, on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated; such a colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war and honorable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business of a civilized and Christian community. It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighboring clans.’

In that same address, the following burning sentences burst from his lips, which had been touched by a live coal from the altar of liberty:

‘The Society, composed of freemen, concerns itself only with the free.

Mr. Canning, the British prime minister, claimed to have called a new world into existence, in having moved the Cabinet of George the Fourth to recognize the independence of Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres, in 1824. But Mr. Clay had achieved this, through the American Congress, in 1852. And thus Mr. Canning came into the race in company with Mr. Monroe, but both of them were too late for the honor so modestly claimed. The South American patriots had recognized Mr. Clay's early advocacy of their cause, had voted him thanks, had translated his speeches and circulated them, had erected monuments to his honor, and celebrated his name in patriotic songs. It was simply absurd for Mr. Monroe, or Mr. Canning, or anybody else, to attempt to rob Mr. Clay of the fame acquired by his early and disinterested advocacy of South American independence. All the world knows that he was the pioneer in this philanthropic enter-

prise. Mr. Clay's resolution was carried by a vote of eighty to seventy-five, which was the first majority obtained in Congress for this object. There is one remarkable passage in this speech of Mr. Clay, which, if it had been uttered by him twenty years later, would have stamped him at the South as an Abolitionist ‘of the straitest sect.’ It is this: ‘Will gentlemen contend,’ said Mr. Clay, ‘because these people (the South Americans) are not like us in all particulars, they are therefore unfit for freedom? In some particulars, he ventured to say that the people of South America were in advance of us. On the point which had been so much discussed on this floor, during the present session, they were greatly in advance of us: Granada, Venezuela, and Buenos Ayres had all emancipated their slaves.’—*The Speeches of Henry Clay*, edited by Calvin Colton, I.L.D., vol. i., pp. 238, 239.

Collateral consequences we are not responsible for. It is not this Society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies toward liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunder its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave-trade, with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies, and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race doomed to bondage.'

These imperishable words also were spoken that day :—

'If I could be instrumental in eradicating this—Slavery—deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all causes of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations ; if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son ; I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.'

Nor had the flame of liberty grown dim in that great heart, when twelve years later—February 7, 1839—this solemn appeal to heaven fell from him in the Senate House :—

'I am, Mr. President, no friend of Slavery. The searcher of all hearts knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty.'

The founders of the American Colonization Society were fired by the noblest philanthropy, and gifted with the clearest vision. They set in motion an institution which, if it had been nurtured and aided at the right time, and to the necessary extent, would have achieved more for the redemption of that dark continent, than all other agencies that have ever been put into activity since the world began.

The Colonization Society, first of all, purchased and obtained the titles to large tracts of land upon the western coast of Africa. It then held out inducements for the free negro population of the United States to emigrate. It deemed itself equal to the work, not only of planting all resolute and aspiring

Africans once more upon the soil of their fathers, with the protection, the culture, the aid, and the *prestige* of their friends ; but of building up a great community on that coast which should extend its colonies from point to point, as fortifications are built along coasts ; not only to annihilate the infernal traffic in human flesh, but to do what the world had never done—illuminate Africa herself—light the torch of civilization there, and keep it burning till it blazed over a benighted continent.

Henry Clay gave to this young society all the fervor of his eloquence and the glow of his genius. Nor is there hardly a name that has embellished our annals, that did not bring to this altar, erected for the illumination of Africa, his best efforts, and his best feelings. It may be considered a great misfortune, that the philanthropic feeling of the country, which was taking this direction, and promised such immense results in so short a space of time, should have been diverted into other channels, where fanaticism stole the boon that humanity offered to a prostrate race.¹

De Witt Clinton the advocate of higher Female Education.—In the year 1818, this illustrious statesman, who was great in everything, called attention, as Governor of the State, to the education of females ; and he impressed, in

¹ NOTE.—I think I must spare this space for the following brief address of Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, President of the American Colonization Society, delivered at Washington, January 15, 1867.

*Members of the American Colonization Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen :*

In calling the meeting to order, the Chair has not forgotten that the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society has been reached.

The Fiftieth Anniversary ! Half a century of existence ! And yet it seems but a few years since the speaker, then a mere schoolboy, attracted by the lights of a church in Georgetown, peered at nightfall upon a meeting which Francis S. Key was addressing, and where, in all probability, Mercer and Clay and Randolph and Harper and Caldwell and Worthington were present. Dim candles, it is recollected, in tin sconces, lighted up the assembly. To the schoolboy's intelligence, the only interest of the scene was in the familiar voice and the gathered crowd. Of the subject of discussion, nothing was understood, save, as reported at home, that Mr. Key, a well-known friend, was talking about Africa. Circumstances fix this incident in 1816, half a century ago. How idly would the schoolboy not have regarded any promise then made to him, that he would live to preside at the semi-centennial anniversary of the Society whose feeble beginnings he had just witnessed without comprehending them ! And now, how profoundly grateful should not the recipient of so high an honor be, not only to those whose choice gave him the seat which he occupies to-night, but most especially to HIM by whose mercy, while others younger and better have fallen, he has been spared to witness the seed, planted in 1816, germinate, and send forth a tree, which, through winters of discouragement and summers of prosperity, has grown until it has attracted the attention of the nations, and has a nation sheltered beneath its branches !

Fifty years ! And *such* years ! Of what other fifty years has history told the same wondrous tale ? They commenced while the thunder of European wars and of our second contest with Great Britain still echoed in our ears. Worn with the march of battle, the world was resting and gaining strength for a yet grander march,—the march of progress. How astonishing the facts of these fifty years ! How extraordinary their developments !

In 1816, there were but three steamboats on the Hudson, and but three west of the Alleghanies. In 1867, where are they not ? In 1816, the postage of a letter from Washington to Baltimore was ten cents ; to

Philadelphia, twelve ; to New York, eighteen ; and to New Orleans, twenty-five. Now the postage to San Francisco is but three cents ; and the telegraph has made communication with these places as instantaneous as the thoughts to be communicated.

In 1816, if the winds favored, a letter from America reached Europe in three weeks ; if adverse, in six. Now the Secretary of State sends to our minister in Paris what the Emperor of the French receives within the hour that saw it written in Washington. In 1816, it was the labor of days to travel from the capital to New York. Impatient at the nine hours now occupied, the public desire a still more rapid transit. Railroads cover the land as with a net, and are already penetrating the wilderness at the rate of a mile of construction daily, on their route to the Pacific. In 1816, we were staggering under a war-debt of but a few millions. Now we are paying off a war-debt of more than two thousand millions, at the rate of two hundred millions annually.

If to these comparisons were to be added the improvements in science and the arts, hours would be required for the enumeration.

Progress in science, progress in art, progress in all the appliances of human comfort, have signalized the half century whose close we this night commemorate.

But, of all that has been referred to, nothing has been more grand in conception, more wonderful in execution, or of more promising results, than African colonization. Grand in conception, because it solves the problem presented by the presence in the same land of two races, both free, that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage. Wonderful in execution, because with the humblest means, without the patronage of Government, and few better materials than ignorant free negroes and emancipated slaves, it has built up a republic holding an honorable rank in the family of nations, with churches and schools, with free institutions modelled after our own, and already attracting to it the descendants of those who, brought naked and helpless from Africa, acquired here the religion and civilization with which their children are returning, clothed as with bright raiment, to their ancestral home. More promising of results, because its agencies are at work, not for the welfare of one people only, but for two quarters of the globe itself, benefiting America, blessing Africa ; obviating in the one an otherwise inevitable strife, securing in the other the fulfilment of prophecy ; illuminating the latter, without diminishing the lustre of the former ; blessed of the Almighty in its progress, and finding, in an almost miraculous success, encouragement in the belief that his hand will support it to the end.

his message to the legislature, this idea so deeply upon the heart of our people, that, a few months later, a law was introduced and enacted, giving to schools and academies which furnished special facilities for the higher education of girls, a share of the literary funds of the State. This was but a well-deserved tribute to those few noble women who had struggled on for a long time, not to get an appropriation, but to impress upon the men of New York the high claims which the women of the Commonwealth had upon their consideration. And here we have the noble spectacle presented to us of an unobtrusive, but earnest, pressure for heeding, from one of the greatest and best beloved of American women.

Emma Willard, the Teacher and Prophetess.—On a beautiful knoll in Oakwood Cemetery, which rises above the city of Troy, and overlooks the valleys of the Mohawk and the Hudson, rest the ashes of one of the most gifted and useful women that ever lived. Any estimate of American character, or any attempt to comprehend the position which women hold in the social life of this country, that should leave out the influence of Emma Willard, would be, at best, only a feeble and incomplete picture. She dedicated her long and beautiful life to a single purpose—the elevation and thorough education of woman—the development of the female mind to the utmost perfection of its nature; and for the accomplishment of this great work, she was as richly endowed by nature, and as thoroughly drilled by experience, as any general in the art of war, or statesman in government, or genius for the investigation and order in the scientific comprehension of the forces of nature. Her life of eighty-three years was one continued progress towards the goal for which she started. Nor, in the close survey of her life can we discover that she lacked a single quality by nature, nor a single condition by fortune, for the discharge of her work. No such woman had appeared in America, for the state of society did not call for her; and the existence of any such woman afterwards, became as unnecessary as a second Duncan for the founding of saving-banks, a second Raikes for Sunday-schools, a second O'Connell for Catholic emancipation, a second Copernicus for the overthrow of a false system of astronomy, a second Howard for humanity to prisoners, or a second Washington for a model republic.

The most favorable circumstances combined, from her birth, to produce such extraordinary results. Emma Hart was born on the 23d of February, 1787, in Berlin, Conn., with every surrounding that the most favoring fortune could bestow. Healthy, strong, symmetrical in body and in mind, her parentage was all that could be desired. In those days nobody was rich or poor in Connecticut, but all well-to-do. There was not a house where wool and flax were not carded, and spun, and woven. The church bell was within sound, and the district school-house within reach of the entire population. The families were all large, and everybody worked, everybody read and studied. The standard literature of history, theology, metaphysics, biography, voyages and travels, though limited in range, made books acceptable. The

men worked hard all through the summers, and thought hard all through the winters. None of the energies of life were prostituted to the greed of gain and none of the powers of the female mind frittered away in the frivolities of fashion. Emma's father was a liberal-minded man. He did his own thinking in theology, as in other matters, and brought up his children in the same way. With no lack of veneration for God, nor of belief in the great system of revealed religion, he belonged to that order of men who cannot sacrifice the honest convictions of their own minds to the dictation of sect or creed. With sixteen brothers and sisters, Emma was the youngest but one. The district schools were thorough, and Emma made a fine start. Her education continued in a higher school, taught by an accomplished classical scholar of Yale College. At the age of sixteen she taught the district school of her own village, thus beginning a career of forty years of school teaching. She continued her studies for two years later, at the best school at Hartford, and then took charge of a school at Middlebury, Vermont, where her reputation as a teacher had already preceded her.

Her personal attractions were altogether too great to escape observation, and she had not been long at Middlebury before she married Dr. John Willard, when her career of usefulness in the wide field she was afterwards to fill seemed broken up, as marriage, in this country, is generally considered to put an end to all ideas of teaching, and above all things, study. The birth of a son, and the additional cares belonging to a well-regulated family which is presided over by a thorough housekeeper, as Mrs. Willard always was, took her from her business only for four or five years, when, fortunately for herself and the world, the miscarriage of her husband's affairs gave his wife the golden opportunity of once more returning to what she regarded as her profession and destiny, as a sure means of support.

Resuming her profession once more, she sought a higher field; and she determined to establish an institution for teaching teachers, the first time the distinct idea of what is now called normal schools, was thus entertained. She drew up a plan for such an institution, containing very broad views, and pointing to a school of much higher character than any in existence. She wanted an institution, protected by public men and legislative sanction. She wrote to President Monroe, and a great number of other distinguished men, who seemed, one and all, after carefully scanning her plan, to enter into it with the heartiest commendation. Governor Clinton being then—1819—Governor of the State, did all he could for the promotion of her views, and the legislature of New York incorporated her Seminary, placing it under the necessary regulations of the Regents, by which it was entitled to its share of the School Fund. She had already established a school at Waterford, and she removed it to Troy, where the enterprise and appreciation of that little Attica held out promising inducements,—the corporation erected a building and leased it to her on favorable terms.

Mrs. Willard was now in the fulness of her strength and beauty, and she

started her school under the most favorable auspices. Two convictions filled her mind—that girls were capable of learning whatever was taught in colleges to boys, and, by combining the advantages of a home, perfect training could be given to fit young ladies to become mothers, or teachers, or both. She was then laying the foundation of what has been so well realized in Vassar College and that large number of institutions for female education which now constitute the ornament and glory of this country. From that hour, a higher education for the women of America was secured.

Finding most of the text-books used in the schools utterly unfitted for her purposes, she was obliged to depend mainly upon oral instruction, or her own text-books, which were copied by the scholars. But her purposes not being limited to her own school, but always contemplating the establishment of a system of American education for females, she kept the interests of the whole country steadily in view. Her system was finely exemplified in her works, where she so well succeeded in her principal object—facility of acquirement, and durability of impression. She always felt that it was much more important to teach the pupil how to think, than what to think. Her Geography, and History of the United States became the standard school-books of America, and are still extensively used; but here, as in most other things, the modern spirit of gain, speculation and jobs, has so vitiated school text-books, that many of great value have been pushed aside by new-comers who, with their publishers, hesitated at no means for their introduction.

Mrs. Willard recognized the great fact that woman's inferiority is limited only to the physical,—embracing strength and power of endurance,—and her examinations, which were attended during a long period by the most learned and successful teachers and public men of the country, demonstrated not only the perfection of her system of instruction, but the truth of her theories on the subject. Her course of mathematics was always thorough, while of course æsthetics, and the whole realm of the beautiful,—that sphere which is woman's as exclusively as the sphere of strength is that of man,—was cultivated with the utmost enthusiasm. She loved teaching as an art, in the same way that Raphael loved painting, or Bellini music. She always had many able assistants, but for a very long time, her sister, Mrs. Lincoln, afterwards Mrs. Phelps, was her chief reliance in the *management* of her great household, as well as in several of the natural sciences, as botany, geology and chemistry, where Mrs. Phelps acquired great eminence as a writer. Religion, utterly divested of sectarianism, breathed through her whole school, as it did through her entire life.

In 1825 her friendship and correspondence with Lafayette, which continued till his death, began on the occasion of a visit he paid to her school. Five years later she visited Europe, where she received honors that are never accorded except to great personal virtue and rare accomplishments.

Her fame was now so thoroughly established that she became an autho-

city throughout the civilized world. They sent to her for teachers from every part of the United States, Europe, and South America. She was largely influential in founding, in 1832-3, a school for the education of girls, at Athens, to which that country owes so much. She raised large sums for its establishment and support, and gave to it several thousand dollars herself. Bowed down, as Greece had been for four centuries, under the terrible tyranny of the Crescent, Mrs. Willard's enthusiasm was aroused at the thought of 'rearing broken altars of learning in Athens itself, and building school-houses in the very groves of Academus.'

During her long career she educated upwards of six thousand girls, of whom upwards of one in ten became professional teachers; more than one-half of this class having been educated by Mrs. Willard at her own expense, which could not have been less than from \$75,000 to \$100,000. Very large numbers, however, of this class refunded the money as fast as they could save it from their own labors.

After she surrendered the charge of her school, she devoted many years to the great cause of education. She made visits to every part of the country, and one tour of nearly a thousand miles in her own carriage, visiting schools and teachers, and attending conventions, being everywhere greeted with the highest honor. Her affectionate friend, Mrs. Sigourney the poet, in one of her letters speaking of this great tour, says: 'I should consider it an honor to wipe the dust from your chariot-wheels as they passed on in that career of benevolence.'

Her Christianity was more than a philosophy, or system of ethics; it was to her everything that concerns this life, or the beautiful life to come. Up to the last, her heart drew the young to her like a magnet. From her sixtieth to her eightieth year, she became observably more and more affectionate and loving, and with that wonderful vivacity which characterized her mind, she never grew tired of the charming subject of education; but, to the very last, would 'shoulder her *pen*, and show how fields were won.' She still lived in Troy, near the old Seminary buildings which had been two or three times enlarged, and died, at last, in the same structure she had founded half a century before. With all her other accomplishments, it is not strange that she should have been a wonderful letter-writer. Even her handwriting, to the last, was clear, regular, and beautiful; and all through life her letters seemed to combine the breadth and vigor of Madame de Staël with the sweetness and grace of Madame Sévigné. Probably no woman ever lived who left so many noble and devoted personal friends to cherish her memory.¹

Lafayette's last Visit to America.—This gallant Frenchman, who by his noble service in the War of Independence had placed our nation under a debt of gratitude which we could never pay, still lived to adorn the annals

¹ The Life of Emma Willard, by John Lord, LL.D., Appleton & Co., 1874, is one of the most complete and admirable works of its kind. Perhaps no other man was so well qualified for the task. In the complete portraiture Dr. Lord presents of his subject we find

that so rare and yet invaluable quality—a clear analysis of the elements of extraordinary character, which satisfactorily accounts for her otherwise incomprehensible power over the mind of this nation.

of chivalry, and the great heart of the country he had helped to redeem longed for his presence. Congress had, by a public Act, invited him to be the national guest. In 1824, on the 15th of August, he arrived in New York. The country was thrilled by the announcement. Wherever the post coaches, in their slow circuits, carried the news, the people came together and rang out their welcome to the companion of Washington. It brought back to their recollection souvenirs of '76; and crippled men, through twenty-four States, going about on wooden legs and crutches, felt the tears rush unbidden to their eyes at the mention of Lafayette's name. His companions in battle were scattered all over the bosom of the Republic; and when boys, and girls, and young men, who did not remember—although they had read of what Lafayette had done—saw these scarred relics of the great Army of Independence, they caught the fire, and it blazed from the Atlantic to the last verge of our homes on the frontier.

His Reception.—He stood in the City Hall in New York, and all who could come, pressed from all quarters to do him reverence. The great cities, as the news spread, sent their delegates on in haste: and a sight was witnessed in the Hall, which, perhaps, never before was seen in the history of nations. An excited multitude thronged all the passage-ways; and when Lafayette appeared at the balcony, he looked upon a moving ocean of human feeling. Every eye was dimmed with tears of love, pride and sympathy.

His Triumphal Progress.—After a few days, this guest of the nation left New York, on his tour through the country. He went to Connecticut—to Rhode Island—he reached Boston—he went on to Portsmouth, and wherever he went, the masses of the people came forth to greet him; while at every fortress and arsenal, guns thundered forth the glad salute which was due to his supreme rank in the American Army. On his return to New York, the city gave him a grand *fête* at Castle Garden. He went over the Union—from New York to Philadelphia—Baltimore—Richmond—it was a triumphal progress.

He returned to Washington. Congress was in session, and it gratefully voted to him a sum of money—\$200,000—and a township of land, which he located in Florida. He went on to North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. He left New Orleans, and passed up the Mississippi to St. Louis. He came back through Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, and arrived at Boston in time to participate in the imposing ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of that monument that now rises over Bunker's Hill. There he met the veterans of the Revolution—those 'venerable men' who had shared in his struggles—and heard Webster address them.

And then he went through Maine—New Hampshire—Vermont; and from the silver waters of Champlain and Lake George, he returned to New York, in time to see a glad and free People, celebrate, on the Fourth of July the fiftieth anniversary of their National Independence.

The last act of this best representative which our times has given of a voluntary hero in defence of liberty, was to bend his steps to Mount Vernon, and there he gave the tribute of his tears to the Man of all ages.¹ He was so overcome by the reception which the Congress of the United States extended to him by public enactment, as well as by voluntary adoration, that he could no longer sustain the pressure upon his heart and feelings. In the presence of the delegation that was appointed to attend him to his place of embarkation, he melted into tears !

A little while after, this great and good man bade adieu to the country—for he seemed to embrace the whole continent and all its people that then were, or that ever should be, in his great heart. He stood upon the deck of a noble frigate. It had been built by the Government expressly for the signal service it was now to perform. It was to bear him back to his native country. It was called the *Brandywine*, because that was the battle, among all those that Lafayette had fought for the Republic in her gloom, in which he had, by the chances of war, shed his blood.

On the day of his departure the authorities of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, the principal officers of the general government—civil, military and naval, members of Congress, and many distinguished strangers, assembled at the President's house, to take their final leave of the illustrious guest. He entered the spacious reception-room in silence, leaning on the Marshal of the District, and on the arm of one of the sons of the President. Mr. Adams advanced to receive him, with the simple but courtly dignity which so well became him, and with evident emotion he said :

'General Lafayette.—It has been the good fortune of many of my distinguished fellow-citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the name of the nation, adieu.

'It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life—incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation in imperishable connection with the independence and history of the North American Union.

'The part which you performed at that important juncture, was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the fairest fable of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the *authentic* records of human history.

'You deliberately and perseveringly preferred toil, danger, the endurance of every hardship, and the privation of every comfort, in defence of a holy

¹ *Lafayette's Visit to Washington's Tomb.*—While Judge Washington was living, Lafayette came to America as the guest of the nation, and after a lapse of fifty years, he again visited Mount Vernon, the home of his dear friend. For more than twenty-five years the mortal remains of that friend had been lying in the tomb, yet the memory of his love was as fresh in the heart of the Marquis, as when, in November, 1784, they parted, to see each other on earth no more.

On that occasion Lafayette was presented with a most touching memorial of the man whom he delighted

to call father. The adopted son of that father, the late Mr. Custis, with many others, accompanied the Marquis to the tomb of Washington, where the tears of the venerable Frenchman flowed freely. While standing there, Mr. Custis, after a few appropriate remarks, presented to Lafayette a massive gold ring, containing a lock of Washington's hair. It was a most grateful gift ; and those who were present have spoken of the occurrence as one of the most interesting and touching they had ever experienced.—*Lossing's Home of Washington*, pp. 353, 354.

cause, to inglorious ease, and the allurements of rank, affluence, and unrestrained youth, at the most splendid and fascinating court of Europe.

‘That this choice was not less wise than magnanimous, the sanction of half a century, and the gratulations of unnumbered voices, all unable to express the gratitude of the heart with which your visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed, afford ample demonstration.

‘When the contest of freedom, to which you had repaired as a voluntary champion, had closed, by the complete triumph of her cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot in the land of your nativity. There, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted—the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

‘Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom, and with whom, you had fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits, one of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population; enlarging in territory; acting and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and we humbly hope, the most beneficent power that ever regulated the concerns of man upon earth.

‘In that lapse of forty years, the generation of men with whom you co-operated in the conflict of arms has nearly passed away. Of the general officers of the American army in that war, you alone survive. Of the sages who guided our councils; of the warriors who met the foe in the field or upon the wave, with the exception of a few, to whom unusual length of days has been allotted by Heaven, all now sleep with their fathers. A succeeding, and even a third generation, have arisen to take their places; and their children’s children, while rising up to call them blessed, have been taught by them, as well as admonished by their own constant enjoyment of freedom, to include in every benison upon their fathers, the name of him who came from afar, with them, and in their cause, to conquer or to fall.

‘The universal prevalence of these sentiments was signally manifested by a resolution of Congress, representing the whole people and all the States of the Union, requesting the President of the United States to communicate to you assurances of the grateful and affectionate attachment of this government and people, and desiring that a national ship might be employed, at your convenience, for your passage to the borders of our country.

‘The invitation was transmitted to you by my venerable predecessor: himself bound to you by the strongest ties of personal friendship, himself one of those whom the highest honors of his country had rewarded for blood early shed in her cause, and for a long life of devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say

that it has been, to the people of the Union, a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have traversed the twenty-four States of this great confederacy ; you have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companions in arms ; you have been hailed as a long absent parent by their children, the men and women of the present age ; and a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at your approach, and the shouts of unbidden thousands which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound, like the rushing of many waters from every corner of our land.

‘You are now about to return to the country of your birth, of your ancestors, of your posterity. The executive government of the Union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the Congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The name of the ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable, at once in the story of your sufferings, and of our independence.

‘The ship is now prepared for your reception, and equipped for sea. From the moment of her departure, the prayers of millions will ascend to Heaven that her passage may be prosperous, and your return to the bosom of your family as propitious to your happiness, as your visit to this scene of your youthful glory has been to that of the American people.

‘Go then, our beloved friend—return to the land of brilliant genius, of generous sentiment, of heroic valor ; to that beautiful France, the nursing mother of the Twelfth Louis, and the Fourth Henry ; to the native soil of Bayard and Coligni, and Turenne and Catinat, of Fénélon and D’Aguesseau. In that illustrious catalogue of names which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride holds up to the admiration of other nations, the name of Lafayette has already for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth burnish into brighter flame ; for if, in after days, a Frenchman shall be called to indicate the character of his nation by that of one individual, during the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism shall mantle in his cheek. the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle in his eye, and he shall pronounce the name of Lafayette. Yet we, too, and our children, in life and after death, shall claim you for our own. You are ours by that more than patriotic self-devotion with which you flew to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of their fate. Ours by that long series of years in which you have cherished us in your regard. Ours by that unshaken sentiment of gratitude for your services which is a precious portion of our inheritance. Ours by that tie of love, stronger

than death, which has linked your name, for the endless ages of time, with the name of Washington.

‘At the painful moment of parting from you, we take comfort in the thought, that wherever you may be, to the last pulsation of your heart, our country will be ever present to your affections, and a cheering consolation assures us, that we are not called to sorrow most of all, that we shall see your face no more. We shall indulge the pleasing anticipation of beholding our friend again. In the meantime, speaking in the name of the whole people of the United States, and at a loss only for language to give utterance to that feeling of attachment with which the heart of the nation beats, as the heart of one man—I bid you a reluctant and affectionate farewell.’

To which General Lafayette made the following reply :—

‘Amidst all my obligations to the general Government, and particularly to you, sir, its respected chief magistrate, I have most thankfully to acknowledge the opportunity given me, at this solemn and painful moment, to present the people of the United States with a parting tribute of profound, inexpressible gratitude.

‘To have been, in the infant and critical days of these States, adopted by them as a favorite son ; to have participated in the toils and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence, freedom, and equal rights ; and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already pervaded this, and must, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, successively pervade every part of the other hemisphere ; to have received at every stage of the Revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States, and their representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness, has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

‘But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of public affection which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelvemonth’s progress through the twenty-four States ; and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favors bestowed on me by the several branches of their representatives, in every part, and at the central seat of the confederacy !

‘Yet, gratification still higher awaited me. In the wonders of creation and improvement that have met my enchanted eye ; in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people ; in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private ; in a practice of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have had proudly to recognize a result of the republican principles for which we have fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and unprejudiced minds, of the superiority over degrading aristocracy or despotism, of popular institutions founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherish-

ing of that union between the States, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our great paternal Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every American patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of the emancipation of the world—an object in which I am happy to observe that the American people, while they give the animating example of successful free institutions, in return for an evil entailed upon them by Europe, and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is everywhere more and more generally felt, show themselves every day more anxiously interested.

‘And now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feelings for the assurances most peculiarly valued, of your esteem and friendship; for your so very kind references to old times; to my beloved associates; to the vicissitudes of my life; for your affecting picture of the blessings poured by the several generations of the American people on the remaining days of a delighted veteran; for your affectionate remarks on this sad hour of separation, on the country of my birth, full, I can say, of American sympathies, on the hope so necessary to me of my seeing again the country that has deigned, near half a century ago, to call me hers? I shall content myself, refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, before you sir and this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial confirmation of every one of the sentiments which I have had daily opportunities publicly to utter, from the time when your venerable predecessor, my old brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me the honorable invitation of Congress, to this day, when you, my dear sir, whose friendly connection with me dates from your earliest youth, are going to consign me to the protection, across the Atlantic, of the heroic national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name of which has not been the least flattering and kind among the numberless favors conferred upon me.

‘God bless you, sir, and all who surround us. God bless the American people, each of their States, and the Federal Government. Accept this patriotic farewell of an overflowing heart; such will be its last throb when it ceases to beat.’

Says one of the annalists of the times: ‘As the last sentence was pronounced, the General advanced, and, while the tears poured over his venerable cheek, again took the President in his arms. He retired a few paces, but overcome by his feelings again returned, and uttering in broken accents, ‘God bless you!’ fell once more on the neck of Mr. Adams. It was a scene, at once solemn and moving, as the sighs and stealing tears of many who witnessed it bore testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the General stretched out his hands, and was in a moment surrounded by the greetings of the whole assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid when aid was so precious, and which grasped, with firm and undeviating hold, the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance. The expression which now beamed from the face of this exalted man was of the finest and most touching kind. The hero was lost in the father and the friend; dignity melted into subdued affection, and the friend of Washington

seemed to linger with a mournful delight among the sons of his adopted country.' On reaching the bank of the Potomac, near where the Mount Vernon steam-vessel was in waiting, all the carriages in the procession, except the General's, wheeled off, and the citizens in them assembled on foot around that of the General. The whole military body then passed him in review as he stood in the barouche of the President, attended by the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, and of the Navy. After the review, the General proceeded to the steam-vessel under a salute of artillery, surrounded by as many citizens, all eager to catch the last look, as could press on the large wharf; and, at four o'clock, this great, and good, and extraordinary man, trod, for the last time, the soil of America, followed by the blessings of every patriotic heart that lived on it.

As the vessel moved off, and for a short time after, the deepest silence was observed by the whole of the vast multitude that lined the shore. The feelings that pervaded them was that of children bidding a final farewell to a venerated parent. They all remained gazing after the retiring vessel until she had passed Greenleaf's Point, when another salute repeated the valedictory, which was again, not long after, echoed by the heavy guns of Fort Washington, reminding the host of spectators of the rapidity with which this benefactor and friend of the country was being borne from it.

The Greek Revolution.—Perhaps there was no country whose people were more deeply thrilled by the revolution of Greece than the Americans. There were special reasons for this. It reminded us vividly of our own struggle for the same priceless boon—national independence from an ancient oppressor. Every American schoolboy was familiar with the history of Greece, from the time Demosthenes resisted the encroachments of the first tyrant who struck at her liberty, down to the hour when Marco Bozzaris fell. It has not generally been understood how largely a knowledge of the Greek language prevailed in the United States. While the chief drift of American popular education had not, for the masses, been the culture of the classics, still so much knowledge of Greek and Roman history prevailed, that there could hardly be found a cluster of log cabins where some teacher had not done something in the way of making the inhabitants familiar with the eternal names of the lands of Homer and Pericles,—of Cicero and Virgil. If some curious scholar

¹ For the following incidents, which I have never before seen recorded, I am indebted to Mrs. Dr. John A. Weiss, of New York:

'Lafayette was careful to remember all his old friends. When he entered Boston, he asked one of the gentlemen in the carriage with him where Mrs. Hancock was. After some inquiry it was ascertained that she was residing in a not particularly fashionable quarter, but some one knew where she would probably be to see the procession. He begged that they would look out for her and let him know if she was there, and if so, stop the carriage at that point. When passing, the surmise proved correct. She was, as it had been predicted, in a front window of a friend's house, on the lookout. She was pointed out to him. He motioned the driver to stop—rose from his seat, lifted his hat and kissed his hand to her. She was delighted; thought it so wonderful he should have recognized her. She was at that time

Mrs. Scott; she married after Mr. Hancock's death. The first call Lafayette made in Boston was on Mrs. Scott.'

'Col. Neville was Lafayette's aid when he served in our army; and when Lafayette sent to France for arms and equipments, Neville, who was then a rich Virginia planter, raised money and sent for the equipments for a whole regiment. He was on very friendly terms with Lafayette, who knew his wife and family. On his visit to America he inquired them out, and visited them, in Cincinnati. He asked Mrs. Neville if her husband had been reimbursed for his outlays. She told him no, and that there was still a mortgage of many thousand dollars on their property. After Lafayette had left Cincinnati, she found all her mortgages had been paid off; but he never spoke of it or alluded to it in any way. The widow's property, however, was clear and unencumbered.'

would have the patience and leisure some time, to collect the popular literature of America which was inspired by the Greek revolution, how surprising would be its bulk—how great a tribute it would be to the worship of liberty and classic learning. I have room only for a few of these offerings. The first is found in the words Daniel Webster uttered in Congress, where he extended the hand of American fellowship to the descendants of the men who had bled ‘on old Plataea’s day.’ The second was flashed from Halleck’s genius, in that fine Ode which was translated into the language of Greece, and sung by her people.¹ I was very much touched during my long residence in Italy by one among the many expressions of Greek sympathy for the American Republic, but by none more perhaps than on receiving a copy of Halleck’s Ode, sent to me by a daughter of Marco Bozzaris, then a member of the

¹MARCO BOZZARIS.

At midnight, in his guarded tent,
The Turk was dreaming of the hour
When Greece, her knee in supplication bent,
Should tremble at his power :
In dreams, through camp and court, he bore
The trophies of a conqueror ;
In dreams his song of triumph heard :
Then wore his monarch’s signet ring ;
Then pressed that monarch’s throne—a king ;
As wild his thoughts, and gay of wing,
As Eden’s garden bird.

At midnight, in the forest shades,
Bozzaris ranged his Suliot band,
True as the steel of their tried blades,
Heroes in heart and hand.
There had the Persian’s thousands stood,
There had the glad ether drunk their blood
On old Plataea’s day ;
And now there breathed that haunted air,
The sons of sires who conquered there,
With arm to strike and soul to dare,
As quick, as far as they.

An hour passed on—the Turk awoke ;
That bright dream was his last ;
He woke—to hear his sentries shriek,
‘To arms ! they come ! the Greek ! the Greek !
He woke—to die ’midst flame and smoke,
And shout, and groan, and sabre stroke,
And death-shots falling thick and fast
As lightnings from the mountain-cloud ;
And heard, with voice as trumpet loud,
Bozzaris cheer his band :
‘Strike—till the last armed foe expires ;
Strike—for your altars and your fires ;
Strike—for the green graves of your sires ;
God—and your native land !’

They fought—like brave men, long and well .
They piled that ground with Moslem slain
They conquered—but Bozzaris fell,
Bleeding at every vein.
His few surviving comrades saw
His smile, when rang their proud hurrah,
And the red field was won :
They saw in death his eyelids close
Calmly, as to a night’s repose,
Like flowers at set of sun.

Come to the bridal chamber, Death !
Come to the mother’s, when she feels,
For the first time, her firstborn’s breath ;
Come when the blessed seals
That close the pestilence are broke,
And crowded cities wait its stroke ;
Come in consumption’s ghastly form,
The earthquake’s shock, the ocean storm ;

Come when the heart beats high and warm,
With banquet song, and dance, and wine.
And thou art terrible—the tear,
The groan, the knell, the pall, the bier,
And all we know, or dream, or fear
Of agony, are thine.

But to the hero, when his sword
Has won the battle for the free,
Thy voice sounds like a prophet’s word,
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.
Come, when his task of fame is wrought—
Come, with her laural-leaf, blood-bought—
Come in her crowning hour—and then
Thy sunken eye’s unearthly light
To him is welcome as the sight
Of sky and stars to prisoned men :
Thy grasp is welcome as the hand
Of brother in a foreign land :
Thy summons welcome as the cry
That told the Indian isles were nigh
To the world-seeking Genoese,
When the land-wind, from woods of palm,
And orange groves, and fields of balm,
Blew o’er the Haytian seas.

Bozzaris ! with the storied brave
Greece nurtured in her glory’s time,
Rest thee—there is no prouder grave,
Even in her own proud clime.
She wore no funeral weeds for thee,
Nor bade the dark hearse wave its plume
Like torn branch from death’s leafless tree
In sorrow’s pomp and pageantry,
The heartless luxury of the tomb ;
But she remembers thee as one
Long loved, and for a season gone ;
For thee her poet’s lyre is wreathed,
Her marble wrought, her music breathed ;
For thee she rings the birthday bells ;
Of thee her babe’s first lisping tells ;
For thine her evening prayer is said
At palace couch and cottage bed ;
Her soldier, closing with the foe,
Gives for thy sake a deadlier blow ;
His plighted maiden, when she fears
For him, the joy of her young years,
Thinks of thy fate, and checks her tears :
And she, the mother of thy boys,
Though in her eye and faded cheek
Is read the grief she will not speak,
The memory of her buried joys,
And even she who gave thee birth,
Will, by their pilgrim-circled hearth,
Talk of thy doom without a sigh :
For thou art Freedom’s now, and Fame’s,
One of the few, the immortal names
That were not born to die.

Court of King Otho. It was printed in gold, on blue satin, and the translation, I believe, had been made by herself.

In his message to Congress, Dec. 1823, President Monroe adverted to the struggle then going on in Greece for her independence. 'A strong hope,' says that communication, 'has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare, although no power has declared in their favor; yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation.'

On the 8th of the same month Mr. Webster moved the following resolution in the House of Representatives:—'*Resolved*: That provision ought to be made, by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.'

In Edward Everett's Life and Works of Daniel Webster, he says:—'These, it is believed, are the first official expressions favorable to the independence of Greece uttered by any of the governments of Christendom, and no doubt contributed powerfully towards the creation of that feeling throughout the civilized world which eventually led to the battle of Navarino, and the liberation of a portion of Greece from the Turkish yoke.'

Webster's Championship of the Cause of the Greeks.—On the 19th of Jan. Webster pronounced his Greek speech, which will embellish the literature of liberty to the end of time; a few of its passages must go into the text of this work:—'An occasion which calls the attention to a spot so distinguished, so connected with interesting recollections, as Greece, may naturally create something of warmth and enthusiasm. In a grave, political discussion, however, it is necessary that those feelings should be chastised. I shall endeavor properly to express them, although it is impossible that they should be altogether extinguished. We must, indeed, fly beyond the civilized world; we must pass the dominion of law, and the boundaries of knowledge; we must, more especially, withdraw ourselves from this place, and the scenes and objects which here surround us, if we would separate ourselves entirely from the influence of all those memorials of herself which ancient Greece has transmitted for the admiration and the benefit of mankind. This free form of government, this popular assembly, the common Council held for the common good,—where have we contemplated its earliest models? This practice of free debate an public discussion, the contest of mind with mind, and

that popular eloquence which, if it were now here, on a subject like this, would move the stones of the Capitol! Whose was the language in which all these were first exhibited? Even the edifice in which we assemble, these proportioned columns, this ornamental architecture, all remind us that Greece has existed, and that we, like the rest of mankind, are greatly her debtors.¹

‘But I have not introduced this motion in the vain hope of discharging anything of this accumulated debt of centuries. I have not acted upon the expectation that we, who have inherited this obligation from our ancestors, should now attempt to pay it to those who may seem to have inherited from *their* ancestors a right to receive payment. My object is nearer and more immediate. I wish to take occasion of the struggle of an interesting and gallant people in the cause of liberty and Christianity, to draw the attention of the House to the circumstances which have accompanied that struggle, and to the principles which appear to have governed the conduct of the great states of Europe in regard to it; and to the effects and consequences of these principles upon the independence of nations, and especially upon the institutions of free governments. What I have to say of Greece, therefore, concerns the modern, not the ancient; the living, and not the dead. It regards her not as she exists in history, triumphant over time, and tyranny, and ignorance; but as she now is, contending against fearful odds for being, and for the common privileges of human nature.’

The student who wishes to understand how clearly and learnedly Webster laid down the principles which have always been the guide of our foreign policy in the treatment of other nations, must read this speech with the greatest care, for it is in the spirit of Washington’s farewell address, and thus far it has been the steady policy of this country. In reconciling the principles of international law with American sympathy for universal liberty, Webster further says:—‘The practical commentary has corresponded with the plain language of the text. Look at Spain, and at Greece. If men may not resist the Spanish Inquisition and the Turkish cimeter, what is there to which humanity must not submit? Stronger cases can never arise. Is it not proper for us, at all times, is it not our duty, at this time, to come forth, and deny, and condemn these monstrous principles? Where but here and in one other place, are they likely to be resisted? They are advanced with equal coolness and boldness; and they are supported by immense power. The timid will shrink and give way, and many of the brave may be compelled to yield to force. Human liberty may yet, perhaps, be obliged to repose its principal hopes on the intelligence and the vigor of the Saxon race. As far as depends on us at least, I trust those hopes will not be disappointed; and that, to the extent which may consist with our own settled pacific policy, our opinions and sentiments may be brought to act on the right side, and to the right end, on an occasion which is in truth nothing less than a momentous question between an intelligent age, full of knowledge, thirsting for improvement, and quick-

¹ The interior of the hall of the old House of Representatives is surrounded by a magnificent colonnade of the Composite order, which gave a wonderful effect to these words.

ened by a thousand impulses on one side, and the most arbitrary pretensions, sustained by unprecedented power on the other.'

The orator-statesman next meets an objection urged by captious or feeble minds with this unanswerable argument :—' It may, in the next place, be asked, perhaps, supposing all this to be true, what can *we* do? Are we to go to war? Are we to interfere in the Greek cause, or any other European cause? Are we to endanger our pacific relations? No, certainly not. What, then, the question recurs, remains for us? If we will not endanger our own peace, if we will neither furnish armies nor navies to the cause which we think the just one, what is there within our power?

' Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, a great change has taken place in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced, and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the progress of injustice and oppression; and as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassible, unextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like, Milton's angels,

' Vital in every part,
Cannot, but by annihilating, die.'

Until this be propitiated or satisfied, it is vain for power to talk either of triumphs or repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. In the history of the year that has passed by us, and in the instance of unhappy Spain, we have seen the vanity of all triumphs in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. It is nothing that the troops of France have passed from the Pyrenees to Cadiz; it is nothing that an unhappy and prostrate nation has fallen before them; it is nothing that arrests, and confiscation, and execution, sweep away the little remnant of national resistance. There is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the sceptre of his victory is a barren sceptre; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall moulder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind.'

Of that noble argument in favor of our recognition of the independence of Greece, these are the final words :—' I close, then, sir, with repeating that

the object of this resolution is to avail ourselves of the interesting occasion of the Greek revolution to make our protest against the doctrines of the Allied Powers, both as they are laid down in principle, and as they are applied in practice. I think it right, too, sir, not to be unseasonable in the expression of our regard, and, as far as that goes, in a manifestation of our sympathy with a long oppressed and now struggling people. I am not of those who would, in the hour of utmost peril, withhold such encouragement as might be properly and lawfully given, and, when the crisis should be past, overwhelm the rescued sufferer with kindness and caresses. The Greeks address the civilized world with a pathos not easy to be resisted. They invoke our favor by more moving considerations than can well belong to the condition of any other people. They stretch out their arms to the Christian communities of the earth, beseeching them, by a generous recollection of their ancestors, by the consideration of their desolated and ruined cities and villages, by their wives and children sold into an accursed slavery, by their blood, which they seem willing to pour out like water, by the common faith, and in the name which unites all Christians, that they would extend to them at least some token of compassionate regard.

The old Body-Guard of Liberty in Days of Trial not forgotten in Days of Peace.—The soldiers of the Revolution had not been utterly forgotten. But the time had come to make more effectual provision for the living, and the widows of the dead; and in 1818 a measure was enacted, generous in its spirit and beneficent in its results. Scattered all through the country were crippled, indigent, disabled men—officers and soldiers—who had gone resolutely and magnanimously, to the immolation of life and fortune, which the bloody Revolution of '76 had called for. It was a disgrace, even for a threadbare Republic, to let such men go hungry and naked. The new law organized a system of pensions, which, by supplementary legislation, has shown that our people have never overlooked services rendered to the government, on the land or the sea.

While it deemed titles and badges of nobility too mean to offer to the patriot hero, it carried comfort and independence to his home. Pensions, none too munificent, but as large as a poor but grateful country could give, were awarded; and these rewards were perpetuated in tens of thousands of

¹ Henry Clay seconded most earnestly Webster's motion, and declared that 'although it had been denounced as Federalism, because it came from Mr. Webster, then he too was a federalist, and would quit the republic an party, if that party could extend no sympathy for the cause of suffering Greece.' Although the blended eloquence of these two great orators failed to obtain a majority vote in the House of Representatives, yet those speeches were read through the civilized world, and the whole moral weight of the Republic was thrown on the side of Greece. It was well known that the cause commanded the sympathy of

Mr. Monroe, and his cabinet, and that such instructions were given to our naval commander in the Mediterranean as had the effect of a *quasi* recognition, as appears in a letter of Gen. Lafayette to Mr. Clay, dated La Grange, Nov. 25, 1825. The rumor of very peculiar acts of benevolence from the American squadron and Commodore Rogers in behalf of the Greeks, which has produced no party complaint that I know of, has, in the enlightened and liberal part of the world, added to the popularity and dignity of the American name.'

families of brave men, long after their deaths, to be cherished by their descendants with as worthy a pride as the ancient escutcheons and estates which, as heir-looms, still deck the halls of the Norman chivalry who landed at Hastings, in 1066, with William the Conqueror—aye, with a worthier pride, for the invader only divided among his favorites the spoil of a vanquished and robbed people, while a grateful Republic taxed itself to give bread to the men who had rescued their native soil from a foreign tyrant, and secured homes of peace and plenty to generations of the far-off future.

What the Republic has done for the Army and Navy Veterans of all its Wars.—We cannot help sometimes contrasting the humbler scenes of our rustic life with others we are reminded of, which were enacted on a more imposing scale in Europe. Let us revert to France:—‘For a quarter of a century—1840—Napoleon had slept in his volcanic tomb at St. Helena; but his ideas had been slowly revolutionizing Europe. The elder Bourbons, whom England and her allies had fought for twenty-five years to restore, had once more been driven into exile by an outraged and indignant people. The inauguration of Louis Philippe as the Citizen King of France, had quelled for another decade the irrepressible spirit of liberty and progress which Napoleon had awakened; and France, which had spilt so much precious blood in the wars of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire, now greeted with subdued but hopeful enthusiasm the accession of a Sovereign who would give her domestic tranquillity, restore the shattered fortunes of her people, and unfold to them a future of hope.

‘But while the hum of business was again heard along all her marts of commerce, and the glad peasants were training anew their vines towards the genial sun of the south, and palace, boulevard and promenade were radiant with luxury, fashion and pleasure, Napoleon and his Iliad of glory were not forgotten. They treasured these things in their hearts. The peasant by his fireside, the mariner on the distant sea, the metropolitan in his giddy whirl of pleasure, and, above all, the scarred veterans, the shattered wrecks of the *grand armée*—wept over his fate, and all called for the execution of his last will, which had desired that his body might be borne to the banks of the Seine, and be buried in the bosom of the French people. . . . And so up the glorious Seine, by cities, green fields, and under the walls of castles, the convoy rode on, bearing the imperial coffin, surrounded by wax-lights, covered with the imperial pall, and shaded by a group of standards. On the 15th of December, in the midst of the most imposing and magnificent ceremonies Paris had ever witnessed, the body of the Emperor was borne to the Invalides, where it lay for many days publicly exposed, and around it France gathered in veneration and love. On the 6th of February, the coffin was taken from the imperial cenotaph, and placed in the Chapel of Jerome, in the church of the Invalides, where it was to remain till the completion of the mausoleum. On the coffin lay the chapeau the hero had worn at Eylau, his sword and imperial crown; and over these emblems waved the

standards taken at Austerlitz. Within their folds one of the eagles of the empire spread its golden wings, and looked down on the hero with whose banners it had flown from the Gulf of the Adriatic to the Pillars of Hercules, and from the snows of Russia to the sands of the Pyramids. Four of the Old Guard, with naked sabres, watched day and night by the ashes of their beloved chief.¹

Our Old Guard at Mount Vernon.:—Since the body of our National Chief was laid in his simple tomb without ostentation, it has rested in peace. A proposition was made to remove the sacred ashes, and place them under the dome of the Capitol; but the attempt was resisted, by Daniel Webster in the senate, with other distinguished speakers—and their voice spoke for the nation. No one can tell, for no complete record has been kept of the visitors to the spot—but of the unbroken pilgrimage to the shrine, it is known that thousands of the old revolutionary army were numbered. No sooner had they received their pensions than they turned their faces to Mount Vernon, to bend before the holy tomb, and, with moistened eyes and hearts made tenderer by the fresh consecration, traced back the long road to their homes, and once more by happy firesides, to ‘shoulder the crutch and tell how fields were won.’ How much nearer all this ‘comes’ home to our business and bosoms than the pomp of imperial splendor? What have all our artists been doing, that no one of them has yet painted the revolutionary veteran at Washington’s grave? Were they sketching peasant girls in Italy, or beggars in Greece, or camel drivers in Egypt?

Amounts paid to the several classes of Pensioners, from 1791 to June 30, 1874.—I am quite sure that the record which I give in the note can be read without a blush by every American citizen.²

¹ *The Napoleon Dynasty*: by C. Edwards Lester, pp. 216–219.

² I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Baker, the Commissioner of Pensions, for the kindness with which he so promptly responded to my request to furnish the following valuable information:—

Amounts as paid to the several classes of Pensioners.

ARMY.

Total amount paid to invalids from 1791 to June 30, 1874.....	\$99,275,489 83
Total amount paid to soldiers of the revolutionary war—1818 to 1869	46,177,845 44
Total amount paid to widows of the soldiers of the revolutionary war—1836 to 1874.....	19,604,379 31
Total amount paid to widows of soldiers in the wars subsequent to the revolutionary war—1816 to 1874.....	5,915,016 36
Total amount paid to widows of soldiers in the war 1861–1861 to 1874....	151,012,047 59
Total amount paid to soldiers of the war of 1812, act February 14, 1871—1871 to 1874.....	5,647,921 82
Total amount paid to widows of soldiers of war 1812, act February 14, 1871—1871 to 1874.....	1,641,313 72
Total amount paid for Virginia claims under act July 5, 1832, at the Treasury—1832 to 1855.....	1,904,330 53

Total amount paid for special acts for Army and Navy at Treasury—1832 to 1855	1,216,113 53
Total	332,394,458 13

NAVY.

Total amount paid to invalids from 1803 to June 30, 1874.....	4,339,889 72
Total amount paid to privateer-invalids from 1812 to June 30, 1874	158,801 70
Total amount paid to widows from 1843 to June 30, 1874.....	5,089,664 94
Total amount paid to privateer-widows from 1812 to December 31, 1835.....	254,635 45
	<hr/> 342,237,449 94 <hr/>
Soldiers in the war of the Revolution, (pensioned for service, 57,623).....	289,715
Soldiers in the Indian war—St. Clair’s defeat, November 4, 1791; battle of Maumee, General Wayne, August 20, 1794.....	2,843
Soldiers in the Indian war 1811—battle Tippecanoe, General Harrison, November 7, 1811.....	650

We all gaze with admiration upon the magnificent monuments erected to the mighty chieftains of Europe, when we contemplate them *as works of art*. There the admiration of true lovers of liberty ceases, with most of them—not all. But the gratitude of Europe to the millions of the rank and file who fell on its battle-fields, finds few records in monuments. Victors were loaded with wealth and honor, and even their mistresses were enriched and ennobled; but the unnumbered millions were left stranded in forgotten want and neglect after their battles were won.

It should not be an unpardonable crime in us that we have chosen to scatter our national bounty with a broader hand; that we have distributed nearly *four hundred million dollars* in so many homes; that neither a soldier disabled by sickness or casualty, has been suffered to want; nor that the widows and orphans of the fallen have been left to beg their bread. We have not been satisfied with the erection of a stately hospital at Greenwich, or the magnificent pile of the *Invalides*, for a few of the conspicuous or the favored; but that in the spirit of a true Democracy, we have taken the army-roll for our guide, and followed every pensioner to his home, no matter how frequently in our nomad life, he may have changed his dwelling-place. We founded hospitals for seamen and soldiers; but it better suited the spirit of our people to make allotments of land and money that each beneficiary might enjoy his well-earned bounty in his own home. It may therefore be safely said, that neither the sailors nor the soldiers of any nation were ever paid so generously while in active service, nor so munificently rewarded when their term expired. On this subject Lafayette was always loud in our praise. 'It is,' he said, 'one of the most grateful sights I witness in this grand tour I am making through the Union, of the independent condition of my old companions in arms. None of them, however humble, have to beg. The government has taken care of them all; and of those who died in the cause of Independence, or in the Second war with England, I find their families provided for. All this bespeaks the character of your institutions. Here we see the superiority of a republican over any other form of government. You are all *citizens*, and not *subjects*. Royalty and Imperialism must waste their resources on the favored few—Republicanism can be generous and just to all.'

Soldiers in the war with Great Britain —1812 to 1815—including sailors and marines serving twelve months or more.....	63,179
Soldiers in the war with Great Britain —1812 to 1815—including militia serving six months or more.....	66,325
Soldiers in the war with Great Britain —1812 to 1815—including militia serving three months or more.....	125,643
Soldiers in the war with Great Britain —1812 to 1815—including militia serving one month or more.....	125,307
Soldiers in the war with Great Britain —1812 to 1815—including militia serving less than one month.....	147,200
<hr/>	<hr/>
Soldiers in the Seminole war, 1817 and 1818.....	527,654
	5,911

Soldiers in the Black Hawk war, 1831 and 1832.....	5,034
Soldiers in the southwestern disturb- ances, 1836.....	2,803
Soldiers in the Cherokee country disturb- ances, 1836 and 1837.....	3,926
Soldiers in the Creek country disturb- ances, 1836 and 1837.....	13,418
Soldiers in the Florida war, 1836 to 1843.....	41,122
Soldiers in the Mexican war—1846 to 1847—(not including sailors, prob- able number, 5,893).....	73,266
Soldiers in the New York frontier disturb- ances, 1838 and 1839.....	1,128
Soldiers in the Arrostook disturbances, 1838 and 1839.....	2 reg'ts.
Soldiers in the war of the rebellion, 1861 to 1865.....	2,688,529

Establishment of Savings Banks.—This distinguishing feature of our social life demands special attention. Although we borrowed the idea from England, yet we adapted it so readily to our peculiar position, that it soon became as much a part of our economic system, as though it had sprung directly from the American brain; and savings banks have grown into such unexampled magnitude, and their influence has been thus far so beneficent, they must not escape our careful observation.

Savings Banks in Great Britain.—‘The habit of laying by from a surplus, a store for a time of scarcity, is a law of nature, enforced by experience, and made sacred by the injunctions and maxims of divine wisdom. Scarcely sixty years ago, society furnished nothing better for a poor man’s savings bank than an old pouch or stocking, a straw bed, a hole in the floor, or a crevice in the wall; but society at last discovered that, in sheer self-defence, it had to improve the condition of the poorer classes. On this point Mr. Gladstone—the statesman of our times—said to the working men of Glasgow: ‘The nineteenth century, whatever else, it is undoubtedly, in a new and peculiar sense, the century of the workingman. It is the century which has seen his condition raised, his circumstances improved, new means organized for his benefit, new prospects opened for the future; and he has before him—I mean not the individual, but the class—a prospect which, I trust, nothing can mar—of increasing weight, increased consideration, increased happiness in the generations to come.’

In England this grand Passover for the neglected masses began with the Reform Bill of 1832. Then, for the first time in British history, they began to feel fresh aspirations for a better life. The ruling classes now turned their attention to improving the physical condition of the poor, which soon led to efficient means for their social, intellectual and moral elevation. Two hundred years before, Milton—the sage, prophet and philanthropist of his time—had said of the education of the masses of a people: ‘It will come to be in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath yet been in practice.’

First came Raikes, with his Sunday-schools; Matthews, the advocate of universal enlightenment; Whitbread in parliament; Dr. Bell in the system of National Schools; Lancaster and his schools; and finally, the Government *began* the education of the people; the abolition of the Corn Laws; the Stamp Duty on Newspapers; Penny Postage, and other reforms, which finally placed England at the head of European progress.

In defence of savings banks, that early, illuminated and hearty champion of advancement and reform—the *Edinburgh Review*—said, in 1853: The principle on which they are founded interferes with no individual action, saps no individual self-reliance. It prolongs childhood by no proffered leading string; it valetudinarianizes energy by no hedges or walls of defence; no fetters of well-meant paternal restriction. It encourages virtue and forethought by no artificial excitements, but simply by providing that they shall not be

debarred from full fructification, nor defrauded of their natural reward. It does not attempt to foster the infant habit of saving by the unnatural addition of a penny to every penny laid by; it contents itself with endeavoring to secure to the poor and inexperienced, that safe investment, and that reasonable return for their small economies which is their just and scanty due.'

The world owes to Great Britain the original establishment of the system of Savings Banks, as we now understand that term, and it dates from the beginning of this century. Mr. Whitbread, with the co-operation of Matthews' strong pen, struck out his grand scheme of a National Bank for Savings, with branches accessible to the whole people, and exclusively for their benefit. He was not understood, and had, like all pioneers and prophets, the mortification of failure, only to have posterity give fulfillment to his hopes, and establish his fame. The edifice grew by degrees.

Lady Isabella Douglas—in 1808—established the Savings Bank of Bath, for taking the wages of industrious domestic servants only, paying interest at four per cent., the deposit withdrawable at will. The Bank was long managed by Lady Douglas and three other directresses, aided by four gentlemen. But in 1815, Dr. Haygarth and the Marquis of Lansdowne set up an institution on broader conditions, and thus a modern Savings Bank was successfully floated. Immediately after, Right Hon. George Rose—a noble name in Savings Banks—became President of the Provident Savings Institution of Southampton.

Still higher credit is however given to Rev. Dr. Henry Duncan, the real founder of Savings Banks, as the term is now understood. He originated the first *self-sustaining* Savings Bank, applicable to any locality, and free from all eleemosynary elements or pretensions. He studied deeply the character and wants of the industrial classes, and won the praise of *The Quarterly Review*—Oct. 1816:—'But for this Scotch clergyman, there would at this time be found only a few isolated establishments for the savings of industry, of which the intelligent and wealthy would have had little knowledge, and from which the lower classes in general would have derived no advantage.'

This really great philanthropist and learned man, began to carry out his scheme in 1810, in his humble parish of Ruthwell, and in three years the deposits 'from odds and ends of income in the poorest families, which are too often frittered away in thoughtless extravagance,' amounted to nearly \$5,000. The success of the Ruthwell Bank opened the era of Savings Banks in the nineteenth century. Dr. Duncan's 'Essay on the Nature and Advantages of Parish Banks'—1814—was the first published pamphlet on the subject, and none other was needed. 'The Duncan Institution at Dumfries, one of the few mementoes of the man who did so much for Savings Banks, serves the purposes of a Savings Bank in the principal town of his native county, a statue of Dr. Duncan being very appropriately placed in front of it.' The debt which society owes to Dr. Duncan, and the early workers in this cause, was, as usual, left for posterity to pay. Francis Jeffrey early said—*Edin-*

burgh Review, XLIX., p. 146 :—‘It would be difficult, we fear, to convince either the people or their rulers, that the spread of Savings Banks is of far more importance, and far more likely to increase the happiness and even the greatness of the nation, than the most brilliant success of its arms, or the most stupendous improvements of its trade or its agriculture ; and yet we are persuaded that it is so.’ Ireland early felt the Scotch movement. The Belfast Savings Bank opened a year after the battle of Waterloo.

Finally, Savings Banks having thus gone into successful operation in England, Scotland and Ireland as voluntary associations, and proved beneficial to society, Parliament passed the ‘Act to Afford Protection to Savings Banks’—1817.—This act authorizing any number of individuals to enroll themselves as Trustees of a Savings Bank, required in all cases reasonable security from persons entrusted with money, and trustees and managers were prohibited from receiving any profit from any transactions in these banks ; while the deposits were to be invested in the Bank of England or Ireland, in three per cent. annuities. Within one year 227 banks were established in England and Wales ; and about an equal number in Ireland and Scotland. Not only the minute savings of the poor, but the hoarded savings of the frugal, with the means of the ‘better classes,’ flowed from all quarters into the Savings Banks, and a general enthusiasm pervaded the British Islands. It was the beginning of a *financial reformation* whose beneficent results were to elude the comprehension of the wisest statesmen. Wilberforce lent all his aid to this good cause, and Henry Brougham was equally earnest.

Little further attempt was made to legislate on Savings Banks till 1823, when an act of amendment was passed, which dealt chiefly with *the responsibility of Trustees*, ‘the giant difficulty of Savings Banks from that time until now.’ The provisions were wise and satisfactory. In 1828, Mr. Joseph Hume—who was to play his great part as watch-dog of the British Treasury, and reformer and friend of the working classes—asked for new legislation. He called for the account of moneys deposited with Government by Savings Banks, and it showed that from 1817 it had paid to depositors half a million sterling, and interest more than the regular rates paid on the National Debt ; and a new bill was passed, which abolished all the other five acts, which together contained 150 clauses—too complicated for popular comprehension—and the new act was known as the ‘Governing Statutes Relating to Savings Banks.’ The act authorized the appointment of a barrister to certify that the rules of each bank should conform to the statutes. Mr. John Kidd Pratt, one of England’s worthies who prove true for a lifetime—received the appointment. Interest was reduced from £4 11s. 3d. per cent. per annum to £3 16s. ½d. Miners’ savings could be deposited, and married women were allowed to become depositors. Charitable societies could invest not more than £100 per year, nor £300 in the whole. No person could deposit more than £30 in one year, and all interest ceased when the total reached £200, and every year each bank had to make a full financial statement to the National Debt office, and each depositor could have a copy for one penny.

Wonderful prosperity followed this act, and as Government held strict surveillance over them, they remained sound, and grew everywhere popular. In 1833 the system of annuities was authorized and introduced, which worked most beneficially. In 1837, savings banks numbered 500, and by the full returns of '38 it appeared that while the amount of interest paid to depositors *in cash* was only £286,000, the amount credited to them and turned into capital was £9,271,000.

In 1841 England had 428 Savings Banks, Wales 23, Ireland 76, and Scotland 28. The average amount of each deposit in England and Ireland was £30, Scotland £12; and the total number of depositors was in England 1 to every 22 of the inhabitants, Wales 1 to 58, Scotland 1 to 52, and Ireland 1 to 103.

The popularity and usefulness of Savings Banks were somewhat impaired by repeated instances of fraud; but the evil was to a great extent counteracted by the prompt and magnanimous contributions made by trustees of rank and fortune; and finally new guarantees were thrown around these institutions by parliamentary action in 1844, through what was known as the Goulburn Act. Its chief objects were to provide against frauds, and allay the consternation which prevailed among trustees of Savings Banks. The act seemed to give satisfaction, and the number of depositors and the amount of deposits steadily increased.

But, although many efforts at new legislation were attempted by the two successive Lord Chancellors—Gladstone and Sir George Lewis—yet little was effected till the former statesman brought in his great measure of *Post-Office Savings Banks*, which, after much discussion and delay, was eventually passed, and which has produced such vast and beneficial results.

At the time the new measure took effect, the *entire amount of deposits in all the savings banks of the British Empire, fell far short of the deposits in the savings banks of the cities of New York and Brooklyn alone!*¹

Origin and History of Savings Banks in the United States.—In this matter something more than mere figures must be taken into account. They indeed are startling enough, for the growth of Savings Banks and Trust Companies in the United States, not only exceeds parallel, but almost transcends belief. Three simple facts alone give some clue to the magnitude of the subject:

1st. On the last day of December, 1874, the 150 Savings Banks of the State of New York held on deposit an amount nearly as great as the capital

¹ There are several good reasons why the Postal Savings Bank System would succeed in Great Britain:

1. Her subjects had for fifty years been fully instructed in Savings Banks.

2. The new system extended over the empire, embracing her army and navy, and her subjects on land and sea.

3. Confidence in the financial soundness and integrity of her system of managing the public business.

4. It was in perfect accord with the form and spirit of imperial consolidation, where all power emanates from a common centre.

5. Cheapness and abundance of money.

6. Staple standard of value for all her money throughout the world.

7. Robbery, defalcation and misappropriation of public funds unknown—the Postal System could not fail with savings banks any more than with letters.

When we have all these, and are in a similar condition, it will do for us to talk about doing the same thing; not before.

stock of all the National Banks of the United States ; while the deposits held by the New England Savings Banks exceeded that aggregate.

2d. When the new system of Postal Savings Banks took effect in Great Britain, the entire amount of deposits held by all the Savings Institutions of the British Empire fell short of the deposits in the Savings Banks of the cities of New York and Brooklyn in December last year.

3d. The number of Savings Banks in this country is nearly one thousand, and their depositors probably exceed four millions ; while the grand total of their deposits is more than half as great as the National Debt. But these facts, however, astounding as they are, give no adequate idea of the influence of Savings Banks upon American society.

The first Savings Bank incorporated—Dec. 13, 1816—in the United States was the ‘Provident Institution for Savings in the town of Boston,’ which has had a prosperous career, and now holds over ten millions on deposit. The second was the ‘Salem Savings Bank’—Jan. 29, 1818—whose deposits now exceed five millions.

The next State in order was Pennsylvania, whose Legislature chartered ‘The Savings Fund Society,’ Feb. 25th, 1819, although the Society had been in existence, as a voluntary association, for nearly two years. But its charter ante dates the incorporation of ‘The Bank for Savings’ in the City of New York by only a month and a day. During the same year, Connecticut established the ‘Society for Savings’ at Hartford ; Rhode Island, ‘The Savings Bank of Newport,’ and in the following October the ‘Providence Institution for Savings,’ and the ‘Bristol Institution for Savings ;’ while during the same year Maine incorporated the ‘Institution for Savings for the Town of Portland and its Vicinity.’ All these pioneer institutions have from the beginning gone on with increasing prosperity and strength, till the present time, except the last one mentioned, which failed in 1838, owing to the nature of its investments.

It is certain that the idea and the general provisions for the establishment and management of American Savings Banks were borrowed from Great Britain, although their existence was first recognized by Parliament only two years before six of our States had incorporated the savings institutions above mentioned. How extensively we have carried out the system I have illustrated in the extended note below.¹

¹ But it is interesting to trace this vast stream to its rivulet origin. In Samuel L. Knapp's *Life of Thomas Eddy* (1834)—both New Yorkers—we learn that Mr. Eddy had long maintained a correspondence with the renowned philanthropist, Patrick Colquhoun, of London, who, in a letter dated April 19, 1816, says : ‘We are now anxiously engaged in forming a provident institution, or savings bank, in the western district of the city, upon the principle suggested and explained in my Treatise on Indigence, published in 1806, but on a far more limited scale. The object is to assist the laboring poor to preserve a portion of their earnings for old age, and to give them provident habits. I send you under cover, the plan of our institution, which has just commenced, and which has been the result of much discussion and deliberation.’

This seed could not have been long in germinating here, for it bore fruit the next autumn. In the *New York Evening Post* of December 2, the same year, we find an account of ‘A meeting of a number of citizens convened in the Assembly Room of the City Hotel, on Friday evening, Nov. 29, 1816, pursuant to public notice, for the purpose of establishing a savings bank, when Thomas Eddy, Esq., was called to the chair, and J. H. Coggeshall, Esq., was appointed Secretary.’

It was ‘Resolved, That it is expedient to establish a savings bank for the city of New York.’

Two weeks later the following Board of officers was elected : William Bayard, President ; Noah Brown, Thomas R. Smith, and Thomas C. Taylor, Vice-Presidents ; and Thomas Eddy, Jr., Cashier. Mr. Eddy

Advantages of Savings Banks to Depositors and their Families.—Here we enter upon a boundless field; for who can measure the want and suffering relieved in dark days of trouble—the increased industry, thrift, and in-

formed, his friend Colquhoun that his plan had been adopted in New York, and that the new bank was only waiting for a charter to commence business.

But side issues and interested motives retarded the measure for two years, when, July 3, 1819, the bank was opened for business, and eighty depositors came forward the first evening with \$2,807. For a banking-room two years, *gratis*, they were indebted to the Academy of Arts; a courtesy extended with the more grace coming from such a quarter. Their report to the Legislature for the first six months, December 27, showed 1,527 depositors; amount, \$153,378.31. The trustees asked for an amendment of the charter to authorize investments in loans upon real estate.

De Witt Clinton, then Governor, had been one of the original corporators, and in his message to the Legislature that great statesman said: 'The bank for savings in the city of New York, instituted at the last session, to cherish meritorious industry, to encourage frugality and retrenchment, and to promote the welfare of families, the cause of morality and the good order of society, has already manifested its claims to your confidence by an accumulation of more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in small deposits, and by shedding a benign influence on society. The application of this institution to authorize loans on real estate, as well as any other provisions subservient to its salutary objects, will undoubtedly receive your sanction.'

The Governor was not disappointed. This noble institution has always been under the management of some of our most substantial citizens; and of the hundreds of millions which have passed through its hands, neither the bank nor its depositors (from the beginning, 342,743) have ever lost a dollar. Its standing, as reported by the State Examiners on the 1st of January last year, showed over seventy-two thousand open accounts, with nearly twenty millions due depositors, one-quarter being invested in bonds and mortgages, and three-quarters in securities of the United States and the city and State of New York, with an excess of assets over liabilities of \$1,784,000, after paying depositors nearly twelve hundred thousand dollars interest (during the year), a vast proportion of which, but for savings banks, would never have been accumulated!

The establishment of this pioneer bank was followed by chartering, in 1820, the "Albany Savings Bank," which held, January 1, 1873, \$3,353,000, with \$156,000 surplus.

In 1823, of the "Troy Savings Bank," which held \$3,418,000 belonging to depositors, with a surplus of \$184,000.

In 1827, the "Brooklyn Savings Bank," which held \$11,331,000, with an excess of assets of \$1,263,000. In 1829, the "Seamen's Bank for Savings," New York, with \$11,167,000, and a surplus of \$648,000, and owning one of the finest banking houses in the world.

The "Bowers Savings Bank" was chartered in 1834, and shows the following stupendous results in its 38th year:

Total resources.....	\$30,966,776
Due depositors (\$8,552).....	27,897,796
Surplus.....	3,068,980
Interest or profits received (*72).....	1,429,103

A glance at a few of the other principal banks established at a later date in New York City and Brooklyn is worth the reader's attention.

The tables show that on the 1st of Jan., 1873, the 22 principal Savings Banks of the two cities, New York and Brooklyn, held as due to depositors nearly ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY MILLIONS, besides the grand SURPLUS of about FIFTEEN MILLIONS!

The remaining 20 banks of this city and the 13 of Brooklyn, not mentioned, raise the grand totals of	
Amounts due depositors.....	\$212,489,000
Excess of assets (surplus).....	15,725,000

\$228,214,000

Perhaps the most significant fact connected with the

Savings Banks of the State of New York, is the immense number of depositors. On the 1st of January, 1873, the 150 banks reported 822,642 *open accounts*. Other things being equal, it may be safely stated that the amount of good which Savings Banks do in any community may be better measured by the *number* of depositors than the *amounts* of the deposits themselves. It is therefore a healthy sign in such a population as this State has. It may be estimated that, deducting the very young and the aged, the extremely poor, the rich and the large class who contribute little or nothing to support the State, the remaining balance would not much exceed the number of Savings Banks depositors! If the exact facts could be brought together, they would make an interesting chapter in Mr. Herbert Spencer's great work on Sociology.

The record of Savings Banks in New England is just what might naturally be expected from such industrious, frugal and well-ordered communities.

Connecticut has.....	78
Massachusetts has.....	172
Rhode Island has.....	38
Vermont has.....	16
New Hampshire has.....	51
Maine has.....	56

343

They hold in the aggregate *over four hundred million dollars*, and they have been so uprightly and wisely managed, that from the beginning they have been the safest depositories of money yet known on this continent.

New Jersey has 37 Savings Institutions, and until the recent troubles with one of them their record has been one of prosperity and honor.

Pennsylvania was a month and a day ahead of New York in the incorporation of her first Savings Bank, under the title of the 'Philadelphia Savings Fund Society'—an institution which has been most vigilantly and successfully conducted for fifty-seven years, and whose deposits now exceed seven millions, with a very large surplus fund. The enormous increase of mining and manufacturing business in that State has given a great impetus to the Savings Banks, and they now number upwards of 120.

The other States report as follows:

Maryland.....	7
Delaware.....	1
Virginia.....	16
West Virginia.....	5
North Carolina.....	3
South Carolina.....	12
Florida.....	2
Alabama.....	10
Georgia.....	14
Mississippi.....	11
Louisiana.....	5
Texas.....	4
Arkansas.....	1
Tennessee.....	18
Kentucky.....	8
Ohio.....	30
Indiana.....	6
Michigan.....	10
Missouri.....	139
Iowa.....	22

California.—There are about twenty Savings Banks in the State, embracing some seventy thousand depositors, and they hold nearly sixty millions of dollars. These banks pay from 8½ to 10½ per cent. dividend, and as *nearly* all their loans are on real estate—in San Francisco *all*—they are valuable auxiliaries in that important branch of business, and their securities are safe.

The above list is as nearly accurate as I have been able to make out after long correspondence and careful examination of every source of information at my command. It approximates the truth nearly enough to serve my purpose.

dependence which the habit of saving promotes—how much temptation to idleness, sensual indulgence, vice and crime prevented—how much greater the pay, and how much steadier the demand for the superior and reliable services of a sober, intelligent and sturdy workman—how the standard of thrift and economy in wife and daughters is raised—how much more decent and decorous in dress and manner all the members of the family—how they rise, insensibly to themselves it may be, in the respect and confidence of the best classes in their neighborhood—how much oftener in church or lecture room, or at the circulating library—how much prompter at school, and how marvelous the progress—how all the blessings of this life cluster around such a household—how happy marriages, future honors, fortune, friends, usefulness, happiness greet the manhood and womanhood of the Savings Bank depositor's children when his work is over—and how brighter the prospect for such a family when their serious thoughts stretch off to the life to come !

The Influence of Savings Banks on Enterprise and Public Wealth.—The best labor is first in demand for any enterprise, and no new one can be carried out without capital, and *there is no capital except the savings of labor.* This sends enterprising men to the Savings Banks for money. Many thousand mechanics and laborers of New York would have more often been out of employment, even in good times, had their employers not been able to borrow the very money which the working men had deposited. Depositors are often enabled to start enterprises with their savings, and make large gains by profitable purchases of land, or machinery, or business, especially in periods of panics or depressions. There are rich men in every city who can trace their fortunes to their first savings deposited ; and afterwards, the first start thus gained, secured all the rest. Savings Banks have been the reservoirs of capital from which hundreds of millions of dollars have, during this generation, flowed out into the myriad channels of public enterprise.

The Influence of Savings Banks on Society and Government.—Society gets no good except from the industry and virtue of its members. Those who produce nothing are drones in the public hive, and live upon the workers. If we scan it down close, we shall find that, taking out children, the aged, sick, helpless, vagrant and idle—all those who consume without producing—the work of the country is done by only about one in five of the population—so that each working man and woman is obliged to support four others besides themselves ; and what these eight millions of producers save after all this, constitutes the wealth of the country. What, then, does society owe to those who do the work ? Its very existence ! But how few of the workers save a surplus ? Over \$500,000,000 a year go for rum and alcoholic drink, which leaves nothing but blackened ruin in its track. The drunkard—be he a tippler or a sot—is a curse to society. Depositors in Savings Banks have one great virtue, if no more. They build up society, and, as a rule, they are good members of it. They believe in social order, and pro-

mote it. Who so deeply interested in preserving public order as the man or woman who has something to lose? Especially if the stake be the surplus of hard honest toil. Mr. Keyes, long connected with the Bank Department of the State of New York, and the ablest writer on Saving Banks in this country, well says: 'They were not the depositors in Savings Banks that went surging through the streets of New York in 1863, threatening, burning, destroying and murdering.'

If, then, the whole body-politic is nourished only by the producing and saving classes, its moral strength comes from the example and conduct of good citizens. These sustaining forces all originate in the *family*. The depositor is a better husband, father, neighbor, friend and citizen. He takes his wife into his business confidence as he should do—she knows how much he makes and saves, and his example inspires her with greater economy, self-denial and ambition for improvement and independence. Every wife is ennobled by this confidence. She is generally a 'partner for life' only in name. Let her become something more than a sleeping partner—an active partner who knows all about the business of the firm—counselled about its business—thoroughly posted in its affairs. Such a woman is a real helpmate—a better wife, mother and citizen. Thus, too, are the children better brought up. They should all have their little Savings Bank deposit. Teach the children of this country thoroughly the great lesson of the value and the power of money thus saved and invested (not hoarded)—that the moment the child deposits five cents he becomes a capitalist, and is lending his money to a rich man, or a rich government, and within twenty years the American children could pay off the National Debt. To learn to work and save, is the beneficent fount of every virtue under heaven. This is not to teach meanness, avarice nor greed. It is to discourage idleness and prodigality—to teach the power and blessedness of money *to invest for future use*, and the right royal, honest and successful way to get it. Such is the stuff of which virtuous, strong, and prosperous communities and States are built up; and such States, like Switzerland, Sweden, Scotland and New England can resist any revolution—any shock. They are stronger than the rock-ribbed earth. They stand upon the granite with their heads in the sun.

The Influence of Savings Banks on the Republic, and its Fortunes in the Future.—Here is a landscape over which the historian can even now cast as clear a gaze as a prophet; for, conceded the necessary conditions, the problems of society can be solved in the future, with almost the precision of mathematics. The number of our population in the year 1900 is as easily and probably as accurately computed as the census of that year will give it. So, too, can our wealth, on a peace basis, provided the growth of Savings Banks, and the development of their principle of finance, shall go on in the same ratio of geometric increase as they have for the last quarter of a century.

As for support of State or Federal Government, where look for their

stanchest defenders if not to the depositors who have bought their securities as permanent investments, and will sustain them through and through? Why, there are now nearly a million of stanch defenders of the State and Federal Government in the State of New York alone—a stronger body-guard than any government ever had in a standing army.

Even now, one of the strongest reliances of the credit of the United States is the investments of the Savings Banks, and they will augment in funds and numbers to such an extent that, within a few years, they would be able to carry the National Debt.

If it were only for example's sake, every good citizen, and especially the rich man, ought to keep an account in a Savings Bank, and have his wife and children and all persons in his employment to do the same.

The Founding of Foreign Missions.—The pen of fancy or history has pictured to us the scene where Loyola led his little band of followers at midnight, to the altar of a church over which the lamp of the Virgin held its ceaseless flame, and on their knees made them swear fealty to the captain of the company of Jesus. We know something of the power of enthusiasm in a great cause. Perhaps no writer has portrayed it with greater effect than Macaulay. In speaking of the terrible onset which Protestantism made upon the bulwarks of the Roman Church, and how that ancient and time-worn structure resisted the shock, he uses the following language, which, although it may be regarded by common readers as only one of his brilliant historic cartoons, will most likely endure, as one of the most suggestive, if not a faithful delineation of the actual position of the struggle of the contending forces of the *real* past, and the *possible* future :—

‘When the Jesuits came to the rescue they found the Papacy in extreme peril, but from that moment the tide of battle turned. Protestantism, which had during a whole generation carried all before it, was stopped in its progress, and rapidly beaten back from the foot of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic. Before the Order had existed a hundred years, it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith. No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished; none had extended its operations over so vast a space, yet in none had there ever been such perfect unity of feeling and action. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or of active life in which Jesuits were not to be found. They guided the counsels of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the motion of Jupiter’s satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, treatises on optics, Alcaic odes, editions of the fathers, madrigals, catechisms and lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands, and was conducted by them with conspicuous ability. They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that, in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals. Meanwhile

they assiduously and successfully cultivated the eloquence of the pulpit. With still greater assiduity and still greater success, they applied themselves to the ministry of the confessional. Throughout Roman Catholic Europe the secrets of every government and of almost every family of note were in their keeping. They glided from one Protestant country to another under innumerable disguises, as gay cavaliers, as simple rustics, as Puritan preachers. They wandered to countries which neither mercantile avidity nor liberal curiosity had ever impelled any stranger to explore. They were to be found in the garb of Mandarins superintending the observatory at Peking. They were to be found, spade in hand, teaching the rudiments of agriculture to the savages of Paraguay. Yet, whatever might be their residence, whatever might be their employment, their spirit was the same—entire devotion to the common cause, unreasoning obedience to the central authority. None of them had chosen his dwelling-place or his vocation for himself. Whether the Jesuit should live under the Arctic Circle, or under the Equator, whether he should pass his life in arranging gems and collating manuscripts at the Vatican, or in persuading naked Barbarians under the Southern Cross not to eat each other, were matters which he left with profound submission to the decision of others. If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan. If his ministry was needed in some country where his life was more insecure than that of a wolf, where it was a crime to harbor him, where the heads and quarters of his brethren, fixed in the public places, showed him what he had to expect, he went without remonstrance or hesitation to his doom. Nor is this heroic spirit yet extinct. When in our time, a new and terrible pestilence passed around the globe, when, in some great cities, fear had dissolved all the ties which hold society together, when the secular clergy had forsaken their flocks, when medical succor was not to be purchased by gold, when the strongest natural affections had yielded to the love of life, even then the Jesuit was found by the pallet which bishop and curate, physician and nurse, father and mother had deserted, bending over infected lips to catch the faint accents of confession, and holding up to the last before the expiring penitent, the image of the expiring Redeemer.¹

We have thus seen how one earnest man—an enthusiast, a fanatic, if you please—by an all-persuasive, all-compelling, all-conquering power, not only arrested the progress of the reformed faith, but made successful aggressions upon the older and still more sacred domain of heathenism. Let us now look at another picture less imposing, but to some minds not less sublime. It may be only the old fact rehearsed again, that ‘the stone which the builder rejected has become the head of the corner,’ or that cherished prophecy, that ‘the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, should become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth.’ It mattered little to mankind, or to God, in the horoscope of the patient ages, how royally the new-born

¹ *Macaulay's History of England*. Vol. i., pp. 354, 355. London.

Cæsar may have slept in the palace of Rome ; it was enough for the Eastern sages to find a Saviour sleeping in a manger at Bethlehem. It makes us weary to think how long Heaven has been waiting for the world to know and feel that God is the father of *all* his children—that *none* of them are orphans. When all men think so, and believe so, will they not *act* so, and then will not a real millennium come ?

To reconcile creeds seems to have perplexed mankind long enough. Can we not get over the trouble, and go in a great congregation to the Mount where the Nazarene uttered that wonderful sermon ? Has any man found fault with it ? Has anybody said it was wrong ? Would not even this—so-called—blighted earth be somewhat of a Paradise if we would all try to live up to it ? *Let us try !*

*A Haystack Prayer-Meeting in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and what came of It.*¹—In the year 1856, which completed the first half century of the Haystack Prayer-Meeting, the alumni of Williams College held a Jubilee on the ground which had been purchased, and was dedicated as Mission Park. In his introductory Address on that occasion, David Dudley Field, of New York, made the following statement :—

‘ Fifty years ago, five students of this College, Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Bryan Green, met for meditation and prayer in the grove where we were to have assembled this morning, and within sight of this sacred house. While they were there, a thunder-storm arose, which drove them to the better shelter of a haystack in the adjoining field. Underneath this haystack, the conversation turned upon the moral condition of Asia, whose geography they were then studying. The thought then occurred to Mills, and was mentioned by him to his associates, that they might themselves carry the gospel to the people of that most ancient quarter of the world. All, or all but one, agreed to the suggestion : they joined in prayer, and sung a hymn, and as the storm cleared away, and the rainbow of God appeared in the heavens, they separated, filled with this great idea.

¹ Dissatisfied with the system of the Theatines, the enthusiastic Spaniard turned his face towards Rome. Poor, obscure, without a patron, without recommendations, he entered the city where now two princely temples, rich with painting and many-colored marble, commemorate his great services to the Church ; where his form stands sculptured in massive silver ; where his bones, enshrined amidst jewels, are placed beneath the altar of God. His activity and zeal bore down all opposition, and under his rule the order of Jesuits began to exist, and grew rapidly to the full measure of his gigantic powers. With what vehemence, with what policy, with what exact discipline, with what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, with what unscrupulous laxity and versatility in the choice of means, the Jesuits fought the battle of their church, is written in every page of the annals of Europe during several generations. In the Order of Jesus was concentrated the quintessence of the Catholic spirit ; and the history of the Order of Jesus is the history of the great Catholic reaction. That Order possessed itself at once of all the strongholds which command the public mind, of the pulpit, of the press, of the confessional, of the academies. Wherever the Jesuit preached, the church was too small for the au-

dience. The name of Jesuit on a title-page secured the circulation of a book. It was in the ears of the Jesuit that the powerful, the noble, and the beautiful breathed the secret history of their lives. It was at the feet of the Jesuit that the youth of the higher and middle classes were brought up from childhood to manhood, from the first rudiments to the courses of rhetoric and philosophy. Literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or with heresy, now became the allies of orthodoxy. Dominant in the south of Europe, the great Order soon went forth conquering and to conquer. In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets, and quartering-blocks, Jesuits were to be found in every disguise, and in every country ; scholars, physicians, merchants, serving-men ; and in the hostile court of Sweden, in the old manor-houses of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught ; arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying. Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumors, to raise tumults, to inflame civil wars, to arm the hand of the assassins. Inflexible in nothing but their fidelity to the Church, they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the

'These men were young and poor. They had small resources of their own for the accomplishment of their design, and little means of influencing the actions or opinions of others. The times, moreover, were unpropitious. The earth was filled with war and carnage. Europe was covered with armed battalions from Gibraltar to Archangel. In that year the battle of Jena had prostrated Prussia at the feet of the French Emperor, whose beams thence 'culminated from the Equator,' portending an universal military and irreligious domination. Our own country was about to be swept into the vortex of war. The British orders in council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, were involving us in an angry controversy with both of the belligerents, which resulted in hostilities with one of them. There was but one propitious sign in all the horizon—the abolition of the slave trade by America and England.

'But nothing daunted by the unpropitious signs, these young men went forth to a conquest more glorious than the conquests of Alexander. They saw their object, not as we see yonder Greylock, with its summit shrouded in cloud, but as it will appear when the cloud has passed away, and the whole mountain shines beneath an unclouded sun. *They formed in this College the first Foreign Missionary Society ever formed in this land.* They sent delegates from their little Society to other Colleges, there to excite a kindred spirit; and in four years afterwards, the time was ripe for the establishment in this Commonwealth of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

'Mills and Richards perished as martyrs to the cause which they had undertaken. The former went down in the waters of the Atlantic, and the latter sleeps in the groves of India. But the cause in which they perished did not perish with them. The missionary spirit survived, and has been continued, projecting and executing new enterprises, until the great missionary corporations of which I have spoken has now more than a hundred stations under its control in different parts of the world. I have myself seen them in the heart of Greece, on the banks of the Meles, and upon the slopes of Lebanon. They are in the torrid zone, and under the Southern Cross, in the South Sea Islands, and upon the headlands of the Chinese seas. Time, which winnows all things, has winnowed the names of the men of 1806. Chieftains and statesmen have been blown away as chaff; but the names of these early

spirit of loyalty and to the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty, the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler, were inculcated by the same men, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or to the subject of Elizabeth. Some described these divines as the most rigid, others as the most indulgent of spiritual directors. And both descriptions were correct. The truly devout listened with awe to the high and saintly morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier who had run his rival through the body, the frail beauty who had forgotten her marriage-vow, found in the Jesuit an easy well-bred man of the world, who knew how to make allowances for the little irregularities of people of fashion. The confessor was strict or lax, according to the temper of the penitent. His first object was to drive no person out of the pale of the

Church. Since there were bad people, it was better that they should be bad Catholics than bad Protestants. If a person was so unfortunate as to be a bravo, a libertine, or a gambler, that was no reason for making him a heretic too.

The Old World was not wide enough for this strange activity. The Jesuits invaded all the countries which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. They were to be found in the depths of the Peruvian mines, at the marts of the African slave-caravan, on the shores of the Spice Islands, in the observatories of China. They made converts in regions which neither avarice nor curiosity had tempted any of their countrymen to enter; and preached and disputed in tongues of which no other native of the West understood a word.—*Macaulay's Essays*, pp. 556-558.

founders of missions are garnered up as precious grains, to become more precious as the world grows older and wiser.' ¹

The night scene of Loyola's dedication before the altar of the Virgin, appeals forcibly to a vivid imagination. But to the minds of many, those five young men retreating from the tempest in the grove, to the friendly shelter of the haystack away from the prying curiosity of neighbors, as if almost afraid to have anybody know what they were thinking of, so deeply were they impressed with the great business in hand, is a more affecting spectacle. It is no wonder they were awed with the magnitude of the undertaking which cast its shadow over them. Not such a shadow as the traveller from a distant land feels coming over his brow when he is approaching the greatest pyramid of Egypt, for *there* an opaque, solid mass of masonry, standing four hundred and fifty feet against the sky, its apex piercing the heavens, and for some purpose not yet fully understood,—but a structure to be approached with a good deal of reverence and awe, whether the object of this building were comprehended or not, for it is something great. It belongs to the dim past! But here it was no pyramid of vast proportions, reared by human hands, sublime, and grand, and heaven-piercing, and suggestive of a dead civilization, and a people that had gone to their grave long ages before, leaving scarcely a track behind, barring the scrolls that Champollion and his followers have made out, more to gratify an exacting curiosity perhaps, than to contribute to the mass of human knowledge. Behind that haystack, rose a grander form than anything that Egypt shows on desert, or in exhumed palace. It was a spiritual temple, spacious enough to hold a new and a redeemed human race. A temple so vast throughout—it knew no limits—something grander even than the apocalyptic vision of John unfolded; a new Jerusalem, embracing the wide earth, a palace-home for all the children of God, among all continents, and on the islands of the most distant seas—wherever human beings lived, wherever human bosoms palpitated with joy or sorrow. That, through this mighty temple which could embrace all the human family, there went up a prayer from the hearts of these five poor powerless men—men that perhaps could hardly have got employment in dry-goods or grocery stores; dreamers, pale, impracticable, unpromising young men who showed no signs of power. Aye, but 'God had chosen the weak things of this world to found mighty, and base things.' And yet these men were not base—they were not called base; but they had ideas so much beyond their times, so much beyond even that illuminated county of Berkshire! These young men were afraid to tell their neighbors what they were dreaming of; they only dared to breathe their dream into the ear of God.

What came of that Haystack Prayer-Meeting?—Ask the five hundred and eighty-seven missionary stations of the American Board of Commissioners of

¹ *Missionary Jubilee, held at Williams College, August 5, 1856.* Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son.

Foreign Missions¹ from which the light of Christian civilization is blazing to-day with their schools of learning. Ask how many graves of American missionaries, with humble stones—perhaps none at all—to mark the spots, now rest under the smiling eyes of guardian angels. Ask those heathen nations how, and when, and why, and where they first heard the glad news that the man of Nazareth had come from the bosom of his father to this smitten and weeping earth, to bring the news that its fortunes were not unnoticed in the celestial spheres. That not only the Creator, but his allies among the heavenly hosts in the distant worlds, had looked with intensity of gaze and depth of sympathy—that we can so poorly comprehend—upon these little beginnings—beginnings hardly so great, yet by no means so great as were witnessed by the wise men who followed a star that twinkled their way to Bethlehem, where a babe had been born, and where the glad news of ‘peace on earth, good-will to men,’ was first uttered in the ears of mortals. Go and ask the great merchant whether his craft has cut the waters of a river so distant that on its banks some Christian light-house, however humble, had not been built to tell them that Christianity had been ahead of commerce, and had already begun to lisp its half inarticulate message of salvation.

These are American things. I speak of them as I speak of other great American events, and perhaps I should be justified in going into a more detailed account of these achievements, because we are yet in the youth of Christian missions. No man can tell, I care not if he deems himself gifted with prophetic vision, what will be the fate of benighted nations; they may yet have the fruit of those little trees of Bethlehem, planted in some propitious garden, but which outlived the trying times of foreign climes, but still dropped some fruit which ceased by affinity, with some genial sums, to be exotic, and become a living home-tree that blossomed and grew and became a great forest. And so, far up the banks of the Ganges, and those Asiatic continent-draining rivers, and then a flight to central Africa, where the Christian David Livingstone, on the banks of the *Yambesee*, whispered, before he died, some words which may find a response in the dusky bosom of some

GENERAL SUMMARY.

<i>Missions.</i>	
Number of Missions.....	19
Number of Stations.....	72
Number of Out-stations.....	496

<i>Laborers Employed.</i>	
Number of Ordained Missionaries (5 being Physicians)	152
Number of Physicians not ordained...	8
Number of other Male Assistants....	4
Number of Females Assistants.....	215
Whole number of laborers sent from this country	— 379
Number of Native Pastors.....	108
Number of Native Preachers and Catechists.....	297
Number of School Teachers.....	459
Number of other Native Helpers....	154—1,018
Whole number of laborers connected with the Missions.....	—1,397

The Press.

Pages printed, as far as reported..... 7,509,600

The Churches.

Number of Churches..... 224
Number of Church Members, so far as reported. 10,665
Added during the year, so far as reported..... 1,079

Educational Department.

Number of Training and Theological
Schools..... 12
Number of Boarding Schools for Girls... 21
Number of Common Schools..... 550
Number of Pupils in Common Schools... 20,607
Number of Pupils in Training and Theo-
logical Schools and Station Classes.... 381
Number of Pupils in Boarding Schools
for Girls. 670
Other Adults under instruction..... 373
Whole number of Pupils..... —22,031

Extract from the *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1874.*

one who may hereafter be the St. Augustine of a brighter and better age for that desolated, neglected and mourned continent.

The fact is, that so far as America has had anything to do in this way, I believe that future history will accord to it such honors as conquerors never have won on battle-fields; such splendors as the achievements of mere intellect in poetry and song; such wonders as science itself, bright-eyed and illuminated with all the hopes of material progress, has yet found herself unable to climb or reach. Yes, these are heights that have not been scaled by unsanctified intellect. It is beyond all doubt, in my humble judgment, already an established fact, that the finest intellects in the world—as the world goes, and as the world defines them—are not the Byrons who have scorched earth's surface by the scintillations of their genius; but those patient workers who, like Branard and Elliott here, and Buchanan in Asia, and Livingstone in Africa, have rung out the clear prophetic anthem-notes of better days for the human race yet to be. If such things are not worthy of being put into even this brief sketch of the history of the United States, I have made a great mistake; but it is a mistake that I will not ask my readers of this age to forgive. My only apology shall be an appeal to the future, when men shall learn that humanity is, after all, the greatest and most sacred thing on this earth; and that whoever shall, in the later reckoning, be found to have contributed anything to the burnishing of God's divine image in the human soul, will occupy a higher place than those who have built thrones, and forged sceptres, and forced unwilling dynasties upon mankind.

*The American Bible Society.*¹—On the morning of Wednesday the 8th of May, 1816, sixty gentlemen of ripe learning and spotless fame, met in the humble Consistory Room of the Reformed Dutch Church in Garden Street, New York, and after organizing their meeting, proceeded to perform an act which has since been regarded by millions of the best men and women in this and other lands, as one of the most important ever done on this continent. The object of the Convention was worthy of the earnest and mature consideration of that august body, which embraced such unrivalled excellence in the highest walks of life, that I do not see how its members could suffer by comparison with any other assembly of the same numbers that ever met.²

¹ *Origin of Bible Societies in the United States.*—The first Bible Society in the United States was instituted in Philadelphia, in the year 1808, about four years after the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London. The second, the Connecticut Bible Society, was instituted in Hartford, in May, 1809. The third, the Massachusetts Bible Society, was organized in Boston, in July of the same year. The fourth, the New Jersey, at Princeton, during the latter part of the same year. The fifth, the New York City Bible Society, was instituted some time during the year 1810. Other similar societies sprang up from time to time in different parts of the country, until the year 1816, when it was ascertained that their number amounted to between fifty and sixty. Thirty-five of

these local organizations united in forming the American Bible Society, and eighty-four became auxiliary to that institution during the first year of its existence.

² *Members of the Convention which formed the Society.*

Basset, Rev. John, D.D., Bushwick, Long Island, N. Y.
 Bayard, Samuel, Princeton, N. J.
 Beecher, Rev. Lyman, D.D., *Secretary of the Convention*, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Biggs, Rev. Thomas J., Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Blatchford, Rev. Samuel, D.D., Lansingburgh, N. Y.
 Hlythe, Rev. James, D.D., South Hanover, Indiana.
 Bogart, Rev. David S., New York.
 Bradford, Rev. John M., D.D., Albany, N. Y.
 Burd, William, St. Louis, Missouri.
 Caldwell, John E., New York.

The object which brought the Convention together was worthy of the best efforts of the men who composed it. '*Resolved*, That it is expedient, without delay, to establish a general Bible Institution for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment.'

The venerable Elias Boudinot,¹ the first President of the Society, in announcing the event to the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, said: 'There was not a single dissenting voice in the Convention, though it was formed from different denominations; they all seemed to be of one heart and one mind. The whole proceedings from Wednesday, the 8th of May, until Monday, the 13th, clearly discovered the Divine agency; and even some from among those least affected, could not help crying out aloud, *This is none other than the work of the Lord!*'

The Society's first address to the people of the United States—one of very great power—was drawn up by the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, and sent out with the Constitution into every portion of the country. A single extract bespeaks the spirit of the founders, and the simple and sublime object which they contemplated: 'Under such impressions, and with such views, fathers, brethren, fellow-citizens, the American Bible Society has been formed. Local feelings, party prejudices, sectarian jealousies, are excluded by its very nature. Its members are leagued in that, and in that alone, which calls up every hallowed, and puts down every unhallowed principle—the dissemina-

Callender, Levi, Greenville, N. Y.
Chester, Rev. John, D.D., Albany, N. Y.
Clarke, Matthew St. Clair, Washington, D. C.
Cooley, Rev. Eli F., Monmouth, N. J.
Cooper, James Fennimore, New York.
Day, Orrin, Catskill, N. Y.
Eddy, Thomas, New York.
Ford, Rev. Henry, Elmira, N. Y.
Forrest, Rev. Robert, Roseville, N. Y.
Griscom, John, L.L.D., Trenton, N. J.
Hall, Rev. James, D.D., Statesville, N. C.
Henshaw, Rt. Rev. J. P. K., D.D., Providence, R. I.
Hornblower, Joseph C., LL.D., Newark, N. J., *Vice-President*.
Humphrey, Rev. Heman, D.D., Pittsfield, Mass.
Jay, William, Bedford, N. Y., *Vice-President*.
Jones, Rev. David, Homesburg, Pa.
Lewis, Rev. Isaac, D.D., Greenwich, Ct.
Linklaen, Gen. John, Cazenovia, N. Y.
M'Dowell, Rev. John, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Mason, Rev. John M., D.D., New York.
Milledoler, Rev. Philip, D.D., New York.
Morse, Rev. Jedediah, D.D., New Haven, Ct.
Mott, Valentine, M.D., New York.
Mulligan, William C., New York.
Murray, John, Jr., New York.
Neil, Rev. William, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Nott, Rev. Eliphalet, D.D., Schenectady, N. Y.
Oliver, Rev. Andrew, Springfield, N. Y.
Platt, Rev. Isaac W., Athens, Pa.
Proudfit, Rev. Alexander, D.D., New York.
Rice, Rev. John H., D.D., Virginia.
Richards, Rev. Jas., D.D., Auburn, N. Y.
Romeyn, Rev. John B., D.D., *Secretary of the Convention*, New York.
Sands, Joshua, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Sayers, Rev. Gilbert H., Jamaica, N. Y.
Sedgwick, Robert, New York.
Skinner, Ichabod, Washington, D. C.
Spring, Rev. S., D.D., Newburyport, Massachusetts.
Spring, Rev. Gardiner, D.D., New York.
Swift, Gen. Joseph G., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Taylor, Rev. N. W., D.D., New Haven, Ct.
Van Sinderen, Adrian, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Vroom, Guysbert B., New York.
Wallace, Joshua M., *President of the Convention*, Burlington, N. J.
Warner, Henry W., New York.
Williams, Rev. John, New York.
Williams, William, Vernon, N. Y.
Wilnur, Rev. Simon, Swedesboro', N. J.
Woodhull, Rev. George S., N. J.
Wright, Charles, Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

¹ Boudinot, Elias, an American patriot, born in Philadelphia, May 2, 1740; died in Burlington, N. J., Oct. 24, 1821. He was descended from a family of French Huguenots, studied law, commenced practice in New Jersey, was early a devoted advocate of the patriot cause, and in 1777 was appointed by Congress commissary-general of prisoners, and during the same year was elected a member of Congress. In 1782 he became president of that body, and as such signed the treaty of peace. In 1789 he resumed the practice of the law, but in 1796 was appointed by Gen. Washington superintendent of the Mint, which office he held till 1805, when he resigned all public employments and retired to Burlington. He became a trustee of Princeton College in 1805, and endowed it with a valuable cabinet of natural history. In 1812 he became a member of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions, and in 1816 was made the first president of the American Bible Society. To these and other institutions he made munificent donations. He was the author of several works, including 'The Star of the West, or, an effort to discover the Lost Tribes of Israel,' in which he seeks to show that the American aborigines are Hebrews.—*Appleton's American Cyclopædia*.

tion of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful, where they may be required. In such a work, whatever is dignified, kind, venerable and true, has ample scope; while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenue of admission. Come then, fellow-citizens, fellow-Christians, let us join the sacred covenant. Let no heart be cold, no hand be idle, no purse reluctant. Come, while room is left for us in the ranks of those whose toil is goodness, and whose recompense is victory.'

The career of this noble Institution has been one of unimpaired prosperity and unclouded beneficence for fifty-nine years. Over fifteen million dollars have been freely given to it, vigilantly guarded, and wisely expended. Its publishing house—called the 'Bible House'—is a noble edifice, standing by itself on an open square, bounded by Third and Fourth Avenues, Astor Place and Ninth Street, containing about three-quarters of an acre, and having a circumference of over seven hundred feet. The building covers the entire square, with an open court in the centre, and is six stories high. It is built of brick, with freestone copings; and without being in any way extravagant in architectural embellishment, it commands attention by its magnitude, its admirable proportions, and its chaste, neat, and appropriate finish. The entire structure is a noble monument to the liberality of those who contributed towards its erection, and is the result of individual subscriptions made for that purpose, and the rents since received; *no part of the funds raised for the publication and distribution of the Scriptures, has been invested in it.*¹

¹ In the *Manual of the American Bible Society*, 1874, I find the following interesting facts:—

Volumes Issued by the Society.—The total number of volumes issued by the Society from its organization to the close of the fiscal year, March 31, 1871, is 27,680,098.

The growth of this department of the work is shown by the following table:

Issues of the	1st year.....	6,410	Volumes.
"	10th "	67,134	"
"	20th "	221,694	"
"	30th "	483,873	"
"	40th "	668,265	"
"	50th "	1,150,528	"
"	54th "	1,330,640	"

The issues of this last year were nearly equal to the aggregate issues of the first sixteen years of the Society's work. And those of the last five years, numbering 6,303,132 volumes, exceeded the issues of the first thirty-two years. A work of this proportion fifty marks the beginning of the second half century in the history of the Society.

Translations Published by the Society.—This Society has printed the Bible, or portions of it, in about twenty-seven new translations, besides publishing, at home and abroad, about twenty-three others; making in all not less than fifty different languages in which it is printing and circulating the Holy Scriptures.

The Number of Bibles Printed in the Present Century.—The demand for the printed Bible has always been great. It is supposed that within three years after the publication of the Great Bible, in 1539, no less than twenty-one thousand copies were printed. Between 1584 and 1611, 278 editions of Bibles or Testaments in English were printed. In 1611, 1612, and 1613, five editions of King James's version were published, besides separate editions of the New Testament; and we have some slight clew to the size of the editions in the fact, that one person in England has recently collated no less than seventy copies of the issues of 1611; yet, after all, this was the day of small things.

Since the beginning of the present century, the British and Foreign Bible Society has issued over sixty-five millions of Bibles and Testaments; the American Bible Society has issued more than twenty-eight millions of volumes; other Bible Societies not far from twenty millions; while private publishers in Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere, have increased these issues by scores of millions besides.

The First Book ever Printed with Types.—The first book ever printed with types was the Bible, in Latin. This was issued at Mentz, in Germany, about the year 1450. Thus the printing-press paid its first homage to the best of books.

McClure, in his "Translators Revived," says of this book: "Though a first attempt, it is beautifully printed on very fine paper, and with superior ink. At

The American Tract Society.—A few words on this great Society, which will exhaust all the space I can spare for it, or the long list of kindred institutions which have cast over this nation a luster brighter than her arms. I suppose it is not in the stereotype style of writing secular history to say much about such things. But I see no good reason why I should not treat them, with some part at least, of the consideration they deserve. The founding of such societies is justly regarded by the masses of enlightened people, as among the most significant events which have transpired on this continent; that the whole cluster of humane, benevolent, and educational institutions which have grown out of modern civilization,—which is itself the legitimate daughter of Christianity—constitute the chief glory of our age: that they have had very much to do with bettering the condition of men, and redeeming them from the ills and sorrows of the life which had been led by benighted nations for ages; and, therefore, it may well be asked, why these facts are not worthy of being taken into account. Believing all this, I feel no necessity of apology for talking in a work like this, about what concerns the eternal, as well as temporal good of mankind, any more than I do of talking of cotton-gins and sewing-machines. To trace the progress of society in all its interests, seems to me the grandest office of the historian. I may go on, and record the dates, and battles, and outward changes of a nation, and only write chronology. But if I picture the social life of a people, and show the stages of its advancement, and do it faithfully, then I am indeed writing history.

In the spring of 1825, a small company of gentlemen—not unlike in character and spirit to the founders of the Bible Society—gathered at the old Assembly Rooms of the City Hotel, on Broadway, New York, and founded THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. When the first half century of its existence was closing, it entered on its Jubilee year, which was celebrated with an affecting blending of tender grief for the memories of the long line of its departed members, and gratitude for its great and uninterrupted triumphs. Rev. Dr. Tyng, who had assisted in the first organization of the Society, presided at its Jubilee.

least eighteen copies of this famous edition are known to be in existence at the present time. Twenty-five years ago, one of them, printed on vellum, was sold for five hundred and four pounds sterling!"

First English Translations of the Scriptures.—John Wickliffe's translation of the Scriptures was made in 1380: that of William Tyndal in 1529; that of Miles Coverdale in 1535; that of Thomas Matthew in 1537; and that of Archbishop Cranmer in 1539. The *Anglo-Genevese* appeared in the year 1560; and the celebrated *Bishops' Bible*, under the auspices of Archbishop Parker, in 1568. Forty-three years after the appearance of the one last named, *King James's version* of the Bible, which is now in general use, was completed, and given to the world.

The Past and Present Cost of the Bible.—Before the discovery of the art of printing, the Bible was reproduced exclusively by scribes or copyists, who wrote it out with the pen. It was then the most ex-

pensive book in the world. Dr. Plumer, in his tract "How to Use the Bible," states that "in the thirteenth century, in England, two arches of London Bridge cost £25. At the same time a copy of the Bible, with a few explanatory notes, cost £30. Then the wages of a laborer, if found, amounted to but nine pence a week." In other words, the cost of such a Bible was equal to the entire wages in money of a laboring man for over fifteen years.

Even after the discovery of printing, the Bible could not be obtained, for a long time, except at fabulous prices. At so late a period as that of the American Revolution, the very cheapest editions of the Bible were valued at not less than two dollars a volume; whereas the American Bible Society, previous to the recent civil war, furnished the entire Scriptures for the small sum of twenty-five cents, and the same volume is now (1871) sold at the low price of forty cents; so that the Bible has become the very cheapest book in the world.

Speaking, as he always does, in the tender spirit of the Gospel, which, during a protracted life of usefulness and honor, he has so eminently illustrated, he said :—‘ Christian brethren and friends : I must be permitted to say in what degree I feel the privilege of being allowed to preside in such a meeting, and at this interesting anniversary. Familiar with the operations of this Society from its very foundation ; speaking myself at its first anniversary in 1826 ; still remembering all the circumstances of our meeting in the old Assembly Rooms of the City Hotel, on Broadway, the wonder and the questions which attended the institution of the Society upon the principles on which it was founded, it would be impossible for me not to feel a deep interest in the results of those operations, and the attainment of this stage of our success.

‘ In 1816, the people of God among us had united in the formation of the American Bible Society. It created a very great stir in many minds. It was considered by no means a settled fact that Christians of different denominations could agree and unite even for the circulation of the established standard translation of the Bible. And when in the years after that, we found that work so prosperous, under the blessing of the Lord, the second step was taken to found a Society to diffuse the acknowledged truths contained in that Book. I cannot forget the many doubts expressed, the many questions raised, the many feelings of apprehension that, instead of promoting a more established union, it should be made the occasion for greater separation. Our gracious divine Saviour, the Leader of his own elect church, was far wiser and more advanced than we. He established the principle upon which we have been permitted to act with entire success.

‘ We have been moving on forty-nine years on this basis. I presume it is not too much to say that there never was an enterprise among intelligent Christian men, the result of which so completely vindicated the wisdom of its establishment. We can agree not merely on the morality of Christianity, but on the divine doctrines of redemption through the love of the Father, the sacrifice of the Son, and the sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost. We can agree that there is a church above all churches ; that there is a Union above all separations ; that there is a Light above all clouds ; that there is a Power above all instruments ; that there is an assurance of resulting success and glory above all the miserable unbelief and passing expectations of men.

‘ We are here to-night, God’s witnesses of this great fact. On our forty-ninth year completed we commence our Jubilee Year, and are called to sound our Jubilee trumpet, and to gather the people of God throughout this land on the very basis of God’s blessing in times past, to take hold of another year and another century of years, it may be with greater energy, with more entire confidence, more absolute affection, and with more complete satisfaction in the work than we have been permitted to enjoy in any previous year. I rejoice to meet with you to-night, and to work with you. I rejoice at the close of life that such has been the work. I rejoice at the prospect that from a higher field, from another atmosphere, and a more glorious elevation, we may take a more satisfactory basis still. Then you and I may hereafter meet

around the throne of God and the Lamb, to sing a song of thanksgiving and praise, for the realities of which earthly results were only typical.'

And well might the veteran preacher exult over the achievements of the Institution, which are set forth so forcibly in a recent address of the eloquent Rev. H. D. Ganse, from which I borrow a few extracts :—'There is scarcely a home in city or country, or a log-house, or miner's cabin on the frontier; there was hardly a tent during the war, and there is rarely a ship sailing from our ports, to which this Society has not brought at least the offer of the saving message of the Gospel. The annual issues of these fifty years have averaged more than ten millions of publications; more than half a million of these being volumes. And even this immense average is exceeded by the present products of the Society's presses. Think of nearly sixty thousand evangelical publications a day, of which nearly two thousand are volumes!'

'1st. *Colportage*. This system includes, with the sale or gift of the Society's publications, family visitation, personal religious conversation, the holding of religious meetings in destitute neighborhoods, and all the agencies of a union itinerant missionary work.

'As prosecuted by the Tract Society for a third of a century, it has enlisted 5,000 laborers. Within the whole 33 years the colporteurs of the Society have made more than eleven million family visits, more than half of them having included either religious conversation or prayer, or both; and every visit ending with the sale or gift of an evangelical tract or volume.

'2d. *Grants*. This word covers all donations of printed matter, whether tracts or volumes. Grants have been made during the past year to the number of sixty-eight million pages. All of the most needy classes of our population have shared in them. They have gone to mission schools, to prisons and hospitals, to soldiers and sailors, and by the hands of colporteurs to the remotest parts of our country.

'3d. *Foreign Distribution* is made partly in the grants of printed matter, and partly in cash and plates to be used in printing at the mission stations.

'Duplicates of the charming cuts which adorn its periodicals and books are doing the best service to-day in periodicals and books in Brazil, Chili, Spain, Greece, Italy, Turkey, Persia, India, China and Japan. Already more than four thousand publications have been issued abroad under its approbation, and by its aid, in 143 languages. Since the formation of the Society, it has expended more than six hundred thousand dollars in thus co-operating with all our prominent American missions.

'This *Jubilee Year* finds this immense agency complete, and thoroughly approved by long success. No good man makes an experiment when he co-operates with it. Like the great river system of our continent, it has its channels prepared and its streams running. Yet whether they are to run low or full, the rain and the rivulets must decide. But the rain will not be wanting! This Jubilee Year will fill the channels to the brim! For such a Society, under God, creates its own constituency, and its means. Where it

plants the love of Christ, it strikes down, at the same moment, its own roots, and its husbandry of fifty years shall this year come back in a Jubilee of thank-offerings from parents and children, from young men and old, who at home or among strangers, in camp or on ship-board, in Sunday-school or hospital, have blessed God for the face of the colporteur and the Gospel message of the American Tract Society.'

The first object of the Society was to print cheap tracts, chiefly about the duties of this life, and the destiny that awaits the human race in the life to come. How marvellously have they transcended that simple purpose! How bewildering are the statistics of their work! It would have been enough for one generation to have printed a million copies of 'The Dairyman's Daughter,' or 'The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain'—flashes of spiritual light that have come over the human soul like new Bethlehem stars, breaking through the clouds that so thickly envelop this poor earth of ours, opening up some glimpses of a better life to 'the weary and heavy laden.'

I do not go into the special theological dogmas which the publications of the Society have inculcated. They may not at any one time have been in complete harmony, even with the views of all the writers themselves. But this is a matter of minor consequence, since the general drift has been to make known to mankind—so far as good and learned men have been able to trace them—the relations that subsist between the poor, working, doubting, trembling, anxious, soul of man, in this state, with that great and undiscovered country of which we have known so little, but which is to be our permanent dwelling place. And such a home as that to which uncounted billions have gone, and from which we are glad to learn whatever we can of their fate and condition—all this is too serious a matter not to be one of the factors that we reckon in making up an estimate of the life which the American people have been leading for half a century. I choose these two Societies as samples of broad American Institutions, in which so many denominations of Christians of varying creeds in non-essential matters, have so fraternally united in the brave effort to do good everywhere to the suffering, but yet to be redeemed, brotherhood of man.

The Laying of the Corner-Stone of Bunker Hill Monument:—One of the first monuments of considerable magnitude or significance, built in this country, was that erected to the memory of the men who fell in the first great battle of the Revolution. Two circumstances embellished the occasion, imparting to it special dignity and importance. The oration was to be delivered by Daniel Webster, the first orator of America, and it was to be listened to by the most illustrious statesman of Europe.

No allusion to this event should be unattended with a few, however brief, illustrations of the spirit of the occasion, and this can be done only by quoting some of the words of the speaker:—

‘Let it not be supposed,’ said Mr. Webster, ‘that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events on the general interests of mankind. We come as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud in the midst of its toil. We wish that in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eye hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming. Let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

‘We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record in the same term of years as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own revolution, which, under the circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respects.’

Addressing Lafayette, the Illustrious Guest.—‘Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you, and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

‘Fortunate, fortunate man! With what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres, and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric sparks of liberty should be conducted through you from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the fields, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up, the incredible diligence of Prescott, defended to the last extremity by his lion-hearted valor, and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever.

‘Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse with our feeble commendation the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms; to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these our highest and last honors further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in calum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant, be the day when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy.’¹

¹ The following, from the polished pen of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, may well supplement the grateful addressers of DANIEL WEBSTER,—

Conduct of Lafayette in the American Revolution.—The war of American Independence is closed. The people of the North American Confederation are in union, sovereign and independent. Lafayette at twenty-five years of age had lived the life of a patriarch, and illustrated the career of a hero. Had his days upon earth been then numbered, and had he then slept with

his fathers, illustrious as for centuries their names had been, his name, to the end of time, would have transcended them all. Fortunate youth! fortunate beyond even the measure of his companions in arms, with whom he had achieved the glorious consummation of American Independence. His fame was all his own, not cheaply earned, not ignobly won. His fellow soldiers had been the champions and defenders of their country. They reaped for themselves, for their wives, their children, their posterity to the latest time, the rewards of their dangers and their toils. Lafayette had watched

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.—It was more generally observed, and more enthusiastically celebrated, than it had ever been before; and it was signalized by one of the most remarkable coincidences which had ever occurred in the life of a nation whose annals now read, after the lapse of a century, more like the creations of romance than the records of history.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had lived to a ripe old age, in the full enjoyment of the respect and admiration of mankind, after they had retired from the supreme honors of the Republic. Both had expressed a desire to see their lives rounded out by the half century just approaching, and Heaven was to grant their wish. These two most illustrious of the Fathers of the Republic who still lingered, 'at first so co-operative, and afterwards so hostile, again reunited in friendly intercourse, having outlived almost all their fellow actors, continued to descend hand in hand to the grave. Adams lived to see his son President, and to receive Jefferson's congratulations upon it.'

Finally the morning of July 4th, 1826, dawned upon their eyes for the last time—the one in his home at Monticello, the other in his home at Quincy—both surrounded by their families and friends, and both ready and willing to depart for the better Land. As midnight approached on July 3, the Virginian was evidently dying: but he retained his memory, for he said feebly, 'This is the fourth of July.' Just after the sun had passed the meridian, the pulse of the hand which had made the first draft of the Magna Charta of the nation, had ceased to beat.¹

and labored, and fought and bled, not for himself, not for his family, not, in the first instance, even for his country. In the legendary tales of chivalry we read of tournaments at which a foreign and unknown knight suddenly presents himself, armed in complete steel, and, with the vizier down, enters the ring to contend with the assembled flower of knighthood for the prize of honor to be awarded by the hand of beauty; bears it in triumph away, and disappears from the astonished multitude of competitors and spectators of the feats of arms. But where in the rolls of history, where in the fictions of romance, where but in the life of Lafayette has been seen the noble stranger flying, with the tribute of his name, his rank, his affluence, his ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood to the relief of a suffering and distant land in the hour of her deepest calamity, baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the transient pageantry of a tournament, but, for a succession of five years, sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes, always eager to appear at the post of danger, tempering the glow of youthful ardor with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action, prompt in execution, rapid in pursuit, fertile in expedients, unattainable in retreat, often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted, eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp, bearing upon him with irresistible sway when of force to cope with him in the conflict of arms? And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood

flowing from his wound, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

¹ Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas Jefferson. But time was on its ever ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man. He saw its approach with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand which he had helped to make immortal. One wish, one hope, if it were not presumptuous, beat in his fainting breast. Could it be so, might it please God, he would desire once more to see the sun, once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on the great day of liberty. Heaven, in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. He saw that sun, he enjoyed its sacred light, he thanked God for this mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. 'Felix, non vitæ tantum clariatæ, sed etiam opportunitate moris.'—*Webster's Discourse on Adams and Jefferson.*

At home he was a tender husband and father, a mild master, a warm friend, and a delightful host. His knowledge of life, extensive travels, and long familiarity with great events and distinguished men, rendered his conversation highly attractive to mere social visitors. His scientific acquisitions, and the deep interest which he took in all branches of natural history, made his society equally agreeable to men of learning. Many such visited him, and were impressed as deeply by his general knowledge, as they were charmed by the courtesy of his demeanor. De Chastellux, De Liancourt, and other noblemen and foreigners of distinction, came away from Monticello with an enthusiastic opinion of their host, and informed all Europe that the country gentleman of Virginia was the most accomplished man of his epoch. In entertaining this diverse society, in reading, writing, riding, and attending to his farms, passed the intervals of his absence from public affairs, and the long period of his retirement which extended from the termination of his presidency to his death.—*Appleton's American Cyclopædia.*

A few hours later on that same afternoon, many hundred miles away on the shore of Massachusetts Bay, a similar scene was being witnessed; and that other hand which, fifty years before nearly to an hour, had with Jefferson's, signed the Declaration, lay calmly folded on the lion heart of the Puritan patriot.¹

Public Honors to the ascended Patriots.—There was no magnetic telegraph in those times to flash the strange news everywhere, and thus cloud and

¹The grand service which was rendered to the nation by John Adams, was fully understood and appreciated by the men of those times. In Curtis' *Life of Webster*, vol. I., page 589, we find that Jefferson said to Daniel Webster:—'John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. He was not graceful or elegant, or remarkably fluent; but he came out occasionally with power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats.' In Webster's writings, vol. III., page 204, we learn that Madison preserved a very distinct recollection that, 'the fellow-laborers of Mr. Adams in the cause from Virginia, filled every mouth in that State with the praises due to the comprehensiveness of his views, the force of his arguments, and the boldness of his patriotism.'

It is in the letters of Mr. Adams, of which but a small part have yet been published, that his genius as a writer and thinker, and no less distinctly his character as a man, most clearly appear. Down even to the last year of his protracted life, his letters exhibited a wonderful degree of vitality, energy, acuteness, wit, playfulness, and command of language. As a writer of English, little as he ever troubled himself with revision and correction, and we may add as a speculative philosopher, he must be placed first among Americans of all the several generations to which he belonged, except only Franklin; and if Franklin excelled him in humor and geniality, he far surpassed Franklin in compass, wit, and vivacity. Indeed, it is only by the recent partial publication of his letters, that his gifts in this respect are beginning to become known. * * * *

Of Adams' personal appearance and domestic character in his old age, his grandson gives the following account:

'In figure John Adams was not tall, scarcely exceeding middle height, but of a stout, well knit frame, denoting vigor and long life, yet as he grew old inclining more and more to corpulence. His head was large and round, with a wide forehead and expanded brows. His eye was mild and benignant, perhaps even humorous when he was free from emotion, but when excited it fully expressed the vehemence of the

spirit that stirred within. His presence was grave and imposing on serious occasions, but not unbending. He delighted in social conversation, in which he was sometimes tempted to what he called rhodomontade. But he seldom fatigued those who heard him; for he mixed so much of natural vigor of fancy and illustration with the store of his acquired knowledge, as to keep alive their interest for a long time. His affections were warm, though not habitually demonstrated toward his relatives. His anger, when thoroughly aroused, was for a time extremely violent, but when it subsided it left no trace of malevolence behind. Nobody could see him intimately without admiring the simplicity and truth which shone in his actions, and standing in some awe of the power and energy of his will. It was in these moments that he impressed those around him with a sense of his greatness. Even the men employed on his farm were in the habit of citing instances, some of which have been remembered down to the present day. At times his vehemence would become so great as to make him overbearing and unjust. This was most apt to happen in cases of pretension and kind of wrong-doing. Mr. Adams was very impatient of cant or of opposition to any of his deeply established convictions. Neither was his indignation at all graduated to the character of the individuals who might happen to excite it. It had little respect of persons, and would hold an illiterate man or a raw boy to as heavy a responsibility for uttering a crude heresy as the strongest thinker or the most profound scholar.' * * *

The pecuniary independence which previous to his retirement Mr. Adams had secured by judicious adaptation of his expenditures to his income, more fortunate than Mr. Jefferson, he maintained till the end of his life. Although he had a large family, including grandchildren and great-grandchildren, dependent upon him, he yet died in the possession of a valuable landed estate. See '*Life and Works of John Adams*,' by Charles Francis Adams, (10 vols. 8vo., Boston, 1850-'56), and '*Life of John Adams*,' by J. Q. and C. F. Adams, (2 vols. 8vo. 1871).

consecrate the anniversary, at the same solemn hour. But Edward Everett describes the effect of the news of Adams' death as it reached Boston the same evening. 'The emotions of the public were greatly increased by the indications given by Mr. Adams in his last hours, that he was fully aware that the day was the anniversary of Independence, *and by his dying allusion to the supposed fact that his colleague Jefferson survived him.* When in the course of a few days the news came from Virginia, that he also had departed this life on the same day, and a few hours before Mr. Adams, the sensibility of the community, as of the country at large, was touched beyond all example. The occurrence was justly deemed without a parallel in history.'

In her bereaved patriotism, New England turned to her own orator and statesman, and on the second of August, at the request of the city of Boston, Webster pronounced, in Faneuil Hall, one of his imperishable orations. A few passages from it are the best helps to a comprehension of the event, and the public feeling it awakened. Of their age he says:—

'No two men now live, fellow citizens, perhaps it may be doubted whether any two men have ever lived in one age, who, more than those we now commemorate, have impressed on mankind their own sentiments in regard to politics and government, infused their own opinions more deeply into the opinions of others, or given a more lasting direction to the current of human thought. Their work doth not perish with them. The tree which they assisted to plant will flourish, although they water it and protect it no longer; for it has struck its roots deep, it has sent them to the very centre; no storm, not of force to burst the orb, can overturn it; its branches spread wide; they stretch their protecting arms broader and broader, and its top is destined to reach the heavens. We are not deceived. There is no delusion here. No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is—one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come in which it shall cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the 4th of July, 1776. And no age will come, we trust, so ignorant or so unjust as not to see and acknowledge the efficient agency of those we now honor in producing that momentous event.'

Webster's Tribute to the Cultivators of Learning.—'The last public labor of Mr. Jefferson, naturally suggests the expression of the high praise which is due, both to him and to Mr. Adams, for their uniform and zealous attachment to learning, and to the cause of general knowledge. Of the advantages of learning, indeed, and of literary accomplishments, their own characters were striking recommendations and illustrations. They were scholars, ripe and good scholars; widely acquainted with ancient, as well as modern literature, and not altogether uninstructed in the deeper sciences. Their acquirements, doubtless, were different, and so were the particular objects of their literary

¹ The works of Daniel Webster, vol. i., p. 11. Introductory note.

pursuits ; as their tastes and characters, in these respects, differed like those of other men. Being also men of busy lives, with great objects requiring action constantly before them, their attainments in letters did not become showy or obtrusive. Yet I would hazard the opinion, that, if we could now ascertain all the causes which gave them eminence and distinction in the midst of the great men with whom they acted, we should find not among the least their early acquisitions in literature, the resources which it furnished, the promptitude and facility which it communicated, and the wide field it opened for analogy and illustration ; giving them thus, on every subject, a larger view and a broader range, as well for discussion as for the government of their own conduct.

‘Literature sometimes disgusts, and pretention to it much oftener disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extraneous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage ; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But in such cases classical learning has only not inspired natural talent, or at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armor to native strength, and render its possessor, not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished also for action in the affairs of life, and especially for public action. Those whose memories we now honor were learned men ; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars, not common nor superficial ; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist ; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address in popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually because it is not seen at all.

‘But the cause of knowledge—in a more enlarged sense, the cause of general knowledge and of popular education—had no warmer friends, nor more powerful advocates than Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. On this foundation they knew the whole republican system rested ; and this great and all-important truth they strove to impress by all means in their power. In the early publication already referred to, Mr. Adams expresses the strong and just sentiment that the education of the poor is more important, even to the rich themselves, than all their own riches. On this great truth, indeed,

is founded that unrivalled, that its valuable political and moral institution—our own blessing and the glory of our fathers—the New England system of free schools.

‘As the promotion of knowledge had been the object of their regard through life, so these great men made it the subject of their testamentary bounty. Mr. Jefferson is understood to have bequeathed his library to the University of Virginia,¹ and that of Mr. Adams is bestowed on the inhabitants of Quincy.

‘Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be done to them, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praises, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labor and their services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust; time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains; for with AMERICAN LIBERTY it rose, and with AMERICAN LIBERTY ONLY can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir: THEIR BODIES ARE BURIED IN PEACE, BUT THEIR NAMES LIVE EVERMORE.²

The Lessons of the Solemn Occasion.—‘And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion without a deep and solemn conviction of the duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past and generations to come hold us responsible for this sacred trust. Our fathers from behind,

¹ Mr. Webster did not forget the father of the University of Virginia.

² There remained to Mr. Jefferson yet one other work of patriotism and beneficence, the establishment of a university in his native State. To this object he devoted years of incessant and anxious attention, and by the enlightened liberality of the Legislature of Virginia, and the co-operation of other able and zealous friends, he lived to see it accomplished. May all success attend this infant seminary; and may those who enjoy its advantages, as often as their eyes shall rest on the neighboring height, recollect what they owe to their disinterested and indefatigable benefactor; and may letters honor him who thus labored in the cause of letters.

³ One of the finest passages in this discourse was the reverent allusion to the last surviving Signer of the Declaration:—‘Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only CHARLES CARROLL. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the

dust. Venerable object! we delight to gather around its trunk, while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! If he dwells on the past, how touching its recollections; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope, how does the prospect of his country’s advancement almost bewilder his weakened conception! Fortunate, distinguished patriot! Interesting relict of the past! Let him know that, while we honor the dead, we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray, that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions.’

admonish us with their anxious paternal voices ; posterity calls out to us from the bosom of the future ; the world turns hither its solicitous eyes ; all, all conjure us to act wisely and faithfully in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us ; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and to leave it unimpaired to our children.

‘ Let us feel deeply how much of what we are, and of what we possess, we owe to this liberty, and to these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil which yields bounteously to the hand of industry, the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigor. But what are lands, and seas, and skies, to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture ? And how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government ? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us here present, who does not, at this moment, and at every moment, experience in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him, the influence and the benefits of this liberty and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and powerfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain ; the great hope of posterity, let it not be blasted.

‘ The striking attitude, too, in which we stand to the world around us,—a topic to which, I fear, I advert too often, and dwell on too long,—cannot be altogether omitted here. Neither individuals nor nations can perform their part well, until they understand and feel its importance, and comprehend and justly appreciate all the duties justly belonging to it. It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge upon you this consideration of our position and our character among the nations of the earth. It cannot be denied,—but by those who would dispute against the sun,—that with America, and in America, a new era commenced in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened and unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them ; if they stand, it will be because we have maintained them. Let us contemplate, then, this connection, which binds the prosperity of others to our own, and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines

brightly upon our path. Washington is in the clear, upper sky. These other stars have now joined the American constellation; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine Benignity.'

SECTION FOURTH.

PROGRESS IN THE MECHANIC ARTS—AMERICAN INVENTIONS, AND THE LAW OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

How Americans became a Nation of Inventors.—The middle half of the century is more indebted to this hemisphere for machines and inventions for bettering the material condition of mankind, than to all the nations of the transatlantic World during the same wonderful period. Our Western Life has been developed under fresher, freer, stronger and more electric agencies. In breaking the traditional fetters of ages, we uttered a Declaration of Independence against *all* restraints except the fear of God, and love of Liberty. On this fulcrum of absolute freedom, the young Archimedes rested his lever to move the world. *And he has moved it.* True, when he had achieved his first intellectual and moral labor in political and social life, he spent his best strength in rough-hewing his dwelling, and filling it with the unwasting stores of healthful nutrition, willing to forego, for the most part, those finer embellishments which an age of wealth and luxury was so sure to bring.

Compelled thus to stand on his own feet, and rely on his own strength, most of his powers of invention were expended on devices for doing human work in the lack of human hands. Some machine must be had to save time and toil; and as fast as the need of it was felt deeply enough, the device sprang into being, illustrating with new force the old saying, *Necessity is the mother of invention.*

These always recurring exigencies of American life, were the fountains of that long succession of Cis-atlantic Inventions which have annihilated distance, and improvised a power which, wielded by a few feeble and scattered hands, has given us greater auxiliary forces than could have been volunteered by the human muscles of Asia's eight hundred millions.

Origin of Scientific Discovery.—But after the first grapple for life with these primitive conditions, the torch of Modern Science began to blaze over the American mind, and our inventors and discoverers went pressing their way into the future where no human foot had ever trod; and of course discoveries of a loftier and more subtle character were made in the higher fields of effort and exploration. Hence we date the origin, and hint the causes which brought us to the present florid era of scientific and original discovery in *all* the arts which enrich and adorn life.

The law which regulates the progress of pure philosophical discovery is the same which determines all other scientific developments. A leader is always found when the gathering host clamor for an onward movement. The inspired Hermits always find Crusaders to follow them. This is the order of martial advancement. The leader in scientific progress must be a *clear Thinker*, as well as a strong believer. Nor does he *begin* his thinking in the afternoon of life. The unfolding of his discoveries may indeed be delayed, but like all other processes of nature it is the *announcement* which startles, not the slow process which leads to it. The discovery of land is sudden to his companions ; but Columbus had seen it by the eye of faith for weary years of struggle before he weighed anchor, and he saw it all through that long and painful voyage. Hence nothing is safer than to say that all great discoveries, as well as cyclones and earthquakes, rivers, lakes, oceans, mountains and valleys, with planets, and suns and all siderial systems, come as soon as they can. It took uncounted myriads of yesterdays to make one today. No Newton, nor Morse, nor Christ can come till the world is ready to receive him. It has always been so—it always will be.

The first pressing necessity of American Settlers.—It was the lack of hands to do the necessary work. Their standard of social life was the one held by the best classes of England at the time—not of luxury or wealth, but of home comfort, security, and some degree of exemption from wasting toil. An intellectual life, a higher one than was then being led by any other nation, was the ideal of the founders of American institutions. They could not wait for population to come up to the exigency ; they were obliged to invent labor-saving machinery ; they must have better agricultural implements ; brute force of all sorts was as scarce as human hands. It was not enough for them to be very saving in all other things ; they must keep and multiply their cattle ; oxen for heavy work ; cows for milk, butter and cheese, and sheep for wool. But they practiced an admirable—and to this generation, an incomprehensible—system of economy. Franklin was not only the prophet of a better future, but he was the great teacher of the present. His wonderful practical mind gave birth to an endless class of simple inventions. No aspect of these useful contrivances escaped his observation ; for while he was treading the higher ranges of thought, and summoning the omnipotent forces of nature to do the work of the whole human race, his patient study was bestowed on the homeliest appliances of domestic economy and wealth.

I should be glad to extend our observations here more widely, especially to enter the enticing field of biography, in order to unfold the lives of the Whitneys, the Fitches, the Fultons, the Morses, the Bogarduses, the Mapeses, the Hows, and a few more at least of the twenty thousand American inventors worthy of the name ; for I cannot, in glancing over the history of the Patent Office, reckon the number of useful American inventors at a lower estimate, considering the vast array of experimental thinkers who are inscribed on the

patent scrolls.¹ Here, however, I must do the best I can, and the reader must accept my meager etchings in place of full delineations.

A New Mode of Estimating the Mechanical Forces of the Country.—A census of the resources of a nation, gives the nearest reliable data the historian can gather ; but a census is only a magazine of facts—and in America too often unreliable—which, if not collated, lose much of their significance. I propose to suggest—and it can hardly be more than a suggestion—a new mode of estimating the mechanical forces of the United States. I shall attempt to run a sort of parallel—and I wish I could do it at every decade—between the population given in our census, and the mechanical results achieved, in order to show that the ordinary *pro rata* supposed to exist between population and production among other nations fails here. I would introduce another and more reliable measurement which might give a better idea of how much work has been done on this continent, than could otherwise be inferred from the increase of population, *the work having kept infinitely ahead of the number of hands employed*. We have substituted machinery for doing so much of our labor, we should find in going from period to period, that the old *pro rata* of results would be utterly destroyed. The yardstick which the world has been using is not long enough to measure what we have done.

For instance, beginning with Jamestown and Plymouth Rock. The settlers at the former early discovered [See Vol. I, p. 131] that cotton would grow in that genial climate to great advantage. But two centuries went by before cotton became a source of wealth to Virginia. It was not so with tobacco, which early became a legal tender currency, and has always since been an equivalent for specie in the markets of the world,—tobacco not being, like cotton, so wonderfully increased in value by art after the plant has been produced.

But with the Plymouth men nearly the same length of time elapsed before water-power was used to any great extent as a labor-saving device. Its first great advantages were reaped in the sawing of lumber. But when water-power began to be used for spinning cotton and wool, then we find that the work of a single loom multiplied hand-power more than a hundred fold. Later, when that same water-power, inexpensive, patient, untiring, was applied to other purposes, for the production of ninety-six hand-weavers, only one stomach had to be filled and one back clothed in working the same result. And thus going on we should see how *the development of American wealth depended to a far greater extent upon her inventions for multiplying the fruits of labor, than upon emigration, or the natural increase of the native population*. This point must not be overlooked.

This did not apply to such an extent in the digging of our canals, the building of our common roads, nor in the construction of our buildings or ships, nor in planting our crops, nor in reaping them. But a little later we should find that machines of all kinds were brought into existence just as fast

¹ The latest issue of Patents I have seen from the office at Washington, is numbered 159,329.

as they were made ; until now, when we witness fuller results in almost every department of production. Thus we might, in drawing the line down the scale—it would be difficult, I know, and very imperfectly done without almost endless investigation, but the hint alone will answer my purposes, for it will suggest—show how from period to period the *pro rata* of production was increased through devices for saving hand-labor, until the facts of 1874 before us as officially reported by the government, show that the product of forty-three millions of people far exceed that of the eight hundred millions of Asia. The illustrations which occur to every reader will save me the necessity of entering into details.¹ They arrest the attention of the least observing at every step.

The Work of the Steam Engine in America.—Multiform and powerful as were the artificial agencies which the genius of our countrymen had brought to their aid, they were feeble compared with the mighty forces of the steam engine, which was yet to be waked, like Hercules from his cradle. And here again we must crowd into paragraphs what the strongest writers have but faintly unfolded in libraries of dissertations. Three aspects in the history of steam power in the United States must, however, claim our attention.

First Transportation on the Water : Steamboats.—Here some tribute falls due to a few of the many names which hold their shining places on the records of steam power, from the days of Watts who first harnessed it into the practical service of industry. The need of a new and more powerful ally in grappling with the stubborn forces of nature, was nowhere felt so deeply as in this country, where so much hard work had to be done, and where there were so few hands to do it. Therefore the mission of this fresh and vigorous power was more warmly greeted ; it inflamed a higher enthusiasm, and begat a new era of scientific invention. The Old World felt no such pressing urgency for help, since the multiplicity of her arms responded to her calls for labor. But our grand compensation was found in a wealth of ingenious devices, which made up for the lack of muscular strength.

I have already spoken of the signal services which were rendered to the cause of American Independence by Thomas Paine. His sagacity in the affairs of common life, was equalled only by his political comprehension. In the dark year of 1778, the author of *Common Sense* recommended Congress to encourage the construction of steam-vessels on the plan of Jonathan Hull,

¹ Mr. J. Burrows Hyde, of New York, who is more thoroughly informed on these subjects than any other gentleman I know, gives me the following general summary concerning some of the more important departments of American inventions :—

All *nail machines* in use, whether for wrought or cut, from the tack or brad, to the forty-penny spike, and from the horseshoe nail to the eight-inch wrought spike, are American inventions.

All *screw machines*, wherever used, are of American origin, as are also all *pin machines* and *hook-and-eye machines*.

All *wood-working machines*, except saws, but in-

cluding the *circular saw*. *Planing machines*, *morticing machines*, automatic turning of *irregular shapes*, as gun-stocks, lasts, etc.—All *wood-bending machines* for ships, boats, carriages, etc., are exclusively American. The machinery for making *felt cloth* without spinning or weaving.

The system for *bleaching cloth* in a close vessel under pressure, now universal ; and the manufacture of *paper* from *straw* or *grass* used throughout Europe and here in America.

‘These,’ he remarks to me, ‘are some that I remember, and which you may declare on my responsibility.’

who, forty-two years before, had patented a vessel to be propelled by a stern wheel, whose motor power was to be an atmospheric engine—a vessel which he intended ‘to go against wind and tide.’ But Congress had other and more pressing matters to attend to.¹

When the war was over—1784—the attention of General Washington was called to the ‘model of a boat for navigating rivers against the current by the force of steam acting on setting poles;’ but this attempt to solve the new problem at issue did not commend itself to the judgment of Washington, whose genius for engineering was the first passion of his life; and had it not been diverted to military affairs, it would have made his name memorable in connection with the manipulations of mechanical forces for the arts of peace, in even a more striking way perhaps than it showed itself in war.

In the year 1785, JOHN FITCH—whose name will never be forgotten in the history of steam navigation—had completed the model of a steamboat, and the following year he carried it out. He built a small shallop, in which he navigated the Schuylkill by means of a wheel at the stern, driven by steam. On the 22d of April, the attention of Jefferson, then in Paris, seems to have been called to this fact, for in writing to his friend Charles Thompson, he said, ‘I hear you are applying the same agent—steam—in America to navigate boats.’ In referring to the *Columbian Magazine* for December of that same year, I find a description of a new boat Fitch was building, in which, five months later, he made a trial trip on the Delaware, which solved the problem forever of steam navigation, since Ritterhouse, Ellicott, and other eminent and practical men were present, and they estimated by measurement, the speed of this vessel as ‘eight miles an hour at dead water.’ And it appears she afterwards made eighty miles a day!

At this time we were under the Articles of Confederation, and having no National Government, the prerogatives of granting special privileges, and such as were afterwards known as the fourteen years’ patents, issued by the Republic, were granted by the legislature of Pennsylvania; and they accorded to Fitch, ‘the sole right and advantage of making and employing the steamboat by him lately invented.’ These privileges were afterwards confirmed by the States of Delaware, Virginia and New York.

A year later, Franklin, whose ear was ever open to new thoughts, whose

¹ In England and in France, which were at that time engaged in a rivalry in commerce, attempts to realize the introducing of steam as a motive power for propelling ships were frequent, but before 1730 had led to no practical results. In 1736 Jonathan Hull published a description of a vessel which was to be propelled by a stern wheel, the motive power of which was to be an atmospheric engine; but there is no record of his having put his plan in operation. In France, during the period intervening between 1774 and 1796, the Count de Auxizon, the brothers Perier, the Marquis de Jouffroy, and M. Des Blancs had each attempted to construct a boat which should be propelled by steam, but all experiments had proved failures.

In the United States, in Philadelphia, which at that time still retained much of the political importance she had held during the revolution from being the seat of Congress, and in which great attention was paid to

commerce and ship-building, early attempts were made to propel vessels by steam power. As early as 1773 the attention of Oliver Evans had been turned to steam propulsion, both on land and water. Evans was the practical introducer of the high-pressure engine, and of various improvements in mill machinery; and his subsequent successful attempts to build a locomotive carriage, which ran in the streets of Philadelphia, and, with the same apparatus, a boat which was propelled on the Schuylkill with paddle wheels, have, with some authorities, been supposed to justify his claim to the first contrivance of a practical steamboat. Whether this is so or not, yet it is certain that he predicted the ultimate triumphs of steam, and of his own method of propelling a boat. At the same time there were others in the United States whose attention was turned to the same subject.—*The Great Industries of the United States*, pp. 88, 89.

eye was ever open to the inspection of a new experiment, and through whose brain a proposition for benefitting mankind was sure to be filtered into clearness of conception, had, through the Rumsey Society, which had been founded for the purpose of aiding that inventor, assisted him in making a visit to Europe, where he went to secure his patents.

This intrepid inventor,—who has passed out of common memory, and almost out of notice,—constructed from the plan he took with him, a steam-boat upon which he made a successful trip on the Thames river in Dec., 1792. It seems a hard fate that, just after his triumph, and when he was preparing for a second trip, he should have suddenly died. How many brave spirits have, in the rushing of Time's resistless current, been swept from their standing-places just as they were ready to hear the shouts of triumph! And thus, how often has the wreath of victory fallen upon the wrong head! It is a comfort to know that the Congress of 1839, nearly half a century later, voted to James Rumsey, his son, a gold medal, 'commemorative of his father's services and high agency in giving to the world the benefit of the steam-boat.'

Fitch and Rumsey, rival inventors, had long and earnest conflicts before the Legislatures of New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania,—by which Rumsey's patents had been allowed,—and three other States, Virginia, Maryland and New York, which had recognized the claims of Fitch. Soon after the establishment of the National Patent Office, the claims of both inventors were allowed, for the good reason that both were entitled to patents, since it was proved at the time, that each had arrived by his own process, and without knowledge of the other's experiments, at the same discoveries, Fitch having only made the demonstration first.¹

In 1788 Fitch constructed a second boat, into which he put his old machinery, and for a while it was used as a passenger boat between Philadelphia and Burlington, which, however, made only four miles an hour. Encouraged, he built another boat for an engine of eighteen-inch cylinder, and after many failures, followed by as many improvements, he succeeded, in the spring of 1790, in getting a vessel which was to run as a passenger-boat on the Delaware, at an average speed of seven and a half miles an hour; and during that season he made more than half the cost of the boat.² This boat

¹ But, unfortunately also, Fitch being a man whose peculiar idiosyncrasies of character were intensified by his independence of spirit, his inventive pride, his clear foresight of what the eventual value of his invention would be, and the misfortunes of his early youth, the troubles of his domestic life, and the want of appreciation he met with in his maturer years, it was difficult, if not impossible, for him to obtain the co-operation he needed. Yet, there is no doubt that it was only defects in the size of the wheels, the imperfections and the excessive weight of the engine, and other quite secondary details of construction, which were remedied by those who came after him, together with his want of capital, which alone prevented Fitch from making navigation by steam a success years before it became actually such in other hands.—*The Great Industries of the United States*, p. 91.

² But more money was wanted to introduce the in-

vention, and the numerous stockholders in the enterprise could not be brought to respond to further assessments. Time ran on, and Fitch was cramped for the necessities of life. He repeatedly asserted that the passenger traffic of the great western rivers would one day be carried on exclusively by steam; that ships of war and packet ships would navigate the Atlantic by steam; and that some one to come after him would reap fame and fortune from his invention. He now sought some small office under the Government of Pennsylvania and that of the United States, but was disappointed. Failing to interest new parties in his project, and the company absolutely declining to make further advances, Fitch abandoned his boat, and for some months wandered about the streets of Philadelphia, a ruined man, with the reputation of a crazy projector. On Oct. 4, 1792, he presented a sealed envelope containing manuscripts to the Library Company of Philadelphia,

was driven by a paddle at the stern, and it was the first American stean boat which regularly carried passengers. Returning in 1796 from France, where he failed to meet the encouragement he solicited, he built a small boat to run on the Collect Pond, which once filled the low ground between the East and Hudson Rivers near the centre of which Canal Street now stands. To show how far this great inventor had shot ahead of his times—more than three-quarters of a century—this boat was propelled by a screw at the stern, a point which has only within recent times been reached as the best method yet known for propelling vessels by steam.

The legitimate successor of Fitch was ROBERT FULTON, to whom more honors have been paid by posterity than to his neglected predecessor. We would dispute no wreath that has been laid upon Fulton's brow, for no countries have shown too much gratitude to the pioneers of their progress. Such benefactors in past times have generally died without the full reward of their labors—always excepting Professor Morse,—to whom not only America, but the universal world did justice while he lived.

Robert Fulton was born with the inspirations of constructive genius. His first proclivity was for the art of delineation. Benjamin West was at the time enjoying, in London, the greatest reputation in art of any man then living in the British Empire. Fulton went to England to study painting under the founder of the Royal Academy of Great Britain. In making the acquaintance of the Duke of Bridgewater, who was then working on his system of canal navigation in Great Britain, he became convinced he had better leave the pictorial world and devote himself to engineering. He sought out the Earl of Stanhope, also an ingenious inventor, who was making experiments in steam navigation, with the idea that a paddle should be shaped like a duck's foot to be successful. Fulton saw better; and subsequently, on the Hudson, he demonstrated a surer mode of leverage, and so informed his friend the Earl. Watt had already brought the steam engine to what was then considered perfection; and visiting him at Birmingham, Fulton studied that machine under Watt's own instruction, till he had comprehended perfectly all that the great Englishman had done. Crossing the channel, he became intimate with his fellow New Yorker, Chancellor Livingston, then American Minister to France. John Stephens and Nicholas Roosevelt had already been making experiments in steam navigation in connection with

with a request that it might be kept unopened till 1823. In 1793 he went to France, in pursuance of a contract with Aaron Vail, contemplating the introduction of his invention in Europe: but the times were not propitious, and the means and patience of Fitch were exhausted. On his return, he remained awhile in London, and in 1794 he worked his passage to the United States as a common sailor, landed at Boston, and spent nearly two years at East Windsor. In the summer of 1796, he was in New York, and placed a small boat on the Collect Pond, worked by a submerged wheel at the stern, which has been described as a screw propeller. Soon after, he visited Oliver Evans in Philadelphia, and expressed his intention of forming a company to introduce steamboats on the Western waters. With this view, and to ascertain the condition of his Western property, he went to Kentucky, where

he found his land overrun with squatters, and no encouragement for his steam projects. Mortified by his inability to carry out his great project, and wearied by the law-suits in which he had been engaged for the recovery of his lands, Fitch became despondent and desperate, and terminated his life by swallowing a dozen opium pills, which had been left with him from time to time by his physician as anodynes. The sealed envelope was formally opened by the directors of the Library Committee in 1823, and was found to contain a detailed history of his adventures in the steamboat enterprise, inscribed, 'To my children and future generations,' with a journal and other papers, from which his biography was prepared by Thompson Westcott, (Philadelphia, 1857).—*Appleton's Cyclopædia*.

Livingston. Before Fulton left for New York, the minister generously offered, from his own ample fortune, all the capital necessary to make further experiments; and with his great political influence in his native state, he got an act passed by the Legislature of New York, in 1798, repealing the act of eighteen years before in favor of John Fitch, and granting to him the exclusive privilege of navigating the waters of the State by steam, on condition that within twelve months he should cause a boat to be constructed of not less than twenty tons, able to navigate the Hudson River at an average speed of four miles an hour. By subsequent renewals of this act, Fulton was included in its provisions. In 1803 an order was sent to Boulton & Watt for a steam engine for a larger boat, and this engine reached New York in 1806. The following year the *Clermont* was constructed, and on the Hudson she averaged a speed of five miles an hour. Believing that her model could be improved, she was lengthened to one hundred and forty feet on the keel, and sixteen and a half feet beam.

In 1809 the first patent from the United States to Fulton was granted, and two years later he patented other improvements in his machinery. The chief point he secured was the adaptation of a paddle-wheel to the axle of Watt's steam engine.

The first steamboat to navigate Western rivers was built by Fulton at Pittsburg. She was rated at three hundred and fifty tons, and named 'New Orleans,' that city being intended as her destination. She had a stern wheel, and was rigged also for sails. Starting from Pittsburg in October, 1812, she made the trip to Louisville in seventy hours. Not being able to pass the falls at Louisville, she made several trips between Pittsburg and Cincinnati, and in December reached New Orleans. The enterprise was a success, for during the first year she earned half the cost of her construction. For more than a year she plied between New Orleans and Natchez, and was finally wrecked upon a snag off Baton Rouge—the fate prophetic of so many other steamboats, since, from that day to this, the snag has proved the most fatal obstacle to steam navigation on the Mississippi.¹

Hitherto no steamboat had been built to *ascend* Western rivers. On the return trip, however, of the *Enterprise*—built at Brownsville, Pa.,—leaving New Orleans, she ascended the Mississippi, reaching Louisville in the spring of 1816, in twenty-five days. On the arrival of her brave commander—Captain Henry M. Shreve,—a public dinner was given to him by the citizens of Louisville. The honor was deserved, for not only had he proved he could breast that mighty river successfully for that vast distance, but he brought on intentionally a suit to test the validity of Fulton's claims to his monopoly to navigate *all* the waters of the United States; and confident in the equity of his cause, he called her 'the Washington.' Both these vessels were seized, as

¹ Snag:—the trunk of a large tree firmly fixed to the bottom of a river at one end, and rising nearly or quite to the surface at the other end, by which steamboats and other vessels are often pierced and sunk.—*Webster's Dictionary*.

her commander desired they should be, and the case came up before the Supreme Court at Washington, and the decision of that tribunal opened the navigation of all American waters to steam-vessels free forever.

I stop a moment to ask my readers to contemplate the beneficence of a system of jurisprudence, from whose verdicts there can be no appeal throughout the length and breadth of a great nation. This decision clearly defined the equity of the case, which overthrew all the local legislation of the States on this subject which had assumed the prerogative of granting rights which conflicted with those of other States, and the decision gave nationality to patent laws, and unity and universality to the rights of a citizen of any State throughout the limits of the Republic.

This liberation of all the waters of the country from State interference, imparted an impulse to internal navigation, which made the vast regions that stretch from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and from the silver lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, practically a part of the United States, with which we were so soon to become as familiar as we were with the Connecticut, the Hudson, the Delaware or James rivers. When poor Fitch died, he requested that his body might be laid on the banks of the Ohio, 'where the song of the boatmen would enliven the stillness of his resting-place, and the music of the steam-engine soothe his spirit. That request was sacredly regarded, and the traveler may now find his tomb where he desired to have his ashes repose.'

¹ Some of my readers must have explored those vast stretches of prairie and river before the days of quick transit made them familiar to all the world. The flat-boat was just resigning its time-honored reign to the noisy and pretentious empire of steam. Such early wanderers may recall impressions not unlike those which I felt and recorded in *My Life Note-Book*, while I was looking on those marvels of nature as I saw them first in 1834,5; and such readers, if they have not outlived the freshness of heart which lends to youth its chief fascination, will forgive the romance which belongs to the period when I roamed and sketched scenery and feeling; and for the egotism of introducing here any of these boyish writings, crude and extravagant as they may be, I find for them the same apology—if it were one, rather than a justification—which Gibbon invokes in that passage of his inimitable autobiography, where, in alluding in his old age to his youthful love for the young lady who was destined to marry another man and become the mother of Madame de Stael:—'I am,' he said, 'rather proud that I was once capable of so pure and exalted a sentiment.'

"On the 22d of November, we left the Ohio, and found ourselves on the mighty flood of the Mississinni.

It is one of the grandest spectacles on this continent—the associations which cluster around that scene with the turbid waters of the Mississippi flowing down from the Rocky Mountains, and the vast solitudes of the North-West, with the crystal Ohio springing from the green hills of New York and Pennsylvania, the one speaking of the grandeur of undisturbed nature, the other of the charities of civilized life! Our boat came ashore for an hour on the western bank of the Mississippi. I felt almost a shudder come over me as I leaped from her side, to strike for the first time the unscared wilds of what was beyond dispute at that time the far West. I ran up to the top of the highest eminence in the neighborhood, and looked down upon those rivers that seemed to me like two allied armies that had been called from distant regions to mingle their fortunes and march to another and still more distant country to die on the same field. My reverie was disturbed by the steamboat bell in the distance summoning the passengers back. I sprang from the spot where I stood and fell. I had hurt myself, and I knew not how much; but the thought that I might be left alone to die there, sent an icy chill through my veins. I dragged myself on impatiently, till I could walk, and at last run. When I got upon the deck of the vessel again I found that I had only sprained an ankle—the rest was all a frenzy of fright. I stood upon the upper deck as we floated away over the bosom of the Father of Waters. It seemed like one wide calm sea moving on in awful magnificence

The mighty change thus effected, on all the lakes and water-courses of this country, could not be comprehended by the men then living. To make all the people of a wide nation neighbors, was a new thought, and it begat a new feeling of brotherhood. The geographies which our fathers had studied in the rude school-house were cast aside with the lumber of mythology. East, West, North and South, were terms which had lost their significance. To make the journey from New York to Albany by land, was the only safe way to travel, for the occasional sloop that undertook the incalculable voyage,

"I was now on that great river I had longed with impatience to see from my childhood: home and its loved objects far behind me. I, a stranger pilgrim, every moment going farther and farther from all that I loved on earth. Impenetrable forests were stretching away on either side, without a habitation to break the solitude. A feeling of loneliness came over me, and I found the tears flowing down my face. And yet I was not sad; and when I asked myself if I was, another self said to me: 'How often have you in years ago exclaimed,

'Oh, that the desert were my dwelling-place?'

'Yes,' myself said to the other self, 'did I not always add,

'With one fair spirit for my minister.'

'I looked back to catch one view of the Ohio, and as it faded away, I felt that the last link was broken indeed between me and my home. I could no longer sit at evening and watch the bright sparkling waters which came from that loved but distant region. I was a wanderer!

'The scenery of that great river fills the soul, and leaves nothing to be desired only security from danger. But at the time of this, my first voyage over it, *that* feeling the Western traveller could not have, for he sailed in sight of wrecks and explosions the whole distance. I will not describe what I saw; but during the whole time I was in the West and South, I was impressed every hour with this single thought, 'How cheap life is here!'

'One morning, just after sunrise, as we were sailing in the middle of the river, where it was about a mile and a half wide, I happened, in walking the upper deck, to hear the crack of a rifle on the Western bank. A moment after I saw a deer dash into the river from the bank, and swim towards the opposite shore. Our boatman had seen it, and they lowered a small-boat, into which four men got and pulled for the deer. Every muscle was taxed, and the boat shot through the water like an arrow, while the steamer headed around and kept her place in the stream. I hoped the noble buck would escape. At last he reached the bank, and sprang several times entirely out of water; but the bank was too steep for him, and he was captured, if it could be called a capture. The hunter's rifle had only made a flesh wound in the saddle. Late that afternoon we had the venison for our dinner, cooked in five different ways.

"For the next twenty-four hours, during which we sailed nearly three hundred miles, we saw not a sign of civilized life. The sober hues of autumn were spreading over those vast forests, and the green foliage had all died by the winter frosts. One evening, however,

when we stopped to wood, I saw some green bushes, and as the sun set an hour later, while we were sailing under the shadow of the tall forests of Arkansas, I observed what seemed to be the first signs of returning spring in the budding leaves. The next morning as I came on deck, the sun was rising over green forests, waving as richly as they could have waved in the past summer. The air was mild and balmy. It seemed like a scene of enchantment. I had felt the blasts of winter, and seen them sweep away every green thing that year; and it had not occurred to me that I should that same season witness such freshness and fragrance again. But now all the glory of blushing summer filled the eye.

'On the morning of the 30th of November, we were told to look out for the cliffs of Natchez. In the distance we saw a tall, grayish white bluff stretching for miles, with here and there a spire rising above the summit, or a light-house on the verge. As we landed the sun was shining brightly through a clear sky and soft atmosphere that seemed as balmy as the sweetest of our spring mornings.

'Only once before in my life, have I greeted a New Year beyond the bounds of New England. But this new year's morning broke over me in the soft climate of the South, with the music of birds and the fragrance of flowers. I looked out of my window, at sunrise, for the desolation of winter, which I had always seen spread over a New Year's morning; but the rich foliage was still waving in the gentlest breezes, and the mild sweetness of a half-tinted Indian Summer filled the air. There are nearly one thousand trees in the park around the house, and they are filled with a chorus of music from ten thousand mocking birds. These birds are so common here that they are not caught or caged half so often as robins are in New England. This morning there was a luxury and wealth of song in their chorus, which would not be believed if I told my friends of it! There has scarcely been a morning since I have been here, when the sun rose brightly, that I was not waked at the dawning by the singing of these birds. It seems to me that nothing less than a congress of all the musical warblers of the earth could make such music, for they imitate perfectly everything that sings except the human voice. When I awoke this morning, it was one of the most exquisite moments of my life. I was, and I have been, all day filled with a high, peaceful enthusiasm. I have thought many times of the contrast between this latitude and my northern home. There snows, wild tempests sweeping over the bleak and barren hills, greet the eye everywhere: here we are surrounded by verdure and beauty, and the most delightful emotions tremble in the bosom and fire the soul. . . .

was licensed to carry only six passengers¹ and the voyage was full of peril. And it was in this style that such men as Chancellor Livingston, General Van Rensselaer and De Witt Clinton reached their estates on the Hudson,

'And so passed away this balmy winter, filled with genial influences from the earth, and the skies, and ten thousand bright and beautiful things around me. But I at last grew weary of even this kind of life, and I longed to return once more to the country where I should hear the dashing streamlets, and the singing of many birds whose songs I had been familiar with from childhood.

'The summer was now on us, and the heat had grown intense. All my preparations were made, and while I was sitting on the evening of my arrival at Grand Gulf, in the balcony of a hotel standing on the bank of the river, I saw in the distance two steamers sending up their black columns of smoke, turning a point some ten or twelve miles below. The Tuscahoma and the Mediterranean, then the most celebrated boats on the Mississippi, came up to the pier side by side. They were both burning tar to enrage the fires of their engines, reckless of a thousand lives. The cholera was on both boats, and from each more than fifty persons had been buried in the few days' voyage from New Orleans. I stepped on the Tuscahoma. All the passengers were asleep, except the poor victims of that awful disease, and a few attendants who stood around them. During the ten days of our voyage, a large number of persons died on board, whom we carried ashore and buried with decency and sadness, making records of all the facts we could ascertain in regard to the departed.

'Although I had not lost sight of green vegetation during my residence in the South, yet, when Spring had come on, I saw a fresher green in everything, and brighter and more glorious hues flashing from every leaf and flower, and a more genial aspect in the skies themselves. The Southern Spring does not burst forth so suddenly and brilliantly as our Spring at the North; but it comes abundantly, lusciously, voluptuously. There is a loveliness about it, and yet a fascination, as if something of the stillness that spread over the Campanian Fields on the morning when 'gaily broke forth the dawn of the last day of Pompeii.' Behind all this there is poison and mildew and death. The Southern fevers are more fatal than Northern colds and consumptions; and they carry more to the grave. The Northern summer, and the Southern winter combine the glories of the American climate; and were I obliged to gather my happiness from climate alone, or my health either, I would spend my winters near the Gulf of Mexico, and my summers on the banks of the Connecticut.

'I wrote many hundred pages about the scenery of the South, the institutions of the South, my feelings at the South. To crystallize those many pages into one:—The great rivers and solitudes of the Southwest are invested with a grandeur which, although it does not inspire the mind so quickly, holds it longer on the table-lands of high moral emotion. I had trembled before Niagara, but on the western waters I felt a constant sustaining inspiration for months together. From the green banks of the broad stream that danced under

my eyes, while a boy, I gazed into it on my father's lands,—I had always watched with intense feeling flowing waters. The life, the joy, the freedom, the glory of unchained, leaping, glancing waters, made me feel that there was something above them and me which was the everlasting fountain of purity, of progress, and of light. And so from childhood's hour, and from that stream of my childhood, till I passed the Connecticut, and then the Hudson, and then the Ohio, and then the Mississippi, I went from step to step till I reached what has impressed me more deeply than anything I have ever seen in nature. While I was in the valley of the Mississippi, and especially when I was on that river, as I was whole weeks together, I felt a more equal and even enthusiasm for the sublimities of creation than I have ever felt in any other part of the world.

'On the morning of the 16th of May we saw the pure waters of the Ohio. The second captain of the boat had promised to wake me if we came to the mouth of the river during the night. He woke me ten miles off. When I went on deck, over the eastern hills came the purple light of the morning, calmly, radiantly, kindly. I think that in a climate so far to the north as New York, such sunrises are not often seen. We did not stop at the junction, but our boat shot from the awful bosom of the Mississippi, upon what seems to be the lighter, the gayer, and by far the purer waters of the Ohio. The last morning of my sojourn in the South broke gloriously over the heavens, and the Father of Waters rolled behind me. 'And now,' I said, as I looked back to that mighty rolling flood, 'I will say my farewell to this glorious river. In my youth, I longed to gaze upon it; and although I have been denied much, yet I have not lost the sight, I have even grown familiar with that great stream. I have been borne safely over its bosom where thousands have been laid to rest on its deep bed, or along its solemn shores ages ago, before Rome's glory rose, and the untutored Indian gazed upon the river, and in the enthusiasm of his soul called it, 'Mississippi,' 'Father of Waters.''
My Life-Note Book.

¹ In an advertisement copied from a New York newspaper printed in the early part of this century, we see how far improvement in traveling had then advanced:—

'SLOOP EXPERIMENT—FOR PASSENGERS ONLY! Elias Bunker informs his friends and the public, that he has commenced running a sloop of about one hundred and ten tons burden, between the cities of Hudson and New York, for the purpose of carrying passengers only. The owners of this vessel, being desirous to render the passage as short, convenient, and agreeable as possible, have not only taken care to furnish her with the best beds, bedding, liquors, provisions, etc., but they have been at very great expense and trouble in procuring materials and building her on the best construction for sailing, and for the accommodation of ladies and gentlemen traveling on business or for pleasure.

'Merchants and others residing in the northern, eastern, and western counties, will find a great convenience in being able to calculate (at home) the precise time they can sail from Hudson and New York without being under the necessity of taking their beds and bedding; and those in New York may so calculate their business as to be certain of comfortable accommodations up the river.'

although when the first National Congress of the old Thirteen Colonies met at Albany, June 19, 1754, Benjamin Franklin and other delegates, from south of New York, preferred to trust themselves on the backs of good horses, by a well-known road, rather than run the risk of being detained by a sloop passage. So too, as late as the time when John Quincy Adams was President, he chose to make his annual visit to Quincy on horseback, to be 'sure that he should reach home in some decent season.'

The Steam-Engine on the Ocean.—Soon after Fulton's Clermont had ascended the Hudson, John Stevens launched the Phoenix; and as Fulton held the monopoly of navigating the waters of New York, the new boat was sent round to Philadelphia by sea. But another step of more importance was soon to be taken. The Atlantic was to be crossed by steam, and to the enterprise of certain of the citizens of Savannah, Georgia, and the ship-building city of New York, the world is indebted for her construction. She was built in New York, and on the 28th of March, 1819, she made a trial trip to and from Savannah, after which she sailed for Liverpool direct on the 20th of May. Her voyage ended successfully in 31 days. A month later she started for St. Petersburg, where, after even a more enthusiastic reception than had been accorded to her in Liverpool, the brave little vessel turned her prow towards home, reaching Savannah on the 30th of November, after a voyage of 50 days.¹

¹ She was 300 tons burden, clipper built, full rigged, and propelled by one inclined, direct-acting, low-pressure engine, similar to those now in use. The size of her cylinder was 40 in. in diameter, with 6 ft. stroke, and carried 20 lbs. steam. The paddles were of wrought iron, with only one flange, and entirely uncovered. They were so attached to the shaft that their removal and shipment on deck could be accomplished in from 15 to 20 minutes, without occasioning the slightest inconvenience. She had two superb and elegant cabins for passengers—ladies' and gentlemen's—the two being separated, and both handsomely furnished. All her births, 32 in number, were state-rooms, and provided with every comfort. Her speed without sails is set down at 5 knots, though vessels that passed her under steam and sail, in her voyage across the Atlantic, reported her movements at from 9 to 10 knots.

The *Savannah* left New York for Savannah on 28th March, 1819, and arrived in that port on 6th April. Her arrival we find thus chronicled in the *Republican* of the 7th April, 1819:

"The steamship *Savannah* arrived at our port last evening, after a boisterous passage of seven days from New York. On her approach to the city, hundreds of citizens flocked to the banks of the river, and, while she ascended, saluted her with long and loud huzzas! The utmost confidence is placed in her security. It redounds much to the honor of Savannah, when it is said that it was owing to the enterprise of some of her spirited citizens that the first attempt was made to cross the Atlantic Ocean in a vessel propelled by steam. We sincerely hope the owners may reap a rich reward for their splendid and laudable undertaking."

The *Savannah* left that port for an excursion-trip to Charleston on the 14th of April, and returned on the 30th of the same month. The *Republican* of the 4th May has the following announcement:

"PASSAGE TO NEW YORK.

"The steamship *Savannah*, Captain Rogers, will make one trip to New York, previous to her departure for Liverpool, should a sufficient number of passengers offer, and will be ready to proceed in the course of this week or commencement of the next. Apply on board, at Taylor's Wharf, or to

"SCARBROUGH & McKINNE."

But few or no passengers offering, she, on the 11th May, took an excursion party down to Tybee and the forts, returning to the city late in the afternoon. In the *Republican* of May 19th, we find the following advertisement:

"FOR LIVERPOOL.

"The steamship *Savannah*, Captain Rogers, will, without fail, proceed for Liverpool direct to-morrow, 20th inst. Passengers, if any offer, can be well accommodated. Apply on board."

No passengers, however, offered; and according to promise, the steamer weighed anchor on 20th May, and set out on her voyage for Liverpool direct, an experiment hitherto untried in the history of the world. On June 20th, after a voyage of 31 days, the *Savannah* came to anchor in the port of Liverpool. During her passage, she worked her engine 18 days—it being found necessary, on so long a voyage, to economize fuel. She used pitch-pine: the use of coal on American steamers not having been introduced at that day. When entering the St. George's Channel, off the city of Cork, she was described by the commander of the British fleet, lying at that city. Seeing a volume of smoke ascending from the steamer, he naturally concluded she was on fire, and with commendable promptitude, dispatched two cutters to her relief; on boarding, they found her all right. On nearing Liverpool, the more effectually to astonish the Britishers, the wheels were restored to the shafts, all sails set, and she went into the Mersey amid the wildest astonishment of all beholders.

After remaining at Liverpool a month, she sailed for St. Petersburg, her original destination, where Captain Rogers and his strange craft were received with every demonstration of respect and admiration. She remained at St. Petersburg for several weeks; then turning her course westward, the bold little ship arrived in Savannah as she left it—in ballast—November 30th, after a voyage of 50 days from St. Petersburg, all well, and to use Captain Rogers' own language, "neither a screw, bolt, nor rope-yarn parted," although she experienced very rough weather.

Novelty and adventurous daring, more than anything else, have rendered celebrated this first experiment in ocean steam navigation. As a useful or profitable speculation, it was a complete failure, and merely

Eighteen years, however, went by before regular passages were made across the Atlantic by steam. In 1838, the *Sirius* led the way from England, and reached New York in seventeen days. The Great Western soon followed in her track, making the passage easily in fifteen days. Success attended her voyages, which were made with a regularity and safety that settled forever the practicability of ocean steam navigation, and brought the two hemispheres within hailing distance of each other.¹

The success of the Great Western, which had for some years made her trips with such regularity and safety for passengers and merchandise, opened an inviting field for capital, and the Cunard Line was soon afterwards established. For a while it had undisputed supremacy on the ocean for commercial purposes. How long this country, whose commerce was then competing with that of Great Britain,—having surpassed that of every other nation—would have continued insensible to the triumphs of her great rival, cannot be conjectured, had it not been for an old American sea-captain, who for many years had been steadily winning a reputation unrivalled among the sailing-masters of the world. Filled with patriotic ambition, he projected a line of steamships, which gave a new impulse to ocean navigation, and carried the reputation of American steamers higher than any others.

Edward K. Collins, and George Steers.—To these two extraordinary men this country owes a debt of gratitude to which no well-informed American has ever been insensible. The former still lives to enjoy fortune and fame; and what is sometimes sweeter, the friendship of the brave, the true and the good, who have known him all through life. The latter died in the midst of his usefulness; but not until he had reaped the rich reward of his priceless con-

represented alike the skill of Northern shipbuilders and the enterprise of Southern merchants; nor can it be even said that the result of the attempt was at all indicative of eventual success. It was a simple incident and led to no practical results.

The carriage of a cargo insuring remunerative freights, was impossible in the case of a vessel which could scarcely contain within herself the supplies requisite for a single voyage. Passage money alone would not pay the expenses.

In the month of December the steamer visited Washington City, where she astonished the 'collective wisdom,' and thence went to New York.

Soon after her return to New York, the *Savannah* was divested of her steam apparatus, converted into a packet-ship of the same name, and ran for some years between Savannah and New York.

Her final fate was a sad one. In one of her trips from Savannah to New York she was driven ashore in a storm on Long Island, and went to pieces.

¹ A storm swept our vessel to England in fifteen days [1840]. As I look back on it, that voyage is almost a blank. It would have been quite such but for my sufferings. I remember little, but the terrible monotony of creaking rigging, hoarse orders, deck tramping and angry surges of the ocean. After making half the passage, the storm suddenly left us rocking among the waves. We now prepared ourselves for a long, tedious calm. Towards sunset the next day, we saw a column of smoke rising into the clear heavens

on the western horizon, and we knew the GREAT WESTERN was behind it. In a few hours she came up and went sweeping majestically by over the now calm sea, leaving our sails to flap away interminable days without moving twenty miles in twenty-four hours.

So we all thought then, and wished we were on board the steamer. A consciousness of the power of the steam-engine on the ocean I then felt for the first time. All the fleets of England without steam never could have impressed me as did that solitary steamer. But while we were lamenting our fate, and the sailors were beginning to get sulky, and the old captain was pacing the deck impatiently whistling for a wind, far away to the north-west a cloud came rising which made the sea black as it came. First it struck the maintop-gallant-sails and slowly we began to move once more through the waters. The ship soon lifted and shook herself, and began to leap through the sea. The breeze freshened: we flew through the ocean. The next day a gale brought us where we saw the GREAT WESTERN pitching and floundering, heaving through the waves, while we were rushing by her shortly afterwards before the storm. We passed the steamer and saw no more of her, but we took with us her news to England, and stood on that island three hours before her passengers!—*The Glory and Shame of England*, by C. Edwards Lester, vol. i. pp. 18, 19.

tributions to naval architecture. It was by their united energies and talent that the Collins Line of Steamships performed what were then justly considered miracles of navigation, adding new lustre to the American name on the ocean, before some of the finest of those splendid ships met with their sad fate.

Steers' Theory of Ship-Building.—It was entirely right or entirely wrong. When he laid the keel of the pilot-boat *Mary Taylor*, in 1849, he undertook to make a faster, a dryer, and a steadier craft than any of its tonnage that had ever sailed out of New York. This he expected to do by a model which should differ in every respect from the established lines of Ship-Building. A sea-going vessel had never been built, where the greatest breadth was not nearer the bow than the stern. In that boat, the greatest breadth was abaft the centre. When she was launched, some said that she would tear herself to pieces; others, that she would plunge herself under, and in rough weather nobody could live on her deck. These prophecies all failed. Mr. Steers never afterwards departed from that rule in any vessel he built.

One of the most radical principles of Steers' system consists in his theory, that for a vessel to sail easily, steadily, and rapidly, the displacement of water must be performed nearly equally along all the lines: in the old system the friction came almost entirely on the bows. This resulted in the heaping up of a wave of water which the ship never got through; *de facto*, the ship was always sailing up hill. Steers equalized the friction so perfectly, that the vessel itself, if it were a conscious thing, could not tell where the chief pressure was. Hence, from year to year, his models outstripped everything, till the *America* beat the world.

Steers has also demonstrated that his vessels were neither strained, wet, nor damaged any more under rapid sailing and strong breezes than in calm weather.

The advantages of Steers' System of Naval Architecture were, *First*, Greater speed with the same tonnage and canvas. *Second*, Greater stability in the vessel, by which is meant the ability to sustain herself in an upright position in all weather. *Third*, Greater evenness and equality of motion, because of an equal leverage; since the masts, as levers, work more evenly upon the fulcrum of the ship. *Fourth*, Greater endurance, because there is less strain in rough weather or rapid sailing. *Fifth*, Evenness of motion, so that the ship does not, by varying about, constantly displace more water than is necessary. The steadier a ship moves, the less power is wasted in friction. Up to Steers' time, no book on Naval Architecture and no naval architect himself had reached any certain rule to guide him in fixing his masts and regulating his canvas, because none of the rules laid down gave the exact and true point of side-way resistance.¹

¹ These passages were taken down *verbatim* by myself from Mr. Steers' lips, in 1851. I had the honor of knowing that great and excellent man most intimately, and he had the kindness to show and explain to me his models, and the principles which guided him in Naval Architecture—an art which he completely revolutionized, and thereby placed the whole world under obligation.

When the plan of Mr. Collins was laid before the National Government, generous encouragement was expected. But through the stolidity of the Washington officials, neither the magnitude nor the feasibility of the plan was comprehended: but the project was at once taken up by the bankers and merchants of New York, to whom the undivided honor was awarded of carrying it into effect. One by one as these vessels were completed, they took their places in the line, each doing its work bravely to the last, shortening the distance between the Old World and the New.

The Colossal Structure of British Power.—It had been sustained by *ships*. They had circled the pole and put a girdle round the earth. England's cannon looked into every harbor and her commerce flowed into every nation. From her sea-home, she made her fleets her voice. Her power was the centre of tides whose pulsations were felt on every shore and up every great river. England, therefore, did not look with unanxious eyes upon the first passages of Collins' steamers, thus annihilating ocean distances. Her maritime supremacy was being wrested from her tenacious and accustomed grasp. For centuries she has made no distinction between national power and maritime superiority. She was now contending for no empty honor. She was struggling to hold what she had been for generations contending to win—the *commerce of the whole world*. All her energies were at once quickened into a new activity; larger and more powerful steamers were added to the Cunard Line. And as the nerves and sinews of these two Anglo-Saxon nations were strained in rivalry for the dominion of the sea, this ocean field grew into a nobler sight than the Waterloo and Marathon plains. A chance-shot may lay a hero dead, and an accident may determine a decisive battle; but in this Atlantic conflict, the bravest, strongest, and *wisest* were sure to win.

When our steamers had won the palm, the merchants of New York gave Mr. Collins a massive table service in California gold. Had such services been achieved by the subject of a great empire, he would have been considered munificently rewarded by a ribbon or a star. Here men saw a greater thing to be done; for the homage paid to a simple *republican* by his fellow-citizens, made him greater than the favor of a sovereign ever makes a *subject*. For sovereigns make *favorites*—not *men*.

Steam on the Land: Railways.—The third stage of progress in bringing steam power into practical use was on railways. There was nothing new in laying the tracks, either in grooves cut in wood or stone, or tracks consisting of wooden rails laid down over smooth timbers,—the object in all such instances being the lessening of friction to enable a given amount of power to move a larger weight. The Romans had constructed the finest roads that have ever been built in the world—even to this day, as the traveller now witnesses in riding out from Rome over the Appian Way. The first instance I find of the use of rails was two hundred years ago, in the collieries, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In Roger North's life of Lord Keeper North, we learn that the coals were carried from the mines to the bank of the river 'by laying rails of

timber exactly straight and parallel; and bulky carts were made with four rollers fitting those rails, whereby the carriage was made so easy that one horse could draw four or five chaldrons.' It was more than one hundred years before a flange was used on the wheels, and it was only in 1767 that iron was substituted for the wooden rail. These rails were of cast-iron, and were held down by spikes. A few years later, a perpendicular ledge on the outer edge was added to keep the wheels from running off the track. These improvements were universally adopted in the collieries and other mines of England, and thus one improvement followed another, until flat wrought-iron rails were introduced, which finally gave place in 1820 to improved shapes in rails, owing to the improvements in machinery for rolling.

In 1782 Oliver Evans, of Philadelphia, had patented a steam wagon; and two years later Watt had obtained a patent in England for a locomotive carriage. None of these inventions, however, were of much practical importance, and the world had to wait a while longer for better results. The first railroad opened for conveying passengers, was the Stockton and Darlington in 1825; but this was worked only by horse power. In the following year, M. Seguin successfully introduced locomotives on some of the French railways. At this time Robert Stephenson, whose name stands highest on the list of railway locomotive constructors, adopted M. Seguin's improvements, and in a trial by several competitors, in October, 1829, the prize was awarded to 'the Rocket,' weighing four tons, five cwt., built by Robert Stephenson and Booth. This locomotive made an average speed of fourteen miles an hour drawing seventeen tons; while under favorable circumstances it made double that speed. This was the dawn of the new triumph of steam on land, and with constantly increasing improvements it began to go into general use in the British islands.

Of course, Americans could not be insensible to the vast changes this new system of transportation would give birth to; for if it had such great value in those narrow islands, how wide must be its reign in a continent of such mighty distances, and where the most stupendous labors of the human race were to be performed. Even before Stephenson's locomotive was perfected, and while the whole matter was regarded in England as still an unsolved problem, a horse railroad was built in Massachusetts in 1826-1827, three miles in length, from the quarries of Quincy to the Neponset river. A few months later, the second American railroad was completed from the coal mines of Mauch Chunk to the Lehigh river, and, with its turnouts and branches, comprised an entire distance of thirteen miles. Like the Quincy railroad, the rails were of timber laid on wooden sleepers, and strapped with flat iron.

The railroad fever now took possession of the American people; nor was there any abatement in feeling, or serious interruption in the construction of American railways, until a continental system of railways of upwards of seventy-two thousand miles was completed, making at this time altogether the largest and most complete system of railways in any country. The ap-

pended tables give the exhibit in brief of American railways up to the present time.¹

TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE MILES OF ROAD CONSTRUCTED EACH YEAR SINCE AND INCLUDING 1830.

Year.	Miles in Operation.	Annual Increase of Mileage.	Year.	Miles in Operation.	Annual Increase of Mileage.	Year.	Miles in Operation.	Annual Increase of Mileage.
1830....	23	...	1845..	4,633	256	1860..	30,635	1,846
1831....	95	72	1846..	4,930	297	1861..	31,286	651
1832....	229	134	1847..	5,598	668	1862..	32,120	834
1833....	380	151	1848..	5,996	398	1863..	33,170	1,050
1834....	633	253	1849..	7,365	1,369	1864..	33,908	738
1835....	1,098	465	1850..	9,021	1,650	1865..	35,085	1,177
1836....	1,273	175	1851..	10,982	1,961	1866..	36,827	1,742
1837....	1,497	224	1852..	12,908	1,926	1867..	39,276	2,449
1838....	1,913	416	1853..	15,360	2,452	1868..	42,255	2,979
1839....	2,302	389	1854..	16,720	1,360	1869..	47,208	4,953
1840....	2,818	516	1855..	18,374	1,654	1870..	52,898	5,625
1841....	3,535	717	1856..	22,016	3,643	1871..	60,568	7,660
1842....	4,026	491	1857..	24,503	2,486	1872..	66,735	6,167
1843....	4,185	159	1858..	26,998	2,465	1873..	70,651	3,916
1844....	4,377	192	1859..	28,789	1,821	1874..	72,551	1,900

AGGREGATES OF MILEAGE, PASSENGERS CARRIED, FREIGHT MOVED, AND MONEY EARNED, FOR THE YEAR 1873. (THE LATEST OF POOR'S MANUAL.)

	MILEAGE.	PASSENGERS.	FREIGHT.	MONEY EARNED.
Maine.....	2,738,200	1,467,554	1,232,779	\$4,363,741
New Hampshire.....	2,139,580	1,354,196	1,743,414	3,618,460
Vermont.....	4,311,060	1,628,855	2,476,834	4,183,547
Massachusetts.....	15,979,173	36,362,210	9,830,102	27,850,458
Rhode Island.....	495,293	1,191,850	273,911	1,115,672
Connecticut.....	5,271,438	8,277,956	2,913,241	10,544,810
New York.....	42,956,203	26,307,123	25,269,766	68,825,007
New Jersey.....	4,535,094	17,878,915	11,495,931	25,846,923
Pennsylvania.....	46,063,393	24,971,311	58,510,070	83,357,427
Delaware.....	295,612	11,813	1,998	666,801
		(in part).	(in part).	
Maryland.....	12,866,532	896,073	2,617,175	15,310,942
Ohio.....	51,996,189	11,993,538	21,269,173	59,508,950
Michigan.....	16,471,804	2,832,801	4,112,195	14,295,988
Indiana.....	19,982,095	3,936,903	7,084,391	24,270,062
Illinois.....	27,093,442	8,857,203	13,976,562	54,086,418
Wisconsin.....	5,382,112	1,179,267	1,925,264	11,146,812
Minnesota.....	559,908	748,050	337,610	4,212,844
Iowa.....	1,247,636	223,429	394,710	7,983,988
Kansas.....	5,518,869	541,490	731,458	10,062,437
Dakota.....	389,015	25,014	36,777	162,725
Nebraska.....	392,234	81,217	126,120	1,092,343
Missouri.....	7,730,190	2,629,000	2,779,352	12,188,908
Virginia.....	4,520,467	1,186,580	1,285,375	7,098,234
West Virginia.....	16,500	.....	206,491	51,202
North Carolina.....	1,595,581	255,434	387,674	2,897,488
South Carolina.....	1,667,180	290,434	294,784	3,560,027
Georgia.....	3,043,340	335,835	511,592	7,695,955
Alabama.....	1,982,234	344,799	.....	4,957,941
Mississippi.....	2,042,372	422,214	412,456	5,424,326
Louisiana.....	131,000	.....	.....	2,740,489
Texas.....	2,376,338	423,065	615,903	6,147,648
Kentucky.....	3,713,352	1,187,216	1,352,949	7,199,993
Tennessee.....	2,178,822	397,935	743,140	4,451,517
Arkansas.....	273,824	.....	40,775	927,609
Florida.....	77,000	17,000	.....	170,000
Colorado.....	524,794	73,231	195,948	1,098,596
Utah.....	.....	.....	.....	1,332,612
California.....	460,254	339,475	213,821	2,412,796
Union Pacific.....	.....	174,994	487,484	.....
Central Pacific.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	311,038,220	158,895,001	175,887,225	\$502,864,696

It is utterly beyond the scope of this work, to go beyond a glance at the results which have followed the construction of the American railway system. The aggregates, given in cost or work done, are so vast they become bewildering. Their history has been an astounding succession of miracles, transcending by far all previous attempts of former ages to bring the awful forces of nature under the control of man. The amount of wealth they have added to the nation is utterly out of the power of the human mind either to estimate or comprehend. One writer of high repute, calculates that American railways on an average, have increased the value of agricultural lands ten dollars per acre for ten miles on either side of the tracks. They have equalized, to a great extent, the value of farming lands, by shortening distances and offering improved facilities for transportation to an extent which no other invention of man, hardly all of them put together, could have so successfully effected.

In a later portion of this work, when I reach the vital problems which are now pressing for solution ; *i.e.*—Banking, Finance, Tariffs, Free Trade and National Legislation, I shall institute a somewhat thorough inquiry into the future management of railways, and what must be the inevitable fate of all corporate monopolies which persist in wielding their power at the expense of the people.

The Steam-Engine as a Motor Power for Manufactures.—This is not the place to dwell on the influence which steam has put forth upon the manufactures of the United States which have grown to such vast proportions. This subject will be treated more fully hereafter. It is necessary to say a word, however, on the subject of manufactures, for at the period which now concerns us, they had reached a great height of prosperity, chiefly through another agent—*falling water*.

The utilization of the power of running water occurred at so early a period in history that no writers on hydraulics have been able to trace its origin. One of the first necessities of the rude life of our forefathers was the sawing of lumber into boards and planks to suit the necessities of house-building. The early settlers finding themselves in the midst of a wilderness overshadowed by primeval forests, had no instruments but the axe and the hand-saw to fell the trees and shape them into convenient forms to build houses for themselves and their cattle. It became necessary to have a more economical mode of sawing ; and one of the first labor-saving machines on a large scale brought into this country was the saw-mill which was run by water power. Its first introduction is said to have been in Massachusetts, thirteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims. Saw-mills were vigorously at work in the Bay State *more than a century before they were used in England*. In fact, it appears that as late as 1767, a saw-mill which had been put up in that country was destroyed by a mob, who ignorantly supposed it would put an end to the business of hand-sawing.

Before the introduction of the saw-mill, American houses were constructed

of hewn logs fashioned very much after the cabins of the Indians. The first saw-mill erected in the neighborhood of New York, was on Governor's Island. It was run by wind, and served the purpose also of a grinding-mill. Most of the work of the early saw-mills was, however, done on the banks of the streams of New England, where the first well-constructed houses in this country were built, and the water-power saw-mill began to put an end to the log cabin in that region.

Let us leap a long period and come down to Lowell, where the finest display of water-power this continent has yet seen, was first applied, and where it is still working its miracles and transformation.

The Fair and Populous City of Lowell.—It stands on the Merrimac, at the mouth of the Concord, twenty-five miles north-west of Boston.¹ From its small beginnings it has risen into one of the considerable cities of America; and perhaps, all things considered, the model manufacturing town of the world. It strikingly illustrates what enterprise, political freedom, social culture and capital, wielded by generous hands can do in the promotion of the arts which bless civilized life. What was once but a barren waste on the banks of the river, whose motor-power has scarcely been infringed upon by this trifling diversion of its dashing energies, now shows us a well regulated city, handsomely laid out and ornamented with public squares, fine architecture, 18,000 hands employed, of whom 11,000 are females, 40 mills running with

¹The Lowells: a notable name in American History. I pay the well earned tribute here. Of sturdy English stock, Percival Lowell, a Bristol merchant, settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, where he died January 8, 1665. Of the same family John, a statesman, born in Newburyport, in 1743, closed a useful life in 1802. His services in the cause of liberty and constitutional government are his greatest memorial. When he introduced into the Massachusetts *Bill of Rights*, the clause declaring that 'all men are born free and equal,' he avowed at the time that his object was to abolish slavery in his native State. It had the effect, for he publicly volunteered his services as an advocate to any person held as a slave who desired to establish his right to freedom under that clause in the Bill of Rights, and on the trial of the first case before the Supreme Court of the State, in 1783, its decision put an end to slavery in the venerable old colony of Massachusetts. She, at least, could with clean hands clasp the federal altar of Liberty on the adoption of the National Constitution of 1789, declaring us to be a Republic, one and inseparable. His son John, became eminent at the bar and in scholarship, and died in 1840.

But in this connection the reader will care more for the Lowell who distinguished himself as the chief founder of the cotton manufacture in the United States.

'In 1810,' says the writer of his life in Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, 'he visited England, on account of his health; and on his return home shortly after the commencement of the war of 1812, he became so strongly

convinced of the practicability of introducing the cotton manufacture into the United States, that he made proposals to his kinsman P. T. Jackson, to make the experiment on an ample scale. The result of his project was the establishment of a manufactory at Waltham, and the foundation of the City of Lowell, which was named after him.'

Of this eminent and useful citizen, under the title of Tracy Patrick Jackson, the same reliable authority says: 'In 1812, at the invitation of his brother-in-law, Francis C. Lowell, of Bristol, who had recently examined the process of the cotton manufacture in England, he engaged in a project to introduce the power-loom, then newly invented and the mode of constructing which was kept secret, into the United States. As the war between the United States and England prevented communication with the latter country, they were forced to invent a power-loom themselves; and after repeated failures, succeeded in the latter part of 1812 in producing a model from which a machine was constructed by PAUL MOODY. In 1813, they built their first mill at Waltham, near Boston, which is said to have been the first in the world that combined all the operations for converting the raw cotton into finished cloth. In 1821, Mr. Jackson made large purchases of land on the Merrimack River near the Pawtucket Canal, on which a number of mills were constructed by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, organized under his auspices. *This settlement formed the germ of the city of Lowell.*'

15,000 looms and a million spindles, consuming 800,000 pounds of cotton and 100,000 pounds of wool per week, with half a million yards of cloth every day—its six national banks, assessed valuation of property, thirty-eight million dollars, charitable institutions, churches, schools of learning, and 60,000 people, with every element of comfort and every appliance of civilization and culture which have yet been produced in any one spot on the globe.

So much for the beginning of American manufactures by water power. Figures are ready, but human intelligence has not yet been able to use them in making up an estimate of the wealth which has been added by the substitution of water power for human muscle in this country; nor is that estimate within the compass of human calculation. I shall hereafter give some illustrations on this point; but they would here be little better than handfuls of sand brought from the seaside. I only wish to impress young readers with the idea that in our earlier history, flowing water was the great agent which multiplied the power of a few hands; and that whoever would enter this field to investigate the extent of its beneficence, will be delighted at the wonderful developments of facts that press on his observation; and that however he may prolong his studies, he will grow weary in his calculations as the single gazer would be, who attempted in one lifetime to number the stars that flash more or less radiantly on the naked eye, without attempting to make a catalogue of those infinite worlds, revealed in their far-off homes, when we turn towards them the penetrating lenses of the latest American telescope.

How the City of Lowell happened to be founded:—In the elder Disraeli's charming chapter on the 'History of events which never happened,' he indulges in many curious speculations which appertain more to the province of the imagination than to the realm of facts. There are some points, however, in our history, which may fairly claim exemption from such a rule; and, as one of these in particular seems to have escaped observation, it may be worthy of special notice.

Among the several critical episodes of our history, there is one which, in its immediate and prospective influences, has had a wider range, extended over a longer period to its final consummation, and been attended with more momentous results than almost any one feature in our legislative records,—it is the following.¹

About the year 1816, the main question that engaged the solicitude and ingenuity of our statesmen, was the national debt. Not the payment of the principal, for that seemed too remote for any consideration. The trouble was how to raise a revenue to pay the accruing annual interest.

The public domain was then in realizable value, simply a myth. Direct

¹ I am not acquainted with any gentleman who has, during a long and active life of various experiences and acute observation, on whose reliability of statement I have had better reason to rely than on my es-

teemed friend Mr. J. Burrows Hyde, of New York. In the brief record given in the text, I am guided chiefly by his personal knowledge and his own account of the occurrences he speaks of.

taxation by the several States to meet their pro-rata of indebtedness, seemed the only practical method of relief; and this necessitated an affirmative response from each individual State; and there were reasons for believing that some of the States would refuse co-operation, even to preserve the national credit and honor. The debates were widespread, earnest, warm, bitter, and denunciatory; the people took sides and many wise men believed that it would end in certain dissolution. The resisters were northern men.

In the last hour of hope, John C. Calhoun, a young Congressman, rose, holding aloft a petition from the merchants and citizens of Charleston, South Carolina, praying for a settlement of the question by enacting a bill of protection and revenue, with a high tariff of revenue on imported goods, and an encouragement for home production, as the only method to raise the required means. A howl went up from some States at such an outrage on 'vested rights.' The carrying trade interests were centered in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, in about the rank as named. The merchants of Boston, Salem, New Haven, and New Bedford, considered their 'vested rights' jeopardized; civil war was openly discussed and resistance advocated.

Mr. Calhoun, in his argument counselled division of capital between ships, and manufacturers of wool and cotton, with certainty of increased gains; and gradually under the pressure of expediency, the votes came round, and a law for protection and revenue was established.

In the course of time some prominent capitalists of Boston and Salem met to discuss the manufacturing question, concluding to unite in the enterprise. Steam power was little known, and mineral coal had no market. Water power was believed the practical economical motor. A committee was named to seek a locality for a great manufacturing centre. The Falls of the Mohawk—Cohoes; and of the Passaic at Patterson, were visited. Niagara was farther then, than Omaha is now. The Falls of the Potomac, nine miles from Washington, were chosen, where a three mile frontage, and fifty to sixty feet fall near to tide water, presented unequalled privileges.

The property was purchased from the trustees of the Fairfax estate for \$150,000, subject to the action of the Legislature of Virginia, from which a charter for the company was solicited. The House readily passed the bill. The Senate hesitated, but passed it with an amendment of \$100,000 bonus to the State for the franchise, and adjourned. Next year the House, to make amends for its first delinquency, added another fifty thousand dollars; and now the trustees increased the sum of the purchase money to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and then the purchasers returned home for deliberation. One of the gentlemen, Mr. Lowell, stated that he knew a place on the Merrimac River, about twenty miles from Boston, where, with the erection of a proper dam, a volume of water and fall could be obtained equal to any power they would ever want, and thus they might keep their enterprise at home. The engineers were chosen; the surveys completed;

the company incorporated, and the town of Lowell, Massachusetts, with its vast mills, became the pattern city for spinning and weaving of the nation.

Had the legislature of Virginia passed the proposed bill, she would have secured a prestige to insure her becoming the greatest manufacturing State in the nation. Her hydraulic power is simply enormous. Her forests teem with first-class timber, and her iron and coal mines and other minerals combined, not to omit her incomparable seaport harbors, would have secured to her capital, talent, and emigration that would have made her to-day the most populous, and the richest State of the Republic.

The tariff bill, in which Mr. Clay took a prominent part as its advocate, worked all the benefits promised; not only paying the interest, but ultimately the entire debt, with an accumulated treasury surplus of forty-six millions of dollars in gold, which was presented to the several States.

When the purpose of Mr. Calhoun's bill had been fulfilled, he demanded its repeal, agreeably to 'the original intent and covenant.' But now the Eastern interests were more powerful and still more adverse to the repeal than they originally were to its enactment.

The 'High Tariff Party'—says Mr. Hyde, 'controlled the Congress and refused, which led to nullification, which difficulty was settled by Mr. Clay's compromise of a sliding scale tariff, which measure, with its attendant and subsequent animosities, led directly to the Rebellion; all of which might have been avoided and slavery gradually abolished had the Potomac Falls enterprise gone into practical development.'

¹ I think a proper distinction may be drawn between Mr. Hyde's facts, and the speculations he indulges in concerning the ultimate fate of slavery. I do not know that we have on record any instance of the abolition of slavery, on any considerable scale, except from one or two causes: either, *First*, by the violence of Revolution; or, *Second*, because it ceased to be profitable. With all the alleged superior moral influence of conscience as having marked this reform at the North, it would be a very difficult matter to show that slavery would there have been gradually abolished had it not gradually become unprofitable. The invention of the cotton gin; the superiority of American cotton, and the facilities of soil, climate and the adaptability of slave labor for its production; its vast importance to Europe; its gigantic power as the next great factor in the world's exchanges after gold; the closely interwoven warp and woof of the products of slave labor with the whole system of business at the North, had combined to entrench slavery so securely within its own citadel, that nothing short of a revolution, and precisely such a revolution as we have gone through, would have carried by storm, the castle which proved impregnable to insidious approaches.

It will not be understood that the abolition of serfdom in Russia formed any exception to the rule above cited; since there was no chattel slavery in Russia in the sense we understood the term. But even if this were not so, the rule would hold good, because it was well known that Nicholas had withheld the edict of emancipation, because it was considered a revolutionary measure,—one so completely revolutionary that the friends of the Emperor believed his life would pay the forfeit of the deed.

Nor was that edict proclaimed by his successor Alexander II., without similar apprehensions. It should be considered, however, that so many measures of amelioration had been in progress during preceding years in the condition of the serfs, and—something far more important—such progress had been made by Russia in civilization, widely extending the range of modern thought, that the institution had grown too weak to stand much longer. It was a bold measure, however, to deal the final blow which levelled the colossal system with the *débris* of past centuries.

SECTION FIFTH.

LEAVING THE STATESMEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Administration of John Quincy Adams,—1825—1829.—It is time for us to seize again the neglected,—and perhaps the reader may think, the forgotten—thread of our national story, if this record may be honored by so dignified a title. The presidency of James Monroe had continued for eight years, and he retired with honor from the station which he had adorned by great public services, and embellished by every private virtue.' He was the last of the long line of the illustrious Fathers of the Republic to enjoy the supreme honors of the commonwealth they had founded, and with him we part with—the Statesmen of the Revolution. They appear no more in these pages. As their grand and solemn forms move off the scene, we feel something of the sadness which attends a family bereavement when its pillars kiss the dust.—But we must leave the halls of our ancestors, and go out into a world filled with uncertainties and inhabited by strangers. Well as many of us may have known the successors of that venerable line of patriarchs, neither their faces nor names seem so near or so dear, as those whom we never saw; and

'Although not a man of brilliant endowments, Monroe performed an amount of public service which entitled him to the respect and thanks of the country. He held the reins of government at an important period, and administered the affairs of the confederacy with prudence, discretion, and a single eye to the general welfare. He went further than either of his two great predecessors in developing the resources of the country, and although the measures of his administration were not wholly acceptable to the strict Republicans of the State-rights school of politics, they were approved by the great body of the people, and secured for the President extended favor. The policy which he adopted resembled in important particulars that of the old Federal party under Washington, and conciliated to his support many of the most prominent men of that body. He encouraged the army, increased the navy, augmented the national defences, protected commerce, and infused vigor and efficiency into every department of the public service. His efforts to advance the interests and heighten the general prosperity of the whole nation were energetic and unceasing. On the great question of intervention by the European powers in the affairs of the Western continent, he assumed a bold and uncompromising position, which was supported by the people, and has ever since operated as a check upon the governments of the whole world. Other features of Monroe's administration have been noticed, to which may be added his approval of the Bank of the United States.

'In relation to internal improvements by the general government, there was long-continued hesitation on the part of the President and his Cabinet; but the doctrine was eventually sanctioned in the last hours of his administration. When he retired from the Presidency he left the country in a high state of prosperity, and carried with him the general respect and regard of the nation. He was well calculated personally to call

forth these sentiments from men of all parties. His honesty, good faith, and simplicity were acknowledged by his contemporaries with scarcely an exception, and disarmed the political rancor of his strongest opponents. His friends were devotedly attached to him, and left numerous testimonials of their admiration of his many integrity and truth of character. Jefferson said that 'if his soul was turned inside out, not a spot would be found on it;' and Madison was his warm admirer. 'Few men,' said Madison, 'have ever made more of what may be called sacrifices in the service of the public. When he considered the interests or the dignity of his country involved, his own interest was never regarded. Beside this cause, his extreme generosity, not only to the numerous members of his family dependent on him, but to friends not united by blood, has greatly contributed to his impoverishment.' It was the opinion of Madison that the country had never fully appreciated the strong, robust understanding of Monroe. The fact may be partially accounted for by his deficiency in the power of public speaking. He never acquired distinction in oratory, a showy talent which in America so largely influences the popular judgment in regard to intellectual endowments. His eminence lay rather in the capacity of administering important affairs with judgment, energy, and laborious industry. These talents he exhibited in a marked degree, and they enabled him to perform his executive functions with an efficiency which has proved of lasting benefit to the country. In person Monroe was tall and well formed, with a light complexion and blue eyes. The expression of his countenance was an accurate index of the simplicity, benevolence, and integrity of his character. He was plain in his manners and tastes, fond of the society of his friends, strongly 'given to hospitality,' and a very fair specimen of the kindly old race of Virginia country gentlemen.—*Appleton's American Cyclopædia.*

we cast a lingering look behind at the sepulchres where their sacred ashes repose.¹

Mr. Adams occupies a place in our history which could have been filled by no other man. He stands on the line which divides Our First Hundred Years into two equal parts—just half a century from the Declaration of Independence, and just the same distance from our first Centennial. Born on the

¹ MANNERS AND MORALS OF REPUBLICS AND MONARCHIES CONTRASTED.—It is quite natural for readers of European and American history during the half century of which I have been writing, to draw contrasts for themselves between the morals of princes and peoples—more particularly between the morals of the British court and those of our Republican court—if we may use that term, for one is but the head-quarters of royalty where crowned princes do their official business, and the other the place where the sovereign ruler of a republic holds his head-quarters. I believe, among all the allegations that have been brought by the ambassadors, emissaries, allies, or spies of Great Britain, from colonial times, no accusations have been brought against the decency and decorum which have prevailed in the homes of the Presidents of the United States. Nor am I aware that long before the beginning of our revolution, down to the accession of Queen Victoria, has any Englishman had occasion to boast of the prevalence of these virtues in the royal palaces of England, as concerned kings, princes, court favorites, and the crowd of creatures that hung around the corridors or parlours of British sovereigns, from the death of Cromwell to the accession of Victoria. The history of the royal families and royal palaces of England, whenever truthfully written, with only occasional glimpses or hints of the morals that prevailed among them, will prove offensive and nauseating. I except the *queens* of England, and to a considerable extent the long succession of those ladies of the court who enjoyed every confidence and respect. I except, of course as a body, the brilliant line of English gentlemen of learning, high breeding, and British honor, who have upheld the throne, and the noble institutions of Britain; for I bring no broad accusation against whole classes or a whole people. But I do mean to say that, with some honorable exceptions, royal princes of the period I have spoken of, have presented the most loathsome spectacles of debauchery, sensual indulgences, and disgusting vices, that have been seen in any rank of society whatever in modern times.

Thackeray's *Four Georges* are familiar to the whole reading world. That great master told no more truth than his honest pen was obliged to reveal of the

licentiousness of those princes, of the horrible cruelties they practiced on their lawful wives, and the mothers of their legitimate children. But the love for truth which was one of the sterling characteristics of Thackeray's soul, did not allow it to cover the villainies of those men who, sheltered under the blasphemous pretence of the divine rights of kings, perpetrated crimes which, in a republic, where all men stand before God on the same level, could neither be condoned by public opinion, nor escape the just judgment of the law, nor gain mercy in this world or in the world to come.

As an American, I point to the homes of the Presidents of the United States during that same period; and I cannot help, in drawing the contrast between the pure marriages, the happy marital relations, the unimpeached honor and personal integrity of the presidents, and the princes of the British Empire. No scandal ever touched those Republican names; their lives were soiled by no brutal indulgences; they kept no mistresses; they had no illegitimate children, for whom they or their secretaries plunged their hands up to the armpits in the public treasury, nor covered themselves with those unmentionable crimes that blacken so many of the royal names of England. And yet these were the men that English princes branded as regicides, renegades, traitors, villains devoted to the halter, and on the creed of royalty doomed to infamy. They and their families were made butts of ridicule by the paid traducers of democracy in America.

If I speak with some warmth, it is because such crimes and misdemeanors against public and private virtue, such insults to the common sense and common decency of mankind, inflame my indignation. It is only within the last month that on the walls of every city in America were placed placards offering a reward of £1,000 to any person who would produce a copy, still believed to be extant, of a suppressed book containing the history of the crimes of a British prince.

Let me not be misunderstood. The provocation has been given long ago, and it is too often repeated in our times when Royalty still carries its brazen pretence of superiority over democracy to the front of the world.

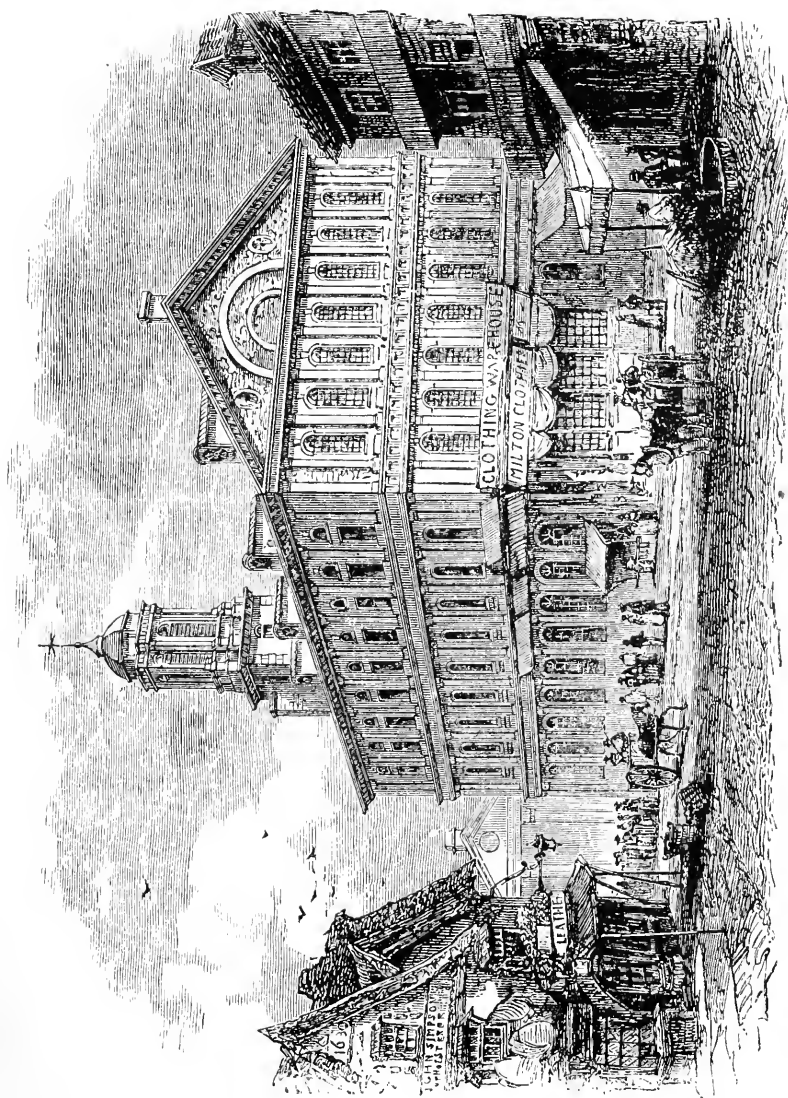
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FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

11th of July, 1767, while Faneuil Hall was ringing with the fiery eloquence of his own father John Adams, Samuel Adams his Spartan relative, and James Otis, then the mightiest of them all—he breathed from his infancy the atmosphere of patriotism, statesmanship and forensic power.

The origin of his name is thus accounted for by himself: ‘My great-grandfather, John Quincy, was dying when I was baptized, and his daughter, my grandmother, requested I might receive his name. This fact, recorded by my father, has connected with my name a charm of mingled sensibility and devotion. It was filial tenderness that gave the name. It was the name of one passing from earth to immortality. These have been through life perpetual admonitions to do nothing unworthy of it.’

Conditions more auspicious, never attended the birth of an American boy. Inheriting a bright intellect in a vigorous and symmetrical body, with native proclivities for every virtue, and abhorrence of every vice; fired by a quenchless thirst for learning, and endowed with a capacity for observation and acquisition of knowledge almost unrivalled; thrown from his youth into the society of the most illustrious and learned men in the world, the future eminence he reached, even with the enormous wealth of his intellectual acquisitions, ceases to be a matter of surprise. It would have been strange indeed, had he not reached the highest eminence in any career he chose to follow. In his eleventh year, he accompanied his father, who had been appointed Minister to France. This brought no interruption to his studies, from which he was never diverted by the fascinations of the most brilliant society. His mental capacity, his vigor and symmetry of form, with his invariable good humor, made him the pet of everybody, from school companions to the gravest statesmen. Returning with his father in a French frigate, during the long passage he taught English to his fellow passengers, M. De la Luzerne, and his secretary M. Marbois. In his father's diary we find the following entry: ‘June 20, 1779. The chevalier de la Luzerne, and M. Marbois, are in raptures with my son. They get him to teach them the language. I found this morning the ambassador seated on the cushion in our stateroom, M. Marbois in his cot at his left hand, and my son stretched out in his at his right, the ambassador reading out loud in Blackstone's *Discourse* at his entrance of his professorship on the common law at the university, and my son correcting the pronunciation of every word and syllable and letter. The ambassador said he was astonished at my son's knowledge; that he was a master of his own language like a professor. M. Marbois said, ‘Your son teaches us more than you; he has *point de grâce, point d'éloges*. He shows us no mercy, and makes us no compliments. We must have Mr. John.’

Returning shortly afterwards with his father—still in the diplomatic service of the country—he followed up his studies at Paris and at Leyden, where he displayed such accomplishments that Mr. Dana—afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts, who had been appointed Minister to Russia—took him to that court as his private secretary. Remaining abroad till the treaty of peace

had been signed, he attended his father on his first visit to England. After another year of service at the French court, his father was appointed Minister to England; and although the family was all settled there, young Adams was sent home to prosecute his studies at Harvard College. Graduating in 1788, he immediately began the study of law in the office of Theophilus Parsons—afterwards the eminent Chief Justice of Massachusetts. In 1791, having completed three years of exhaustive legal study and work, he opened a law office in Boston, where he was always proud to say that, within four years of practice, he was able to pay his expenses.

But literature and public affairs proved more attractive than the practice of law; and he published under the signatures of 'Publicola,' 'Marcellus' and 'Columbus,' writings displaying such maturity and power that, at home and abroad, they were attributed to his father. They deeply interested Washington, who, on learning of the author, appointed him in 1794 Minister to the Hague. After remaining several years in the diplomatic service, he was recalled by Mr. Jefferson, when he was elected to the Massachusetts senate from the Boston district, and soon after senator of the United States. From the moment he entered Congress, where his political career began, and where it was soon to become evident that his talents and acquisitions would render him a formidable competitor to the numerous aspirants for the presidential office, he was on Madison's accession, appointed Minister to Russia, with a view, as it was then said, of 'getting him out of the way.' But if this was the object, it had the contrary effect, for Mr. Adams had displayed such great qualities that the country would not forget him in the snows of the Arctic. As the Second war with England was evidently approaching a close, Mr. Adams was instructed to leave St. Petersburg to join Jonathan Russell, and Henry Clay, as associate commissioners for negotiating the treaty of Ghent. Afterwards with Mr. Clay, and Mr. Gallatin, a commercial treaty was negotiated with Great Britain, 13th June, 1815.

On the accession of Mr. Monroe to the presidency in 1817, he invited Mr. Adams to become Secretary of State. He had been abroad eight years. 'The reëstablishment of peace in Europe having removed former grounds of contention, a political lull had succeeded, and a new organization of parties now began to take place, especially on the subjects of protection to American manufactures, and expenditures from the United States treasury for internal improvements. There still remained, however, to be disposed of, some questions of moment more immediately connected with Mr. Adams' position as Secretary of State. Gen. Jackson, having been consulted on the subject by Monroe, had heartily approved of the appointment of Mr. Adams to that department. Adams no less warmly supported in the cabinet, against Mr. Calhoun's proposition of censure, the conduct of Gen. Jackson in invading Florida, hanging Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and taking military possession of St. Mark's, and Pensacola. Those proceedings he also sustained with no less zeal in his diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish

Minister—an important correspondence, having reference to the boundaries of Florida and Louisiana, and the claims of America on Spain for commercial depredations. Though as a Senator, Adams had voted against the Louisiana treaty, on the ground that the federal constitution gave no power to acquire territory, he now as Secretary of State, pushed American claims under that treaty to the extremest lengths, insisting that this cession included not merely Florida to the Perdido, but Texas to the Rio Grande. Finally, in consideration of the cession of Florida, the United States agreeing to pay \$5,000,000 for it, to be applied to the extinction of American mercantile claims against Spain, Adams compromised matters by agreeing to the Sabine, the Red river, the upper Arkansas, the crest of the Rocky mountains, and the parallel of 42° N. lat. as the boundary of Louisiana; and upon this basis a treaty was arranged. This treaty was his principal achievement as Secretary of State.¹ At the national election of 1824, four candidates representing the different sections of the Union, were put in nomination. John Quincy Adams in the *east*, William H. Crawford in the *south*, Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay in the *west*. There being no choice among the people, the election devolved again constitutionally on Congress—the first time having been in 1800, when the struggle for the presidency was to be determined between Jefferson and Burr, each of whom had an equal number of federal votes. The choice finally fell on Jefferson after thirty-five balloting, and Burr being the next highest candidate, became Vice-President.

At half-past twelve o'clock on the 4th of March, 1825, Mr. Adams entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and took his seat in the chair of the Speaker. His whole appearance indicated the gentleman—which he could never help being or appearing—and the plain republican; for he was dressed in a plain suit of black broadcloth. His greeting was enthusiastic, since it was not only a triumph for his friends, but it was regarded as an omen of good for the nation. It was known that he would represent in his home and foreign policy, the well established views of his predecessor; and with an intelligence and patriotism which, even after the excitements of the late political conflict, would meet the general approbation of the country.

Few men have lived who had more faith in *ideas*, and less in *forms*, than Mr. Adams. He had an unwavering faith in the rectitude of the final judgment of his countrymen. He was in the finest sense of the word, a pure democrat; and yet never did he, by the shadow of a hair's breadth, invoke the adventitious aid of a trick for the promotion of any measure, least of all for his own advancement. The native integrity of his character was equalled only by his supreme faith in the final triumph of justice and common sense. He loved justice for its *own* sake; and to the last hour of his life, even when his body had grown tremulous with age, and he stood in his eighty-first year in the House of Representatives, battling for the right of

¹ *Appleton's Cyclopedia*. Title, John Quincy Adams.

any American petitioner to be heard before that august tribunal, did his soul ever quiver in the advocacy of justice, and truth, and human rights—rights as broad as universal humanity.

Well informed men knew all this, and he waded through obloquy,—or rather he had soared above obloquy,—where other men would have been obliged to plow their way, to prove the sturdy Spartanism of his soul. But simplicity in manner, as well as in spirit, had always a special charm for his pure intellect and fine taste. And so when the Hall became still, he calmly rose with a dignity which seldom clothes men of his higher stature, and pronounced his inauguration address. Descending from the platform, he advanced to the right hand of the table where Chief Justice Marshall had been seated, and lifted his right hand in token of his readiness to accept the required oath of loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. It was remarked at the time, that the old Republic—for it was in those early days looked upon as a venerable fabric, so many wonderful events having been crowded into its first fifty years of national life—had made no severe transition from the imposing dignity that had attended the previous ceremonies of the inauguration of his predecessors. The assembly which looked upon the scene, felt that in the hands of the new president, ‘the Republic would receive no detriment.’

After the ceremony of the oath, the new President sent to the Senate, which was then in session in its own Hall, the names of his cabinet :—Henry Clay, Secretary of State ; Robert Rush, Secretary of the Treasury ; James Barbour, Secretary of War ; Samuel L. Southard,—continued in office—Secretary of the Navy ; William Wirt,—also continued—as Attorney-General. Mr. Adams had chosen for his chief secretary, one of his most admired opponents. In the fierce collision before the people, and finally in the House of Representatives, very bitter feelings had been stirred up, and many wrong things had been said and done. Among the worst of them was the cruel accusation that Henry Clay had lent his influence to the election of Mr. Adams under a pledge of the appointment he had now received : and things went so far that, while the rest of the Cabinet was unanimously confirmed by the Senate, a minority vote of fourteen was cast against Mr. Clay’s confirmation. It was a bad and base thing done in the Senate that day ; and not one of the fourteen but probably lived to regret his vote ; for as there never had been an aspersion cast upon the honor of that peerless man up to that hour, no one who voted against him lived to see the day that any spot rested upon the honor of the great ‘Commoner of America.’ The partisans of General Jackson displayed for their beloved chief more zeal than discretion ; for till the latest hour of his life, that brave warrior and noble patriot, never *deliberately* uttered one word derogatory to the character of his rival—not only his rival then, but his rival in other great strifes for votes ; while he showed in the Senate, and before the world, that he was conscious he was contending with a foe not only worthy of his steel, but one who had also the hearty love of the American people. It took quite a while to dis-

solve the mists that hung over the long-lived lie, and perhaps the eagle wing of time could not quite sweep the last speck of dust away which rose from the tumult, until death had sanctified both those great names, and the sunlight of the nation's gratitude rested upon their tombs, while the ignoble authors of the foul aspersion had sunk into oblivion.

John C. Calhoun had been already elected Vice-President by the people. It may not perhaps be the most appropriate place, but since I am not trying to preserve the unities of history, I am disposed to introduce here a sketch of Mr. Calhoun's public and private character which I wrote many years ago. I shall be less likely to have my mind biased by the tragic events in our annals, than if I attempted to write such a sketch now; for I am getting jealous lest I may insensibly find my judgment robbed somewhat of its impartiality, as I feel the deep and solemn shadow of the late civil war loom up in my imagination. If I know anything of my motives in trying to communicate only truthful impressions to others of our national life, I shall try to guard against that imminent danger as well as I can.

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

Born in Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. Died at Washington, March 31, 1850, aged 68 years.

Mr. Calhoun's father was an Irishman, and his mother a native of Virginia. At the age of twenty-three he graduated at Yale College, with its highest honors, and entered the Law School at Litchfield. In 1807, he was admitted to the bar in his native State, and at once rose to eminence. The following year he was sent to the Legislature, where he served two sessions; and in 1811 was elected to Congress. His first speech brought him conspicuously before the nation as a parliamentary orator, and from that time—a period of nearly forty years—few public measures came before Congress without feeling the electric shock of his genius. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, he reported, and carried through the Bill declaring war against Great Britain. In 1817, at the early age of thirty-five, he became the Secretary of War of Monroe's Administration. He found that department chaos: he left it order. He adjusted unsettled accounts of fifty millions; reorganized the army; revived the Military Academy at West Point, whose palisade cliffs, once blackened by the footsteps of the American traitor, have been forever redeemed by the heroic tread of a thousand young patriots. He began a complete system of maritime and frontier fortifications; originated the Coast Survey, and laid the foundations of the Indian Portrait Gallery at the Capitol, where Art generously gave her pencil to Humanity, to transmit to posterity the fast-fading traces of the Red Men. In 1825, he was elected Vice-President of the Republic, and re-elected the succeeding term. Before it expired, he resigned his office at the call of South Carolina, to become her Senator: and that high place he subsequently filled, with a short

interval, when the exigencies of the government made him Secretary of State. Every session of Congress was signalized by some speech of Mr. Calhoun, which was read throughout the world, and his great speeches are imperishable. We need not detail his public acts, for they will be woven into the history of the nation by all its historians; we need not enumerate his orations, for they have become a portion of English literature.

Such are the well-known facts of his life. A more grateful but difficult task, will always be a truthful analysis of his intellectual and political character. Born during the Revolutionary struggle, he was taught to venerate Democracy, and that lesson became the guide of his life. In youth, he laid himself on the altar of the Republic, and his life was a self-immolation to her, until, what he deemed a prior claim to his native State, made him, temporarily at least, exalt fealty to South Carolina, over his truth to the Federal Government. He never shrank from sacrificing the most dazzling opportunities of preferment, to his judgment and patriotism. Spurning the livery of all parties, he never stooped for their emoluments. From the first, his creed was broad and clear; embracing well-defined principles on every subject of public interest: and although he showed the practical genius of adapting himself to the age and opinions through which he moved, accepting what was attainable, and waiting for the rest, yet he never gave up his objects, nor changed the principles or purposes of his life. Like the Damascus blade, gleaming, bending, cutting through, he can hardly be traced in the rapidity and glistening of his movements. Vigilant of the integrity of our great Commonwealth, he was always jealous of the corrupting influence of banks connected with the State. Hence his unrelenting efforts *to divorce the Government from all banking institutions*. He was always the advocate of the navy, as the protection of our commerce among distant nations. But his unceasing advocacy of the great principles of Freedom of Commerce throughout the world, will be remembered with more gratitude by posterity, than all his other achievements. The day is coming, and he saw it dawning from afar, when every barrier which the inhumanity of other ages has interposed to the friendly intercourse of nations, will give way to the progress of light, and the inauguration of a sentiment of universal brotherhood. Mr. Calhoun paid the penalty always exacted from men whose hearts beat for mankind, and whose eagle gaze pierces the future. For the most part he was misrepresented, or misunderstood, by his contemporaries; and no man ever suffered more while living, nor after death from the indiscreet interpretations of his followers. Few of his contemporaries understood him—none of them could interpret him. Therefore, more than almost any other man, has he been misunderstood and misrepresented. Bacon and Galileo confided their fame to after ages; and it is the inspiring consolation of such men while living, that the future is sure to do them justice.

As an orator, his chief characteristics were clearness of analysis, simplicity, appropriateness and power of expression, and a subdued and lofty earnestness. The completeness of his portrait renders it unnecessary to de-

scribe his personal appearance. In the tribune his erect, stern attitude, his iron countenance, compressed lip, and flashing eye, often filled his auditors with terror, and made his familiar friends almost dread to approach him. And yet he was the gentlest of husbands, the tenderest of fathers, the most humane and indulgent of masters. He was known to the world only as an Orator and Statesman; and yet those who were admitted familiarly to the scenes of his domestic life forgot his public achievements in the spotless purity of his private character, the warm charities of his home, and the fascinating glow of his classic conversation. The honors of the Senate and the Cabinet never weaned him from his early love of books and rural pursuits. At every cessation of his public labors he fled to his plantation home, to receive the tender greetings of his family and friends, and the most touching demonstrations of grateful love from the dependent beings who looked to him for support and protection. Letters had been the passion of his youth, they were the embellishment of his manhood, and the consolation of his age.

Three obstacles stood between this great man and the Presidency. The first, was the earnest and unconquerable independence of his character, which left him without a national party. The second, was the incorruptible integrity of his heart, which left him without intrigue or policy. The last was an obstacle still more formidable in this disturbed and feverish age—the metaphysical sublimity of his genius. He was not made to sway masses, but mind. He could not carry the hearts of the multitude by storm, but he electrified the souls of the few. In dragging to the dust the pillars of the Roman Republic, Cæsar heard the shout of the mob at his heels. Cato walked solitary through the Forum, and Brutus fell on his own sword. But the fame of Calhoun has interwoven itself with the history of the nation, and is therefore immortal.

Through good and evil report, for forty years South Carolina stood firmly and confidently by her great Statesman; and such a Commonwealth was worthy of such an advocate. The frosts of nearly seventy years were on his head while he yet stood in the Senate; but they had not chilled the ardor of his patriotism, and his genius still glowed as brightly as ever.¹

¹ In a visit I paid to Charleston the past winter—Feb., 1875—in the company of several old residents of the city I went to Mr. Calhoun's grave, which stands near the centre of the cemetery, in front of the venerable St. Philip's Church, which is the oldest Episcopal Church of Charleston, having been founded about the year 1700. His body reposes in a metallic coffin, enclosed in a massive sarcophagus of white marble, on the top of which is the simple name,

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Here his remains were laid to rest when they were brought on from Washington in 1850. Soon after the beginning of the civil war, the metallic coffin was secretly removed at night, and it was generally rumored that

it was taken to some safe place in the country. But I was assured that the coffin had been secreted under St. Philip's Church, where it remained till some time after the close of the war, when the same parties, also at night, restored it to its original sepulchre, where it is now shaded by four beautiful young magnolias, one standing at each corner. It was remarked as a curious incident, that the only shell from Morris Island which fell in that cemetery during the bombardment, struck near the foot of the grave, ploughing up a deep broad trench, and covering the grave with large quantities of the *debris*.

I had the curiosity to inquire of my gentlemanly attendants if it was supposed the ashes of the dead states-

The Cabinet of John Quincy Adams.—It was under such auspices, and encircled by such eminent men, that the administration of John Quincy Adams opened the second half of OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. It is worth our while to contemplate for a moment this cabinet, to see from what class of men in those days were chosen the constitutional advisers of the chief magistrate of the nation.

Henry Clay was a whole cabinet in himself, and with the exception of his chief, the most accomplished statesman in the country. I reserve for him a more extended notice hereafter. William Wirt, who has left so fair a fame as a jurist and orator, retained the office of Attorney-General, which he had held under President Monroe. Richard Rush, a statesman and diplomatist, after having for a short time served as Secretary of State, had been appointed Minister to England, where he remained till 1825, rendering high services to his country, having negotiated several important treaties, especially that of 1818, with Lord Castlereagh, respecting our fisheries, the northwestern boundary line, conflicting claims beyond the Rocky Mountains, and effecting a fortunate adjustment of embarrassing questions growing out of the execution of two British subjects—Arbuthnot and Ambrister—by General Jackson, which was in a great measure influenced by the personal esteem in which Mr. Rush was held by the British Cabinet, and their confidence in his representation of the case. It was while he was representing us at the British Court, that President Adams recalled him to become Secretary of the Treasury. He was afterwards under President Polk, 1847, appointed Minister to France, where he acted a conspicuous part in the Revolution of '48, being the first foreign minister to recognize the new Republic in advance of instructions from his government. James Barbour had been admitted to the bar of Virginia at the age of nineteen. After serving in the Legislature of his native State two terms, he was elected to the United States Senate, where, for several sessions, he showed remarkable ability as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. It was while he was still serving in the Senate, that Mr. Adams appointed him Secretary of War. Samuel L. Southard was to remain long in public life, in high stations on the supreme bench of New Jersey, as her United States Senator—1821-23,—Secretary of the Navy under President Monroe, was now filling that office under Mr. Adams. He was afterwards chosen Governor of his native State, and served many years in the United States Senate, when in 1842 he became presiding officer of that body. He too, like all the other members of Mr. Adams's cabinet, was to preserve a pure reputation to the end of his life.

man would have been disturbed by the Union soldiers. —'Beyond a doubt that was the general impression.' —'Why,' I asked. 'It seemed to us that as the North traced the whole war to Calhoun, the victorious Union soldiers would mark the grave of so great a disunionist for special vengeance—and Charleston had fired the first shot!' I could not help asking if they ever knew, or heard of the Union soldiers disturbing

anybody's grave. 'Well! to tell the truth, no! But then Calhoun's personal friends felt that the casket held a priceless treasure, and they wanted to feel sure about it' *O! tempora! O! mores! O! Bella!* I told them I thought our soldiers would more likely have been thinking where they could lay their hands on fat pigs or concealed whiskey than rummaging among the graves of dead men.

The Country under Mr. Adams's Administration.—Such were the men John Quincy Adams gathered around him, and his administration was sure to command the respect of the world, although it was by no means likely to secure favor with the politicians. Mr. Adams's election had been attended with an amount of party rancor and political animosities hitherto unknown : and as a period of general prosperity had arrived, when no causes of solicitude were felt for the security of the government, the field was open for local strifes and personal ambitions ; when the struggle would be rather for securing party triumphs and pressing the fortunes of rivals, rather than the promotions of measures of general utility. Moreover, the time had come for new elements to determine the lines between two great political parties that were successively to rule the country. But for a while, aspiring men were in doubt what policy to adopt in reference to these questions as they came up for decision. It was evident that Mr. Clay would have much to do in shaping the policy of the administration, especially in reference to the two points on which he was already so fully committed. Mr. Calhoun had been the special advocate of internal improvements, while Mr. Clay was the accepted champion of protection to domestic industry. But they had both hitherto coalesced in cardinal measures. The friends of General Jackson, who had now determined to secure his elevation to the presidency, represented him as being favorable to a 'moderate and judicious tariff,' while they assailed what they denounced as the 'extravagant views of the administration.' Subsequently we shall find General Jackson maintaining *middle ground* on this question during the eight years of his administration. But the results of the tariff bills already passed had been so beneficent that Mr. Clay's party, which was rapidly growing, was destined, even when their leader was defeated, to control the legislation of Congress, and establish and maintain for a long time the policy which he had so ably and uncompromisingly advocated.

As this matter will claim our attention hereafter, it may be enough to observe now that in this case, as in nearly all others, the truth lay midway between extremes. It has been the opinion of our wisest statesmen, that two great advantages sprang from the 'American System.' The first was relief to the national finances ; for after the tariff of 1816 was passed, the revenue of the government never was embarrassed. It is equally certain also, that from this time manufactures began to be established, under what was intended to be 'the fostering encouragement of protective duties ;' and while these results were supposed to flow legitimately from that legislation, the public sentiment of the nation sustained the policy. Mr. Clay himself was too broad-minded a statesman to assail or deny the high principle of the freedom of commerce as an ultimate maxim of sound political economy ; but he claimed that this Republic could not, under that application of it, stand alone, and offer to all the world what all the world denied to us ; and the facts were all on his side.¹ Especially had we the precedent of the

¹ In his elaborate two-days' speech on the proposed tariff of 1824. Mr. Clay said :—"The Emperor of Russia, in March, 1822, after about two years' trial of the Free System, says, through Count Nesselrode—"Ta

effects of the tariff of 1816 upon the policy of the British government towards us.

We have seen, in the earlier portions of this work, how, from the first founding of the Thirteen Colonies, it had been the steady and persistent aim of the British government to discourage and depress all manufactures, and restrict, within the narrowest limits all freedom of navigation in this country. Immediately after the Peace of 1783, the Privy Council issued an Order for the entire exclusion of American vessels from the West Indian ports, going so far as to prohibit the importation into those islands of some of the chief products of the United States—even if carried in British bottoms. John Adams, then American Minister at the Court of St. James, proposed, in 1785, to place the navigation and trade between us and the British Dominions on a basis of *perfect reciprocity*. This generous offer was, however, repelled with disdain, and the Minister insultingly assured that neither that proposition, nor any other pointing in that direction, would be entertained. That clear-headed statesman at once asked the United States to pass navigation acts for the benefit of our commerce. But we were then working in an inchoate condition under the old Articles of Confederation, and no effectual measures could be passed by the separate States. Our weakness in this respect was one of the strongest arguments in favor of the adoption of the Constitution; and no sooner had that been done, than schemes for imposing discriminating duties began to be considered, and the passage of revenue laws by Congress soon opened the eyes of the British ministers. They found that the Thirteen Colonies, acting as a single power, could cripple British commerce with the United States too seriously to be ignored; and a committee of Parliament proposed to invite us to enter into just such arrangements as Mr. Adams had proposed six years before. The proposal was received in a friendly spirit; but so grasping was the greed of Great Britain that no commercial treaties of much value to either country were negotiated till the enactments of 1816, when England saw that she could deal with us only by granting some concessions, as a consideration for the numerous privileges she asked.

Thus, when all other arguments in favor of a protective tariff had failed, this could always be invoked, and it was unanswerable. It was plain enough that after our gunpowder battles with Great Britain were all over, we were obliged still to stand on the defensive, casting all fine theories of free-trade writers to the wind, until other nations would meet us in a spirit of reciprocity.

Although Mr. Adams's term was distinguished by no very remarkable events, yet a large number of salutary and useful measures were adopted, and a model

produce happy effects, the principles of commercial freedom must be generally adopted. The State which adopts, while others reject them, must condemn its own industry and commerce to pay a ruinous tribute to those of other countries. . . . Events have proved

that our agriculture and our commerce, as well as our manufacturing industry, are not only paralyzed but brought to the brink of ruin." He further quotes from Nesselrode to show that this policy of protection was forced upon all the great States of Europe.

of executive administration was presented. There was vigilance in the execution of the law by all its officers and guardians, and it now seems to us with an amazing and incredible economy in conducting the government; for with the exception of the payment of interest on the national debt, the annual cost of carrying on the entire machinery of the Republic—thirteen million dollars—was less than half the present expense of conducting the municipal government of the city of New York.¹ There was no waste; there was no stealing; there were no defalcations, and there were no rings, nor jobs; there was probity and integrity in office; there was no purchasing of votes, or corrupt means practised to influence legislation; there was public and private virtue; there was simplicity of manners; the old rule which Jefferson had laid down as the qualifications for office, 'is the applicant honest, is he capable,' had not then gone out of fashion; we were represented at the courts of foreign nations by men of experience, learning, ability, and decorum of manners; the whole judiciary system was characterized by legal learning and unsuspected integrity; the decisions of courts everywhere commanded respect at home and abroad; nearly every great constitutional question had been settled by the Supreme Bench; and in surveying the whole of our past, we shall hardly find an administration which left so little to regret or so much to recall with admiration and gratitude, as the administration of John Quincy Adams.²

EXPENDITURES OF EACH ADMINISTRATION.

BY PROF. E. D. ELLIOTT, OF WASHINGTON.

His recent paper on this subject gives expenditures of the Government per capita of the population, in periods of four years each. The dates taken for convenience lap two months one way and the other on each Administration for most of the time, and four months one way and the other for the rest of the time. But practically the lap over is so inconsiderable that it may be disregarded in estimating these expenditures as applying to the successive Administrations. The following table shows that except during war periods there has been a great uniformity of expenditure, rarely exceeding \$2 per capita per annum:

TABLE OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

Dates.	Administration.	Average annual expenditure per capita, in dollars.
Jan. 1, 1791, to Dec. 31, 1792.....	Latter years Washington, 1st term.	\$1 38'5
Four years ended Dec. 31, 1796.....	Washington, 2d term.	1 29'6
1800.....	J. Adams.....	1 66'4
1804.....	Jefferson, 1st term.....	1 47'8
1808.....	Jefferson, 2d term.....	1 37'8
1812.....	Madison, 1st term.....	1 64'1
1816..... (War period)	Madison, 2d term.....	3 95'6
1820.....	Monroe, 1st term.....	2 15'5
1824.....	Monroe, 2d term.....	1 58'6
1828.....	J. Q. Adams.....	1 40'5
1832.....	Jackson, 1st term.....	1 20'5
1836.....	Jackson, 2d term.....	1 54'4
1840.....	Fin'c'l crisis, Van Buren.....	1 87'0
Jan. 1, 1841, to June 30, 1845.....	Harrison and Tyler....	1 30'3
Four years ended June 30, 1849.....	Polk.....	2 05'0
1853.....	Taylor and Fillmore... 1	89'1
1857.....	Pierce.....	2 33'4
1861.....	Buchanan.....	2 23'4
1865.....	Lincoln { Currency... 25	10'2
1869.....	} or gold... 16	76'4
	Lincoln and { Currency... 10	88'6
	} Johnson { or gold... 7	79'1
1873.....	Grant { Currency... 7	37'1
	} or gold..... 6	37'6
	Deducting expenses growing out of the war —,	
1873.....	(Same period as the foregoing) { Currency..... 1	96'0
	} or gold..... 1	69'6

² There was one man there [in Washington during the extra session of 1837], for whom I felt the profoundest respect, and my admiration for him increased with our acquaintance. I saw him at his house in the quiet of his own home. I passed many hours with him in his library. He showed me the records of his life, voluminously prepared. I saw him in the House of Representatives, when the tempests of faction were raging around him. As he rose to present his petitions, the

storm always rose with him, calm as he remained; and while passion was threatening to sweep away the very Plymouth Rock of our constitutional freedom—the right of petition, of *any* petition—this noble defender of American Republicanism stood firm as adamant. Mr. Adams was the only man of the last age then in Congress. He seemed to me greater in his place in the House of Representatives, than he could have been in the Presidential office. He spent many hours in tell-

In retiring from office, and with little hope of reflection, Mr. Adams had many reasons to congratulate himself on the success of his administration. Among the fruits of public economy, he could point to a large reduction of the national debt ; to the payment in pensions to the soldiers and seamen of former wars \$5,000,000, and a surplus of like amount left in the treasury. On the 15th May, 1828, the last year of Mr. Adams's term, Mr. Clay witnessed the passage of what was then called the Protective Tariff. It had encountered the fiercest opposition of Mr. Calhoun, and other Southern statesmen, since they deemed that such high duties, laid especially upon the cotton and woollen fabrics of Great Britain, whose importation now amounted to about \$16,000,000, would interfere materially with our exports of cotton, rice, and tobacco, which had reached \$24,000,000 a year. The weakest of all arguments urged against the tariff of 1828, was that it was unconstitutional ; but the objection was adhered to with obstinacy, and pressed with the most virulent passion. No appeals to the necessities of the treasury, nor to the spirit of national patriotism, were of any avail. Protracted and warm debates in both houses preceded the enactment, and, for the first time, hints of nullification began to be carelessly thrown out. They were regarded, however, only as idle threats representing but a single section of the country, and even only a limited number of politicians. But we can trace back to this time the beginning of those alienations which were ultimately to overwhelm the nation with the storm of revolution.

It would be uncharitable and unjust to attribute to the men of that period a foresight keen enough to pierce the future ; least of all a belief or desire that such direful consequences would grow out of the dawning spirit of discontent and disunion. But regardless of threats, and forebodings, the law was passed, and went into effect, accomplishing all the results which its friends had predicted. A new and general development of domestic manufactures at once became visible ; a period of florid prosperity in the national exchequer, in the industrial interests of the whole nation, and a rapid expansion of our foreign commerce beyond any former time soon followed.

ing me his history, and the history of his ancestors. He gave me his views with the utmost freedom about everything brought up as a matter of conversation. He told me his religious faith, and minutely described his religious feelings. I recorded at the time his answer to two questions : 'What are your views and feelings of Jesus Christ as your Saviour ?' He said, 'I feel that I have not many years to live, and my sole reliance for salvation fastens upon the Redeemer. I have a cheering hope, and I have had this hope for many years, that I should be saved *through faith in Christ*. I think I have been a Christian ever since my youth, but I did not conceive it to be my duty to unite with any church until the death of my father. At that time, and while I was President, I united with the church in my native place, of which all my ancestors from its foundation, two hundred years ago, were members, and most of them officers. I only wish now that I had performed

that duty half a century ago. Yes, sir, I have a very cheering hope of heaven, and the nearer I approach the grave, the more entirely do I confide in the Saviour of sinners.'

'What is the basis of your hope, that American institutions will be perpetuated ?' 'Not the intelligence, but the religious principle of the people. This it was which gave them birth, and nothing else, it seems to me, can preserve them. I don't know but other nations have been as intelligent, perhaps some more intelligent than our own ; but I do not believe that any nation has existed which was so deeply penetrated as our Colonies were at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and through the Revolution, with the practical sentiment of Christianity—Christianity as the fountain of all rational liberty—Christianity as the destiny and the salvation of the human race.'—*My Life Note-Book*, October, 1837.

Election of General Andrew Jackson as Mr. Adams's Successor.—There were but two candidates in the field, and from the beginning it had been evident that the 'hero of New Orleans' was too strong for his competitor. His peculiar qualities had won for him a hearty support; his military services had far exceeded those of any other general since the Revolution; his patriotism burned with the fierceness of a passion; his attachment to the Union and the Constitution commanded every energy of his being, and his firmness was so immovable that it was more likely to harden to obstinacy than yield to argument. Conscious of an integrity which he allowed no man to call in question, and loving his country better than he loved all the rest of the world, he had fired men in every part of the nation with the exalted sentiments of his own noble soul. Never had a leader such a following. When his banner was thrown out, veterans of the old army of the Revolution, and the heroes of the war of 1812, came hobbling around it; everywhere, from the most distant village to the centres of every capital, liberty poles of hickory—the character of the wood indicating the inflexibility and soundness of the man—were erected, and amidst a storm of obloquy which has never covered an American name so deeply, and from which no American ever came forth into such cloudless sunshine, he was elected the seventh president of the United States.¹

Jackson's Previous History.—We have already spoken of the battle of New Orleans, which closed up the Second War with England, as the battle of Yorktown had the first; and a brief allusion was made to the battle of the 'Horse-Shoe' where the question, which had been forced upon us by our British foes, of the impossibility of having Indian and Caucasian races live together in peace after the bitter hatred the English had stirred up in the hearts of those savages against our people—were settled. No man in America understood the Indian character better, if as well, as Andrew Jackson; nor has any other man comprehended so fully the necessity for their removal to some broad territory reserved for them; nor had any one done so much to bring that policy about.

The Acquisition of Florida.—I have not before spoken of its accession to the Union. It was ceded to us by treaty in 1819, and its actual

¹ Andrew Jackson, seventh president of the United States, was born in Waxhaw settlement, N. C., March 15, 1767, and died at the 'Hermitage,' near Nashville, Tenn., June 8, 1845. His parents, who were Scotch-Irish, emigrated from Carrickfergus, Ireland, in 1765, and settled on Twelve-mile Creek, a branch of the Catawba River. They had been very poor at home, the father tilling a few acres, while his wife, Elizabeth Hutchinson, belonged to a hardworking and scantily paid family of linen weavers. Mr. Jackson never owned any land in America, and after his death, early in the spring of 1767, his widow removed to Waxhaw Creek, where her relatives resided. It was in the house of her brother-in-law, George McKemey, that the future president was born, a few days after the death of his father. Shortly afterward Mrs. Jackson removed to the house of another brother-in-law, Mr. Crawford, whose house-

keeper she became, because of the illness of his wife. Little is known of Andrew's childhood. He is described as a frolicsome, mischievous, generous, brave, and resolute boy, passionately fond of athletic sports, in which he was excelled by no one of his years. He was not addicted to books, and his education was limited, though it is said his mother wished to train him for the pulpit. At an early age he took up arms, and was a witness of the defeat of Sumter at Hanging Rock in 1780. He had previously seen the dead and wounded of the Waxhaw militia, after the massacre by Tarleton, and had assisted his mother and his brother Robert in ministering to the wants of the disabled Americans. The two brothers were active whigs, and were captured by the enemy in 1781. The British commander ordered Andrew to clean his boots, and on the boy's refusal struck him on the head and arm with his sword, inflict-

possession was granted in July, 1821. It was inevitable that this most southerly State of the Union would ultimately become a portion of our Republic; but there had been so many delays in the negotiation for its cession, that it was doubtful when that act would have been completed, but for the firmness of General Jackson, who, in December, 1817, marched with one thousand mounted Tennessee volunteers to the aid of General Gaines, to vindicate justice and restore order along the frontier. There was no law over that territory which the Spanish government enforced, and the territory bordering on Georgia and Alabama served as a refuge for escaped negro slaves, and dissatisfied Creek and Seminole Indians; and murderous depredations upon our settlements became too intolerable any longer to be borne. Finally, General Jackson, under his supreme military authority, and with his characteristic firmness, invaded Florida, March, 1818, seized the Spanish port of St. Mark, and sent the civil authorities and troops to Pensacola. Tracing the chief mischief to the bad and desperate British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister, they were seized and tried by court-martial, and in pursuance of a regular sentence they were both executed on the 30th of April. Being satisfied of the complicity of the Spanish authorities with these depredations in Alabama, the General seized Pensacola on the 24th May, and put an end to the whole trouble. For such summary proceedings he was severely censured;¹ but he was sustained by

¹ This was not the first time that General Jackson had been accused of exercising arbitrary power. When he had been held in contempt of an order of the District Judge of the United States, issued when the public interests did not allow him to be interfered with, since he had to fight the great battle of New Orleans—he had no sooner won his victory, than he repaired to the tribunal and paid the fine. Many years afterwards, that fine of \$1,000 was restored to him by a just and generous government. So in this case, while he was under charges from the government for exceeding the limits of his authority in Florida, and he had repaired to the capital to undergo his trial, he again showed his supreme respect to the reign of civil law, and awaited his sentence,

pleading only the mitigating circumstances that the urgency of the case was too great to admit of delay, since the public good required that extraordinary measures should be adopted.

I must not fail here to state a circumstance which showed the delicate intuitions of a pure republican. While the applauses of the Republic were ringing in his ears, and his trial had just been instituted, he refused to receive any committees or delegations of respect, confidence, and sympathy that waited upon him, alleging, in every case, that while a shadow had been cast upon his fair fame by his Republic, he could not consider himself fit to receive any compliments or expressions of approval until he had been acquitted.

ing two wounds. Robert, who displayed equal spirit, was knocked down and disabled. Imprisoned at Camden, Jackson was an eye-witness of the defeat of Gen. Greene at Hobkirk's Hill. While the brothers were suffering from the small-pox in prison, their mother effected their exchange, and took them back to Waxhaw, where Robert died; and it was many months before Andrew's health was restored. His mother then proceeded to Charleston to aid the imprisoned Americans, and soon died of ship fever. Left utterly destitute, Jackson had to labor hard for subsistence. He worked for a time in a saddler's shop kept by one of his relatives, and taught school. Before he had completed his 18th year he commenced the study of law at Salisbury, N. C., in the office of Mr. Spence McKay. He did

not neglect his studies altogether, but paid more attention to horse-racing, foot-racing, cock-fighting, and similar amusements common at that time, than to the law. Finishing his studies in the office of Col. Stokes, he was licensed to practise before he had reached the age of 20. In 1788 he was appointed solicitor or public prosecutor of the western district of North Carolina, embracing what is now the State of Tennessee. He arrived at Nashville in the autumn, and entered immediately upon an active career. His practice was large. He had to travel much, making 22 journeys in seven years between Nashville and Jonesborough, 280 miles, always at the risk of his life, owing to the numbers and hostility of the Indians.—*Appleton's Cyclopædia.*

the best men in Washington, and by the voice of the whole people. The subsequent treaty, concluded in Washington, February, 1819, ceded the whole of Florida and the adjacent islands. The country was erected into a Territory, 1821, and General Jackson was appointed its first governor.

General Jackson's Inauguration, March 4th, 1829.—This event was attended with circumstances so peculiar that they ought to be spoken of. Although Mr. Adams entertained a high respect for General Jackson, and on more than one occasion had defended actions which had been severely reprobated, yet it would be more than human to expect that two such rivals could entertain any personal liking for each other; and yet in the courtly courtesies of the occasion, when a retiring president was to present his successor to the American people, nothing but high-bred conduct could be expected from either of such men. Mr. Adams's term did not expire until twelve o'clock. The Senate had already been convened, and at that moment the body adjourned for an hour. During that brief period the President entered the Senate Chamber, having been escorted from his hotel by the old soldiers of the war for Independence. When he was to part with them, some words had to be said in recognition of the respect which had been shown to him, and therefore, in presence of the chief officers of the National Government, ministers of foreign states, and a large assemblage of citizens, many of them ladies, he addressed the following simple but hearty words:

'RESPECTED FRIENDS,—Your affectionate address awakens sentiments and recollections which I feel with sincerity and cherish with pride. To have around my person, at the moment of undertaking the most solemn of all duties to my country, the companions of the immortal Washington, will afford me satisfaction and grateful encouragement. That by my best exertion, I shall be able to exhibit more than an imitation of his labors, a sense of my own imperfections, and the reverence I entertain for his virtues, forbid me to hope. To you, respected friends, the survivors of that heroic band who followed him, so long and so valiantly, in the path of glory, I offer my sincere thanks, and to heaven my prayers, that your remaining years may be as happy as your toils and your lives have been illustrious.'

The assembly, most deeply touched by the affecting address, then proceeded to the eastern portico of the Capitol, where the new president delivered his inaugural address; and bending with a courtesy peculiar to himself, but in this case mingled with an unspeakable veneration, he bowed to Chief-Justice Marshall reverently, and took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution. And thus the first administration of General Jackson got under way.

I am not writing the history of parties, I am only tracing the progress of the Republic; and although many men now living recall those days, and remember with vividness how fearfully political passions then raged, yet I shall not enter into them, for I feel little sympathy with those tumults which broke harmlessly at the feet of the Republic. Jackson's char-

acter was so clearly and roughly defined, his conceptions of duty being the only guide of his life, that of necessity men cursed or blessed him with every breath. There were only two parties in the nation in those days; those who thoroughly loved and swore by General Jackson, and those who condemned and thoroughly hated him. He had alarmed his friends many a time by his firmness and obstinacy, and always excited the animosities, or inflamed the admiration of men who attempted to argue with him. 'For eight years he braved the fierce tempests of party strife, domestic perplexities, and foreign arrogance, with a skill and courage which demands the admiration of his countrymen, however much they may differ with him in matters of national policy. The gulf between him and his political opponents was so wide that it was difficult for the broadest charity to bridge it.' General Jackson had a large and benevolent heart; but he never was much stirred by any man, without he was a friend or a foe. He was a superb hater; but his love was grander still. Whoever had done him a service, no matter how long ago; whoever had struck a brave blow for justice or country, and he saw or knew it; whoever had an unshaken faith in the justice and mercy of the Eternal, he loved such men with all his heart. With him love rose to enthusiasm: if he hated, he hated like a giant; if he loved, he loved like a god.²

¹ *Lossing's History of the United States*, p. 461.

² There are a thousand stories, many of them doubtless authentic, to illustrate the characteristics of General Jackson, and among them one which I think has not been often recorded. One day a rough-looking man, in the dress of a western trapper, appeared at the White House, and announced that he wanted to see Gin'ral Jackson. The servant hesitated about admitting him, but without further ceremonies the stranger swept by him, asking where the Gin'ral was. Seeing his persistence the servant pointed to the stairway, up which this eagle-eyed man mounted with the swiftness of an antelope. Opening the first door, he glided in stealthily, and stood before General Jackson. Hardly had he mentioned his name before the President seized him by the hand, and after learning of his welfare, asked him what he could do for him as an old friend. 'I want,' said this Mike Fink of a man, 'to be appointed marshal of the United States for — district,' and he added, 'I can do my duties there, for I know every scoundrel in that whole region.'

'I am sorry,' replied the General, 'you were not here yesterday; I have just given that office to Mr. —.' Reaching out his hand to the President, and holding it for a while, in a long grip, 'Good-bye, Gin'ral, God bless you,' he said.

'But where are you going?'

'I am going home. I see they have *spiled* you as they do all the fellows they git here.

'But hold on,' said the General, rising with earnestness, as a cloud of trouble rose on his brow; 'don't go off in this way. Stay here at the White House, and make me a visit; you don't think the presidency has *spiled* me, do you?'

'Well, Gin'ral, you may remember that when we were taking down a load of provisions on a flat-boat on the Mississippi, the rest of the boys would be all the time hobbling for little fish. But I sunk deep, and would set long hours without a bite; but when I did get one, you bet it was a catfish. You know *when I goes a cat-tin', I goes a cattin'.*'

The fire flashed out from the old General's eye, and seizing him by both hands—'Yes, I do, and I always liked you for it; and by the Eternal you shall have that place.'

The General rung a bell, and dispatched a messenger to the gentleman who had received the office.

'Now,' said he to the first favorite when he arrived, 'if you give up that office to my friend here, name any office and you shall have it.' 'I want,' said the other, 'the consulship to —.' 'Done,' said the General, and both commissions were made out the same night.

It is a comfort in these days when lies have become so general a substitute for truth, to go back to the times when a Spartan was president of the United States.

Although the entire period of General Jackson's administration of eight years was characterized by the extremest violence of partisan warfare and the bitterest spirit of intolerance, yet only two events happened during his term which rose into the realm of statesmanship, and impressed themselves permanently upon the policy of the country. *First*, the veto of the re-charter of the National Bank; *second*, the proclamation against nullification in South Carolina. The first measure divided the nation into two nearly equal parties, and concerning which men's opinions will perhaps always differ. On the second, and by far the greater measure, the discussion was limited on the one side to Mr. Calhoun and General Hayne, and a few of their personal sympathizers in the Southern States—a faction against a nation.

Veto of the National Bank.—This claims some special attention, since it was followed by the overthrow of the old financial system to which the entire business of the country had been adjusted, and on whose continuance its future prosperity was for a while necessarily dependent. The lines had now been so clearly drawn between the two great parties of the country, that every man's position was unmistakably defined,—he was either a whig or a democrat. Old issues had all been settled; the federal and republican parties had ceased to exist. Most of the former now found themselves ranged under their most gifted and brilliant leader, Henry Clay, whose three cardinal principles were a high protective tariff for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, the National Bank acting as the fiscal agent of the government, and securing a currency of equal value throughout the United States, and the policy of internal improvements for the development of the resources of the nation with a view to the general prosperity;—such were the avowed principles of the whigs.

General Jackson, who now began to be considered the champion, if not the founder of the democratic party, distinguished himself chiefly, as a party man, in his hostility to the United States Bank. This was the great shibboleth which clearly defined a democrat. On the subject of internal improvements his views were more moderate. He was opposed to any further appropriations for building of the Cumberland Road, but different opinions then prevailed among the democrats in regard to the character and extent of other internal improvements, and the same diversity existed among them on the doctrine of a protective tariff; the general tendency of the party being, however, towards moderate duties, while some of the more advanced among them were in favor of a tariff simply for revenue, alleging that domestic industry would receive incidentally all the protection needed, and all which a wise statesmanship could concede. Those diversities of opinion continue to this day; and at no period since has the principle of protection as a maxim of finance ever been conceded, except in two instances, neither of which could justly be regarded as an abandonment of the policy. The first was in Mr. Clay's bill, introduced after the suppression of the attempt at nullification in

South Carolina. It was called the Compromise Tariff, in which during a period of ten years duties were to be reduced by a sliding scale to a minimum average of twenty per cent. With the exception of the extreme democratic Southern politicians, Mr. Clay's bill gave so much satisfaction to the whole country that no serious attempts were made to change it. The second instance was more clearly defined, when Robert J. Walker became Secretary of State under Mr. Polk, in 1846. In consequence chiefly of his lucid and powerful arguments laid before Congress, in his Report which became afterwards known as his Free-Trade Report, but which should always have been called an argument for a revenue tariff, the measure passed the House by a respectable majority ; but so powerful an array of talent, learning, eloquence, and statesmanship was brought to bear against it in the Senate, especially by Clay and Webster, that it equally divided the Senate, and only by the casting vote of Mr. Dallas, the vice-president, did it become a law. Of that tariff I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. We now return to the strife between General Jackson and the National Bank.

General Jackson's Grounds of Hostility to the National Bank.—So deeply did General Jackson sympathize with the feelings of the great mass of his fellow-citizens—their welfare lay so near his heart—and so fully were they persuaded of all this, that his principles and his policy became wrought into the very framework of society and of government. Time, which tries all things human, and under whose mysterious and irresistible strokes everything falls but truth—time, the great regulator of human opinion—has uttered its decisions, and the great political measures and principles of General Jackson are now established, and his administration incorporated into the history of his country. The issues he made, no other man of his times would have dared to make ; no other man could have carried through. He knew that the people had called him to the control of the government ; and when he took his post and laid his hand on the helm, the result proved that he was a pilot that could outride the storm. Successive administrations and Congresses had been brought under the sway of that vast consolidated structure of power, the United States Bank ; and by flattery, frowns, favors, and intimidation, its demands had been complied with. The idea of arresting the almost irresistible march to universal power of that institution, was regarded by nearly all parties as the dream of a heated imagination. Its very organization gave it almost unlimited control. With branches in every State, it could glut the streets of every city in the Union with money one day, and drain the market so completely the next, that even the laboring man was obliged to go from his day's toil to his home without the reward of his labor. The man who had not a farthing of property in the world, could, with the favor of a director or president, go out of the bank and fix the price of the poor man's labor—make bread dear or cheap the same day. There never was, even under the Roman empire, when liberty was blotted out, and a few men in Rome held the destinies of the world in their hands, a more perfectly organized system of power.

Four great roads led out of Rome, over which couriers flew to the four quarters of the globe, and in ten days the edict of a clique of men at Rome was executed in every province, and became law to a hundred million men. The central bank at Philadelphia was the fountain from which streams of influence flowed over the length and breadth of the land.

The policy, the edict of *one man*, whose iron sway was never resisted, could, in a few weeks, carry distress into the family of every poor man in America. The influence of that bank was felt at every ballot-box in the country. It was not confined, either, to one continent. It extended its influence around the globe. Nicholas Biddle fixed the price of cotton at Liverpool, of produce in Brazil, and of tobacco in Amsterdam. His word could flood the New York market with money or bread, with the manufactures of England, or France, or India. At his bidding, the wings of commerce drooped, and a thousand vessels were unrigged in our docks; a word would send them all to sea again. It was the boast of that man that he could make war and make peace—that no man could be elected without his consent, as a governor or a President—that the nation could not even proclaim war without his permission;—a structure of power that had never before been consolidated in the history of a free—we had almost said, an enslaved—people. Gifted with a foresight so penetrating, so keen, so far reaching—it now seems to us prophetic—Gen. Jackson saw what the final result of all this must be in a free country like our own; and he firmly, deliberately, and boldly resolved upon the destruction of the United States Bank. When the first blow fell, multitudes of his friends deserted him. Undismayed, unawed, he levelled the second; and another large company of counsellors and friends filed off. But this could not stir him from his purpose. Deserted by his cabinet, deserted by his friends, deserted by the press, he came forward, and standing alone called on the nation—on the people—who never refuse their sympathies to leaders who fill the breach! We know the result. He broke down the mightiest financial monopoly which had ever been established in this country.

The Outbreak of Nullification in South Carolina.—We now approach the time when the first serious menace was uttered against the union of the United States, and in which General Jackson displayed those lofty and heroic qualities of patriotism and statesmanship which endeared him to the whole country more than any other man since Washington; which secured for him an affection from a great and triumphant party which rose into adoration; which laid the capstone to his fame, and secured him the admiration of future generations.

Transported by a zeal for the local interests of his native State, which reflected more honor upon his heart than his national spirit or statesmanship, haunted by the dream of an impossible state sovereignty—which all candid minds considered as having been buried out of sight when the National Constitution was adopted—and having stirred a fanaticism among his followers

which never could be allayed by reason, he was at last borne on by a whirlwind he had raised himself, but which he could no longer control. From the enactment of the tariff of 1828, a spirit of discontent had been steadily growing up in the cotton States, which towards the close of 1832 was still further inflamed by an act imposing additional duties on foreign goods. The leaders of the opposition to this new law, when they found how far their recklessness had led them, attempted to disclaim such criminal motives—as has generally been the case when abortive attempts at the overthrow of the peace and prosperity of a community or a commonwealth have ended in the defeat and ruin of the conspirators.

War of the Titans in the Senate.—It is probable that at a later age, when with the candor and illumination which time alone can bring in such matters, the debates in the Senate of the United States, during the first hundred years of the existence of that body will be regarded with as much respect and admiration as those of any other legislative body that has ever had an existence in a free State. Nor during this long period will any one chapter in the history of our Senate be read with more instruction and delight than the memorable debates of that session which preceded and followed the attempt at nullification in South Carolina.

If in my sketches some figures come out more prominently than others, I think I should not be blamed any more than the artist who stands in the presence of some of the great features of the physical creation. In painting the Bay of Naples, Vesuvius must tower above the whole scene: Claude Lorraine, and a thousand other artists found it so. Niagara was all Church could see, when he took the pencil in hand before that stupendous scene. When Phidias wrought his statue of Jove, he forgot all minor divinities. While Stuart looked on the head of Washington, he saw only one man. Mont Blanc must have its place in generic Swiss scenery; and I do not know how—if I had so unworthy a thought—I could leave out of my humble cartoons the great figures that stride over the historic landscape. If I say too much of Clinton, Jackson, Lafayette, Webster, Clay, Scott, Audubon, Morse, and others, it is because they reflect themselves in the photography of their times. I am only sorry my canvas is not broad enough to represent all the mighty host of the builders of the system of civic life in this hemisphere.

The discontent which the South felt on the enactment of the Tariff of 1828, was fanned into a flame of sectional feeling by the leading politicians of South Carolina. They alleged that the National Congress—by the enactment of a Protective Tariff—had usurped power not granted by the Constitution; and this feeling of complaint rose to such an extent, that its advocates at last found themselves rushing into ‘nullification,’ single-handed and alone. The Representatives of South Carolina, in both Houses of Congress, boldly lifted the flag of disunion. They waved aloft the fire-brand of secession, and

shook it, in defiance against the shield of the Constitution. Gen. Hayne—a brilliant and accomplished Senator from South Carolina—carried that fire-brand into the Senate; where, on every occasion, relevant or irrelevant, he proclaimed these doctrines, which men of sense and patriotism generally regarded as treasonable.

What might have been the result, it is impossible to conjecture, had there not been a greater and a better man in that Senate House, to come to the rescue of the Republic. Daniel Webster represented the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and at no time in history has a Commonwealth, a Monarchy, or an Empire been represented by a greater man. Influenced, I trust, by no local feeling, and not only willing, but proud—as the preceding pages of this history will show—to award honor and glory to South Carolina in all she has done that is great and true, I must here introduce the reply of Mr. Webster to that treasonable and parricidal assault of Gen. Hayne upon the Constitution and the Union of these States.

The Provocation.—For many days the Senate of the United States had witnessed scenes of collision and discord. Senator after senator had risen in his place to attack or defend the Constitution. Thrust after thrust had been made; and with the bitterness of the keenest invective, and the most pointed satire, the friends of the Union had sat irritated, indignant: but no effectual reply had been made. The debate was stretching itself along into days—it dragged itself into weeks. Foreign gentlemen and statesmen who witnessed the proceedings of the Senate, looked on with amazement.

There had been an early expectation that Mr. Webster would reply; but day after day he remained passive, and, to all appearance, immovable. While the North, as a great section of the Republic, was attacked, he did not feel called upon to reply; for on all sides, as he looked around the Senate chamber, he saw men older than himself. But when, at last, General Hayne let the word 'Massachusetts' fall from his lips, Webster was stirred. The Senator from South Carolina saw that his shaft had struck the mark, and he pressed his advantage. Conscious of his own vast powers, and believing that he had no equal in the Senate, he even transferred the attack from the commonwealth of Webster to Webster himself; and in language which was well calculated to rouse all the might of Webster's genius, and all the fervor of his patriotic soul. Under the irresistible impulse of his impetuous eloquence, on the 26th of January, 1830, Genl. Hayne hurled against his antagonist a defiant challenge in these words:—

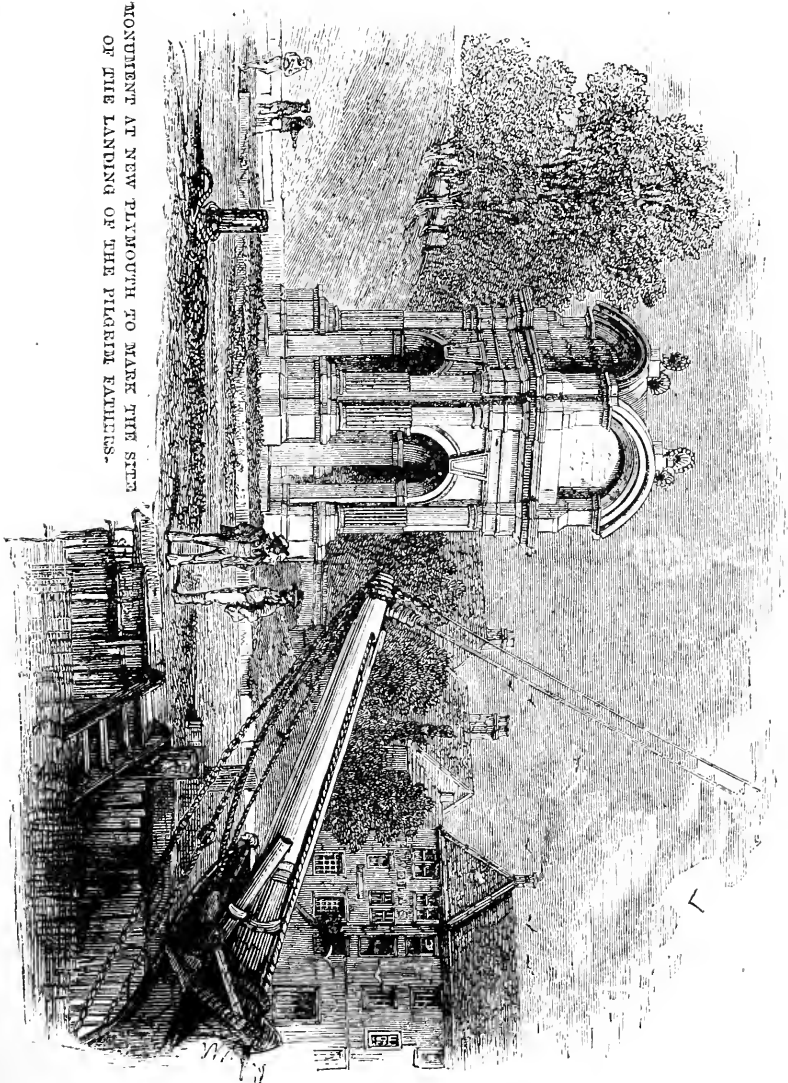
'The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone, and if he shall find, according to the homely adage, that 'he lives in a glass house'—on his head be the consequences. The gentleman has made a great flourish about his fidelity to Massachusetts. I shall make no professions of zeal for the interests and honor of South Carolina—of that my constituents shall judge. If there be one State in the Union, Mr. President—and

I say it not in a boastful spirit—that may challenge comparison with any other for a uniform, zealous, ardent, and uncalculating devotion to the Union, that State is South Carolina. Sir, from the very commencement of the Revolution up to this hour, there is no sacrifice, however great, she has not cheerfully made; no service she has ever hesitated to perform. She has adhered to you in your prosperity, but in your adversity she has clung to you with more than filial affection. No matter what was the condition of her domestic affairs, though deprived of her resources, divided by parties, or surrounded by difficulties, the call of the country has been to her as the voice of God. Domestic discord ceased at the sound—every man became at once reconciled to his brethren, and the sons of Carolina were all seen crowding together to the temple, bringing their gifts to the altar of their common country. What, sir, was the conduct of the South during the Revolution? Sir, I honor New England for her conduct in that glorious struggle: but great as is the praise which belongs to her, I think at least equal honor is due to the South. They espoused the quarrel of their brethren with generous zeal which did not suffer them to stop to calculate their interest in the dispute. Favorites of the mother country, possessed of neither ships nor seamen to create commercial rivalry, they might have found in their situation a guaranty that their trade would be forever fostered and protected by Great Britain. But trampling on all considerations, either of interest or of safety, they rushed into the conflict, and, fighting for principle, perilled all in the sacred cause of freedom. Never was there exhibited in the history of the world higher examples of noble daring, dreadful suffering, and heroic endurance, than by the Whigs of Carolina during that Revolution. The whole State, from the mountain to the sea, was overrun by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The fruits of industry perished on the spot where they were produced, or were consumed by the foe. The “plains of Carolina” drank up the most precious blood of her citizens, black and smoking ruins marked the places which had been the habitations of her children! Driven from their homes into the gloomy and almost impenetrable swamps, even there the spirit of liberty survived, and South Carolina, sustained by the example of her Sumters and her Marions, proved by her conduct, that though her soil might be overrun, the spirit of her people was invincible.’

Webster's Reply.—When the speaker took his seat, every eye was turned on Webster. He rose to address the Senate, and every ear listened to his words. It was near the hour of adjournment; and announcing that he should not trespass upon the Senate that day, he gave notice that ‘he should, the next morning, make some remarks in reply to the speech of the honorable member from South Carolina.’

The next morning, long before the usual hour, the Senate was crowded, and, after the journal had been read, Mr. Webster rose. Never since the Republic had a Senate House, had it witnessed such a scene as this. I shall quote but a few passages from that memorable speech. When he had

MONUMENT AT NEW PLYMOUTH TO MARK THE SITE
OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.





reached the close of his main argument, he thus spoke of South Carolina and Massachusetts :

‘The eulogium pronounced on the character of the State of South Carolina by the honorable gentleman, for her revolutionary and other merits, meets my hearty concurrence. I shall not acknowledge that the honorable member goes before me in regard for whatever distinguished talent, or distinguished character, South Carolina has produced. I claim part of the honor : I partake in the pride of her great names. I claim them for countrymen, one and all. The Laurenses, Rutledges, the Pinkneys, the Sumters, the Marions—Americans all—whose fame is no more to be hemmed in by State lines than their talents and patriotism were capable of being circumscribed within the same narrow limits.

‘In their day and generation they served and honored the country, and the whole country, and their renown is of the treasures of the whole country. Him, whose honored name the gentleman bears himself—does he suppose me less capable of gratitude for his patriotism, or sympathy for his sufferings, than if his eyes had first opened upon the light in Massachusetts, instead of South Carolina? Sir, does he suppose it in his power to exhibit a Carolina name so bright as to produce envy in my bosom? No, sir; increased gratification and delight, rather. Sir, I thank God that if I am gifted with little of the spirit which is said to be able to raise mortals to the skies, I have yet none, as I trust, of that other spirit, which would drag angels down.

‘When I shall be found, sir, in my place here in the Senate, or elsewhere, to sneer at public merit, because it happened to spring up beyond the little limits of my own State and neighborhood; when I refuse, for any such cause, or for any cause, the homage due to American talent, to elevated patriotism, to sincere devotion to liberty and the country; or if I see an uncommon endowment of heaven—if I see extraordinary capacity and virtue in any son of the South—and if, moved by local prejudice, or gangrened by State jealousy, I get up here to abate the tithe of a hair from his just character and just fame, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

‘Sir, let me recur to pleasing recollections; let me indulge in refreshing remembrances of the past; let me remind you that in early times no States cherished greater harmony, both of principle and of feeling, than Massachusetts and South Carolina. Would to God that harmony might again return. Shoulder to shoulder they went through the Revolution—hand in hand they stood round the administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean on them for support. Unkind feeling, if it exist, alienation and distrust, are the growth, unnatural to such soils, of false principles since sown. They are weeds, the seeds of which that same great arm never scattered.

‘Mr. President, I sha’ll enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts—she needs none. There she is—behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is

her history—the world knows it by heart. The past, at least, is secure. There is Boston, and Concord, and Lexington, and Bunker's Hill; and there they will remain for ever. The bones of her sons, fallen in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every State, from New England to Georgia; and there they will lie forever.

‘And, sir, where American liberty raised its first voice, and where its youth was nurtured and sustained, there it still lives, in the strength of its manhood, and full of its original spirit. If discord and disunion shall wound it; if party strife and blind ambition shall hawk at and tear it; if folly and madness, if uneasiness, under salutary and necessary restraint, shall succeed to separate it from that Union, by which alone its existence is made sure, it will stand in the end by the side of that cradle in which its infancy was rocked; it will stretch forth its arm with whatever of vigor it may still retain, over the friends who gather round it: and it will fall at last, if fall it must, amidst the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin.’

Mr. Webster concluded with the following noble words:

‘I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread further and further, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

‘I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed.

‘While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant, that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious



DANIEL WEBSTER



Union ; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent ; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood ! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as—What is all this worth ? nor those other words of delusion and folly—Liberty first, and Union afterwards—but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable !

The spirit of Sectionalism was rebuked—Nullification hung its head—the majesty of the Constitution was asserted. This noble and forever unanswerable vindication of the Union of these States became a new source of pride and exultation, and ever afterwards Daniel Webster was called THE DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Nullification proclaimed in South Carolina.—But foiled, defeated, and rebuked, as the spirit of nullification was, the leaders of that party finally succeeded in gaining a majority in South Carolina ; and a Convention was held at Columbia—November, 1832, Governor Hayne presiding—which declared that Congress, in laying protective duties, had exceeded its just powers ; and that its acts, from that period, should be regarded as utterly null and void—that after February 1st, 1833, the validity of that National Statute should be denied by the Courts of the State ; and that every man in that Commonwealth who held a Federal office should take an oath to disregard it. And, finally, the Convention declared that if any attempts were made by the National Government to enforce obedience to its statutes, they should be repelled by force of arms ; and from that time ‘the State of South Carolina would throw off all allegiance whatever to the Federal Constitution, and assert and maintain her independence as a sovereign and independent State.’ The Convention also put forth an Address to the people of the United States, avowing the doctrines of Nullification, and calling upon all other Southern States to join with her in ‘a dissolution of the Union.’

On the 27th of the following November, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, the Legislature of South Carolina met at Columbia. The Governor, in his message, approved of what the Convention had done. He recommended the Legislature to request the President of the United States to withdraw the military forces of the Federal Government from the Arsenal at Charleston—that the militia should be organized—that the services of 12,000 volunteers should be accepted—and that appropriations should be made for carrying on a war with the United States. These recommendations were all adopted and laws passed to carry them into effect.

Calhoun having resigned his Office of Vice-President, was elected to the Senate as Successor to General Hayne.—Some notice is due to the last efforts of Mr. Calhoun in the Senate to secure the abrogation of the Tariff before his State should proclaim war against the Union. He and his State had witnessed with mortification the humiliating defeat of General Hayne in his futile attempt to grapple with Daniel Webster, and he now appeared in the same hall to undertake the same hopeless enterprise.

In reply to Mr. Calhoun's speech, in which the constitutionality of the Tariff of 1832 was assailed and another challenge hurled at Mr. Webster, on the 16th of February, 1833, the Massachusetts Senator opened his reply in the following words :—‘*Mr. President,*—The gentleman from South Carolina has admonished us to be mindful of the opinions of those who shall come after us. We must take our chance, sir, as to the light in which posterity will regard us. I do not decline its judgment, nor withhold myself from its scrutiny. Feeling that I am performing my public duty with singleness of heart, and to the best of my ability, I fearlessly trust myself to the country, now and hereafter, and leave both my motives and my character to its decision.

‘The gentleman has terminated his speech in a tone of threat and defiance towards this bill, even should it become a law of the land, altogether unusual in the halls of Congress. But I shall not suffer myself to be excited into warmth by his denunciation of the measure which I support. Among the feelings which at this moment fill my breast, not the least is that of regret at the position in which the gentleman has placed himself. Sir, he does himself no justice. The cause which he has espoused finds no basis in the Constitution, no succor from public sympathy, no cheering from a patriotic community. He has no foothold on which to stand, while he might display the powers of his acknowledged talents. Everything beneath his feet is hollow and treacherous. He is like a strong man struggling in a morass: every effort to extricate himself only sinks him deeper and deeper. And I fear the resemblance may be carried still farther; I fear that no friend can safely come to his relief, that no one can approach near enough to hold out a helping hand, without danger of going down himself, also, into the bottomless depths of this Serbonian bog.’

With the following sentences he closed his memorable speech :—‘But, sir, I hold South Carolina to her ancient, her cool, her uninfluenced, her deliberate opinions. I hold her to her own admissions, nay, to her own claims and pretensions, in 1789, in the first Congress, and to her acknowledgments and avowed sentiments through a long series of succeeding years. I hold her to the principles on which she led Congress to act in 1816; or, if she have changed her own opinions, I claim some respect for those who still retain the same opinions. I say she is precluded from asserting that doctrines which she has herself so long and so ably sustained, are plain, palpable, and dangerous violations of the Constitution.

‘Mr. President, if the friends of nullification should be able to propagate their opinions, and give them practical effect, they would, in my judgment, prove themselves the most skilful *architects of ruin*, the most effectual extinguishers of high-raised expectations, the greatest blasters of human hopes, which any age has produced. They would stand up to proclaim, in tones which would pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed. They would send forth sounds, at the hearing of which the doctrine of the divine right of kings would feel, even in its grave, a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation. Millions of eyes, of those who now feed their inherent love of liberty on the success of the American example, would turn away from beholding our dismemberment, and find no place on earth whereon to rest their gratified sight. Amidst the incantations and orgies of nullification, secession, disunion, and revolution, would be celebrated the funeral rites of Constitutional and Republican Liberty.

‘But, sir, if the Government do its duty, if it act with firmness and with moderation, these opinions cannot prevail. Be assured, sir, be assured, that, among the political sentiments of this people, the love of Union is still uppermost. They will stand first by the Constitution, and by those who defend it. I rely on no temporary expedients, on no political combination; but I rely on the true American feeling, the genuine patriotism of the people, and the imperative decision of the public voice. Disorder and confusion, indeed, may arise; scenes of commotion and contest are threatened, and perhaps may come. With my whole heart I pray for the continuance of the domestic peace and quiet of the country. I desire most ardently the restoration of affection and harmony to all its parts. I desire that every citizen of the whole country may look to this Government with no other sentiments but those of grateful respect and attachment. But I cannot yield, even to kind feelings, the cause of the Constitution, the true glory of the country, and the great trust which we hold in our hands for succeeding ages. If the Constitution cannot be maintained without meeting these scenes of commotion and contest, however unwelcome, they must come. We cannot, we must not, we dare not, omit to do that which, in our judgment, the safety of the Union requires. Not regardless of consequences, we must yet meet consequences; seeing the hazards which surround the discharge of public duty, it must yet be discharged. For myself, sir, I shun no responsibility justly devolving on me, here or elsewhere, in attempting to maintain the cause. I am tied to it by indissoluble bands of affection and duty, and I shall cheerfully partake in its fortunes and its fate. I am ready to perform my own appropriate part, whenever and wherever the occasion may call on me, and to take my chance among those upon whom blows may fall first and fall thickest. I shall exert every faculty I possess in aiding to prevent the Constitution from being nullified, destroyed, or impaired, and even should I see it fall, I will still, with a voice feeble perhaps, but earnest as ever issued from human lips, and with fidelity and zeal which nothing shall extinguish, call on the PEOPLE to come to its rescue.’

It had been a vain attempt. Mr. Calhoun retired as hopelessly beaten as his predecessor in the terrible conflict with the invincible defender of the Union and the Constitution. In any struggle Webster was a fearful antagonist. But in such a struggle as this he snapped the weapons of the two South Carolina champions as easily as Samson snapped the wythes of the Philistines. In such a battle he was omnipotent. Calhoun fled from the Capitol to take part with his native State.

The Pilot for the Storm.—It was fortunate for this Republic that Gen. Jackson then stood at the helm. Regardless of every consideration, except those pure and lofty motives which sway the action of great and patriotic statesmen, he decided at once upon his course. He determined to crush the 'Monster of Disunion;' and on the 10th of December, but a few days after the message of the Governor of South Carolina had been received, he published his memorable PROCLAMATION.

The Governor of South Carolina was appointed to the command of the army of the State; but Hayne,¹ who was ambitious of leading 'the Nullification army,' succeeded him. He, too, issued a Proclamation, calling upon his fellow-citizens to disregard 'the vain menaces of the President, and protect the liberties of the State;' while the Legislature authorized the enlistment of soldiers, who were to hold 'themselves ready to march at a moment's warning to the defence of South Carolina!'

But the Nullifiers knew very little of a man they had now to deal with; and still less how the insulted patriotism of the nation would sustain the vindicator of the Constitution. No sooner had he finished the reading of the proceedings in South Carolina, than he rose from his easy-chair, and hurling his long-stemmed pipe to atoms against the back of the fire place, he lifted his

¹ Hayne, Robert Young, an American statesman, born in St. Paul's parish, Colleton district, S. C., Nov. 10, 1791, died in Asheville, N. C., in September, 1840. He was educated in Charleston, and was admitted to the bar before he was 21 years old. At the beginning of the war of 1812 he served in the 3d regiment of South Carolina troops, and then resumed practice in Charleston. In 1814 he was chosen a member of the State Legislature, and after serving two terms he was elected speaker of the House, and then attorney-general of the State. In 1823 he was chosen a senator of the United States. In the debates on the question of protection to American manufacturers Mr. Hayne took a leading part, and in every stage of the discussion he was an uncompromising opponent of the protective system. When the tariff bill of 1824 came before the Senate, he made in opposition to it an elaborate and powerful speech, in which for the first time the ground was taken that Congress had not the constitutional right to impose duties on imports for the purpose of protecting domestic manufacturers. He was equally strenuous in his opposition to the tariff of 1828, which aroused in South Carolina the spirit of resistance that came to a crisis in 1832. In that year Mr. Clay proposed a resolution in the Senate declaring the expediency of repealing forthwith the duties on all imported articles which did not come into competition with domestic manufacturers. Mr. Hayne denounced this proposition, and submitted an amendment to the effect that all the existing duties should be so reduced as simply to afford the revenues necessary to defray the actual expenses of the government. He supported this amendment in one of his ablest speeches, but it was rejected, and the principles

of Mr. Clay's resolution were embodied in a bill which passed both Houses and received the sanction of the President. Mr. Hayne on this occasion was the first to declare and defend in Congress the right of a State, under the federal compact to arrest the operation of a law which she considered unconstitutional. This doctrine led to the celebrated debate between Mr. Webster and himself. In consequence of the passing of the tariff bill the Legislature of South Carolina called a State convention, which met at Columbia, Nov. 24, 1832, and adopted an ordinance of nullification. In the following December Mr. Hayne was elected Governor of the State, while Mr. Calhoun, resigning the Vice-Presidency of the United States, succeeded to his place in the Senate. On Dec. 10th President Jackson issued his proclamation denouncing the nullification acts of South Carolina. The Governor replied with a proclamation of defiance, and South Carolina prepared for armed resistance. But Congress receded from its position on the protective question, the tariff was for the time satisfactorily modified, and South Carolina in another convention, of which Gov. Hayne was president, repealed her ordinance of nullification. In December, 1834, he retired from the office of governor, and was soon after elected mayor of Charleston. He was attending a railroad convention at Asheville when he contracted a fever and died.—*Appleton's American Cyclopædia*.

The date of General Hayne's death is almost invariably given wrong in the published accounts. I copied the date of his decease on his monument in St. Michael's churchyard last February—1875—'Died September 24, 1830.'

iron arm to heaven and swore that sublime oath, which often emphasized his determination in such crises: 'THE UNION! IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED! BY THE ETERNAL! SEND FOR GENERAL SCOTT!' Jackson sent Gen. Scott at once to Charleston, to take command of the United States forces. Castle Pinckney, which commands the inner harbor of the town, was put in order, and Fort Moultrie, which had witnessed the sanguinary struggle in the Revolution, was strongly garrisoned. Commodore Elliot appeared on the coast with a squadron of battle-ships, and every preparation was made, by land and sea, to reduce the insurgents, just as Charleston would have been besieged, if it had been held by the Tories of the Revolution. This was the last that was heard of nullification during that generation.

No act of any President, since the time of Washington, had called forth such universal enthusiasm. The course of the President was everywhere approved, and his name became a tower of national strength among those who loved their country.

It would have been strange indeed, if, in the midst of so many exciting passions and debates, all the provocations should have been on one side. South Carolina was wrong—radically wrong. There was nothing right about her course; for if the Union of these States implies any obligation at all on the part of the separate commonwealths, it implies the obligation to obey the National Statutes. But Mr. Clay, who had not, thus far, mingled actively enough in the strife to lose the spirit of peaceful compromise, came forward on the 12th of February, 1833, with a new Tariff Bill, which reduced the duties on certain articles, and substituted a sliding scale, to operate in the future. His bill was proposed as a Tariff for revenue only. It was regarded as a wise and judicious measure. It was known that Mr. Calhoun and his supporters would accept the bill—it passed both Houses, and met with the approbation of the President. The country thus recovered from a dangerous agitation; and from that hour South Carolina went forward, side by side with her sister States, in illustrating the eloquence, in perfecting the Legislation, and fighting the battles of our common Republic.

Andrew Jackson's Life.—It was coeval with our existence as a nation. He was trained up for his future destiny under the stern teachings of stormy times. He was born before the Republic, and he stood by the cradle of our liberty when 'Time's noblest offspring and the last' was given to the world. He heard the echo of the first cannon-shot of the Revolution, and it woke a spirit in him which could never sleep again. The scene we have so often recurred to with deep interest, where the mother of General Jackson gathered her three boys around the altar of home, and consecrated them to the service of liberty, is one of the most touching in our history. We see the brothers kneeling to receive her blessing; we see her bind on the knapsacks and put the muskets in their hands; and we hear her last charge, like the Grecian mother, when she sent her son to the battle-field.

How nobly they obeyed the injunction the issue may tell. *He* came back wounded ; but his two brave brothers had fallen victims to the cause of independence. He embraced his mother, and shouldered his musket again.¹

Jackson's Mother.—Nor will we pass by unnoticed, the generous patriotism of the mother, who gave all her children to her adopted country—two to die in battle, and one to win its victories and be its President. We read of Spartan and Roman and Carthaginian mothers ; but we have read of none in ancient times more heroic, nor could we point to one in the world's history whose name better deserves to be embalmed in the hearts of Americans. She had sprung from that brave, and generous, but bleeding island, whose green earth had for six long centuries been wet with the tears of her sons. She had fled, with the one she loved, from the cold, iron grasp of despotism, and committed her all upon the wide ocean, to find a new but distant world, where she hoped the flower of liberty would grow and shed its perfume. Her pure and lofty spirit breathed from the soul of her boy ; and no finer scene in all our annals will be found by our future historic painters, than the parting moment, at the threshold of her humble dwelling, when this Protestant Irish mother pressed the young soldier to her bosom, and sent him with her blessing to fight the battles of her adopted country. The future conqueror and President was proud of this mother till the day he died. We know not where she sleeps ; but the American people will one day find her tomb, and cover it with honor. Blessings on thee, mother, wherever thy grave be made ! Future times will love thy name ! Blessings, too, upon thy green isle, and thy generous people ! When the news of our struggle with thine ancient foe reached thy shores, the pious among thee fled to the altars of the God of battles to pray for us—thy old men, into whose souls the iron had entered, wept to think they could not come and nerve their arms in our cause ; and the young men left the homes of their fathers, to come and die under our young eagle. And when at last the news came that the protracted struggle was crowned with victory, a shout of joy went up to Heaven from thy beautiful island, and thy people extended their hands in gratitude for the asylum we offered them. God speed the day of redemption for thy brave and generous people !

With what admiration and wonder would that youthful soldier have been regarded, had it then been known that Heaven was training him up for his glorious destiny !—that a shield which could not be transfixed, was to be

¹ The massacre of Buford's regiment fired the patriotism of young Andrew Jackson ; and at the age of thirteen he entered the army, with his brother Robert, under Sumter. They were both made prisoners, but even while in the power of the British, the indomitable courage of the after man appeared in the boy. When ordered to clean the muddy boots of a British officer, he proudly refused, and for his temerity received a sword-cut. After their release, Andrew and his brother returned to the Waxhaw settlement with their mother. That patriotic mother and two sons perished during the

war. Her son Hugh was slain in battle, and Robert died of a wound which he received from a British officer while he was prisoner, because, like Andrew, he refused to do menial service. The heroic mother, while on her way home from Charleston, whither she went to carry some necessaries to her friends and relations on board a prison-ship, was seized with prison-fever and died. Her unknown grave is somewhere between what was then called the Quarter House and Charleston. Andrew was left the sole survivor of the family —Foot's *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 199.

borne before him in battle by an invisible but Almighty hand,—that God, who had written in his eternal councils a brilliant history for our Republic, then unborn, was preparing him, as he did his chosen Captain who led his chosen people into the promised land.

In all General Jackson's movements, he was but the organ of the people, and the expression of the spirit of the country and of the age. The annexation of Texas originated with him, and it was carried through with the unerring certainty that this Continent was sure at last to fall under the sway of the descendants of the Pilgrims of New England and the cavaliers of Virginia.

General Jackson's friends rejoiced that he lived to hear that Texas had been admitted to the union, March 1, 1845—to behold all his measures and all his hopes triumphantly consummated. And thus he died with fullest assurance that the people were sure to redeem every pledge they had given. The great fact in the Administration of General Jackson was the sympathy that, from the beginning to the end, subsisted between him and the great mass of his countrymen.

His Personal Character.—No man of our times has been so hated or so beloved. Those who knew the virtues of his private character, his generosity, his child-like simplicity and truth, his tenderness of feeling, his sympathy for the poor, the unfortunate, and the distressed, his frankness and honesty, could not help loving him. Those who had scanned his public life most carefully and most severely, were best satisfied of the lofty integrity of his character. Throughout life he was an *honest* man; and even in the midst of the heated struggles of party, with the weight of a nation's cares on his shoulders, he found time for many an act of private benevolence, and many of the duties of the patriot. But it was only when he had withdrawn from the fatigues and excitements of public life, and retired to his quiet solitude at the Hermitage, that he found leisure for calm and uninterrupted reflection. Here he reviewed with calmness and philosophy his long and eventful life, and devoted himself to the pure and hallowed engagements of friendship. What spectacle could be more beautiful than this iron man, who did never bow to the will of his fellow—who had stood unshaken in the midst of hostile squadrons—who never knew what fear was—bowing his proud spirit at the feet of his Maker, with the tenderness and meekness of a child.¹

¹ I heard that scene described by one who loves truth too well ever to have deceived any one. 'It was,' said he, 'the hour for evening prayer.' 'Let the family be called in,' said the old man, 'it is time for prayer.' He took down his large family Bible, put on his glasses, and read, in a clear voice, one of the most beautiful passages in the history of the Redeemer. And then he knelt, and they all knelt, and the room was still. In a mild, weak voice, he began to address the Majesty of heaven and earth. Gradually his voice became more earnest and firm, and all his tones were full of tenderness and sympathy. He prayed for the whole world; but he bore his beloved country in his arms, and asked God to bless it. And when he spoke

of the future, and the clouds that will one day hang over us, when the folly and madness of faction will shake us to the centre, his voice grew tremulous, and the tears flowed down the old man's cheek. 'O God!' he at last exclaimed, with a burst of feeling he could not control, 'when the evil hour comes, save the country for which so many prayers have been offered, and so much brave blood shed.' And then he sent up one general petition, for his heart was as large as the wants and the woes of the universal world. 'O God of liberty! hater of tyranny! emancipate all mankind, and bring on the day of universal freedom.' He closed by asking, in a subdued tone, for the forgiveness of all the sins of his own life. 'They are

The Essential Greatness of his Character.—But General Jackson was not only one of the best, he was one of *the great men of his times*, for his double term of eight years stamped the country—its politics—its home and foreign policy—its resources and development—with a new type of nationality. He was a man who left indelible foot-prints wherever he trod. He was great by nature, and he was national by instinct. His heart was American—his feelings were American—his thoughts were on his country—even his prejudices and his passions—all there was, that was good or evil in him; grew out of his country—his love of country—his hatred of her foes—his determination to crush them. If he had been a bad, a selfish, or an ambitious man, he would have been a tyrant. But he has gone to his grave, leaving behind him fewer men than most great administrators of power have left, to impugn his motives, or refuse the tribute of admiration and respect to his character. Filled with violent and generous passions, he must think and feel for the masses of his countrymen. Like all who are sent into the world to work great changes, he was conscious of his power to mould his fellow-men. Nor does Nature ever abandon those in whom she has reposed the hopes of the world, till their work is done. Heaven-commissioned, they are Heaven-guided; and what at the time may seem to be but the fruit of accident and caprice, takes place under the guidance of that superhuman protection which is to decide the destiny of the great man.

It has been often alleged that General Jackson was not a scholar. Neither was Washington. But scholarship has little to do with the mission of such men. The moulding hand which the Cromwells, the Washingtons, the Jacksons, lay upon their times, and upon other generations, cannot be guided by lights which are borrowed from study. With them, impulses, which are almost infallible, are substituted for the cold calculations of reason; over their intellects the experience of ordinary men can pour little illumination. They are sent into the world to guide their age, and their age can neither guide nor instruct them. The helpers they need are sure to be sent to them and they are just as sure to come at the moment they are wanted.¹ Such primitive

many, I know,' he said, 'but Thy mercy is great, and I plead the merits of Thy well-beloved Son.'

Yes, good old man, thou hadst thy sins—and who has not? May all who loved thee be as sure of pardon. Such were the holy scenes enacted around the altar of the Hermitage, and such we believe to be the spirit which reigns in the world where he has gone.—*My Life Note-Book*, July, 1845.

¹ General Jackson always had strong men around him—*men really great* always have. They attract brave, large-hearted companions and counsellors—men of their own stamp. Little men are forever *mousing*. I have often wondered that so few of Jackson's many biographers have dwelt with any emphasis on this striking trait of his character. He could not tolerate a weak man. After getting rid of Van Buren, as Secretary of State, by appointing him Minister to

England, he called to his side EDWARD LIVINGSTON, one of the greatest Statesmen and Jurists of his age, and he became his chief constitutional adviser during the most trying and perilous years of his administration. In the choice of such a man to aid him in the battle with his giant enemies at home, and afterwards sending him to France, to baffle the intrigues of Louis Philippe, our most astute and dangerous enemy abroad, and thus winning a victory so complete over the subtlest statesmen in Europe, that the world rang with the praises of America, Jackson showed how acute and almost infallible was his judgment of the characters of public men.

I cannot withhold from my readers, the chaste and discriminating sketch of LIVINGSTON, which some practised and able hand has drawn in *Appleton's New*

leaders are raised up by Providence for high purposes, and God does not commit their education to the world. Like Moses and John the Baptist, they are brought out from the wilderness, and, under divine monitions, they lead nations into promised lands.

The scholastic age has gone by for ever. It is no longer a question of any importance to us, whether a spirit can be in two different places without

Cyclopædia, vol. x., which was issued the other day—February, 1875.

Edward, brother of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, an American jurist and statesman, born in Clermont, Columbia Co., N. Y., May 26, 1764, died in Rhinebeck, May 23, 1836. He graduated at Princeton College in 1781, studied law at Albany, and on his admission to the bar in 1785 commenced practice in the city of New York, where at an early age he attained high rank as jurist and advocate. In 1794 he was elected a Representative in Congress from the district including the city of New York, and was re-elected to the following two Congresses, in which he was an opponent of the Administrations of Washington and Adams upon the various party questions of the period. In March, 1801, he was appointed by Mr. Jefferson United States District Attorney for the State of New York, then composing but one judicial district. He was also elected mayor of the city of New York for two years, commencing in 1801. By virtue of the latter office he was at the same time judge of an important municipal court of record. A volume of reports of his judicial opinions, delivered in that court during the year 1802, edited by himself, was published at New York in 1803. During his mayoralty the city was visited by yellow fever, when his benevolence and intrepidity in remaining at his post nearly cost him his life. He now found his private affairs so involved, through the fault of others it is said, that he was unable to pay his debts, including a considerable balance due to the general government. He promptly resigned his offices and removed to New Orleans, in hopes to retrieve his fortunes by fresh exertions in a new field. In this he succeeded thoroughly, paying his debt to the government in full, principal and interest, and making head against great difficulties, not the least of which was a severe controversy respecting the title which he had acquired to some lands at New Orleans formed by gradual deposits from the annual inundations of the Mississippi river, and called the *Batture*; a controversy in which, among other opposition, he encountered that of the federal government under the personal management of Mr. Jefferson himself. This matter was the subject of a special message to Congress of March 7, 1808, and of a pamphlet by the President, as well as of a pamphlet by Mr. Livingston in reply. The latter eventually triumphed in the courts, though the complete pecuniary fruits of the victory only came to his family long after his death. Many years later Mr. Livingston and Jefferson became heartily reconciled. Soon after his arrival in the territory, the Legislature of Louisiana commissioned him to prepare a system of judicial procedure, which was adopted in 1805, and continued in force till 1825, when it was superseded by the new and elaborate code of practice. In 1823 he

was appointed, conjointly with Mr. Louis Moreau-Lislet, to revise the civil code of Louisiana, a work which was completed the next year, and substantially ratified by enactment. In 1821 Mr. Livingston had been entrusted solely with the task of preparing a code of criminal law and procedure. The next year he made a report of his plan for this work, which was soon afterward reprinted in London and Paris. The work itself was submitted to the Legislature in 1826, but was never directly acted upon by that body, although by a joint resolution of March 21, 1822, the plan had been approved and its completion 'earnestly solicited.' However, the author derived from its publication great celebrity, both in America and in Europe. It was published at Philadelphia in 1833, in 1 vol. 8vo. He had completed his draft in 1824, and a copy had been made for the printer, when both copies were destroyed by fire. The next day, at the age of 60 years, he commenced the reconstruction of the work, and in two years more it was again complete. Upon this performance the best part of Mr. Livingston's fame rests. It is a comprehensive code, or series of codes, of crimes and punishments, of evidence, of procedure, of reform, of prison discipline, and of definitions, and is characterized throughout by the simplicity of its arrangement and by the wisdom and philanthropy of its provisions. It has visibly influenced the legislation of several countries, and portions of it have been enacted entire by the republic of Guatemala. All these juridical works were required to be prepared in both French and English, and called for the exercise of profound and philosophical knowledge, not only of the laws of England and the United States, but of the French, the Spanish, and the civil law. In 1823, on his retiring from the bar, Mr. Livingston was elected a representative in Congress from Louisiana, which office he held until 1829, when he was made a United States Senator from the same State. In 1831 he succeeded Mr. Van Buren as Secretary of State of the United States, and in 1833 was appointed by President Jackson Minister to France, where he resided till 1835, managing with success several affairs of more than ordinary importance and difficulty. On his return home he retired to Rhinebeck, in his native county. An eloquent eulogy upon his life and works was pronounced by M. Mignet in 1838, before the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, of which he had been chosen an associate a few years before. Mr. Livingston was a man of very social tastes, great gayety of manners, and perfection of temper. Amiability and goodness of heart were always the terms first employed in describing his character by those who remembered him. His life, by C. H. Hunt, was published in New York in 1864, and his *Complete Works on Jurispr.* in 2 vols., in 1873.

having, during the interval, passed through the intervening space ; although the learned disputed angrily about it for three centuries. But universities have thus far done little for the mass of men. The sages of Salamanca at last decided, after learned investigations, that Columbus was a heretic and a fool—that the earth was flat, and the navigator would fall down with his bark into the dark abyss if he ventured too far. But while they were burning out midnight oil over the dusty tomes of antiquity, the Genoese was lifting his anchor for a New World. The veteran generals of Europe declared that Napoleon was a bad soldier, for he violated every rule of warfare. But it was a matter of little importance to the young Corsican what the books said about the art of war, while he was triumphantly marching over ruined thrones, and his soldiers were celebrating their victories in the palaces of subjugated kings.

We are told that, in the camp of the brave but unfortunate Pakenham, Xenophon and Cæsar were always to be found, and that he was an enthusiastic admirer of the epic genius of Virgil. But these venerable and beautiful authors were of little service to him at New Orleans. Such is the standard by which General Jackson is to be tried, and such will be the ordeal of his fame in coming times. He is already known as far as the name of America has gone, and throughout Europe he is regarded with veneration. He is there looked upon as the great representative in our times of the spirit of the New World. At last, full of honors, and white with the snows of age, this venerable patriarch of freedom descended to the tomb. He committed his fame to the American people, and they will guard it for ever.

The monumental spirit, which had so long slept in this country, is waking, and even this generation will not pass away before all our battle-fields will be marked by enduring monuments to perpetuate the names of the heroes who sleep under them, to all future time, and our Senate Houses will be adorned with the busts and statues of our eminent civilians.

Of General Jackson, we may say we well know his name can never die ; it would outlive the Pyramids, without a monument or a line of eulogy. But a long succession of generations is to follow us—and the stream of time will sweep to oblivion the names of his detractors and the slanders that have been heaped upon his fame—and when those generations appear upon the stage for their brief hour in the sweep of ages, each one to ask that distant Republic, whose history will then have grown dim, what monument of gratitude and of love she left for her brave and generous patriot, let them be able to turn to some colossal structure of everlasting bronze—

‘ Like some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm ;
Though round its base the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.’

As the noble deeds of its citizens constitute the chief glory of a Republic, so the most grateful province of Art and Literature is to illustrate and preserve their fame. Our first century has drifted by, and the dim form of its suc-

cessor is hastening on, bringing we know not what mysterious changes. We contemplate the past with gratitude and exultation, because it is secure. And we wish that the virtues of those great men who have made it illustrious may become familiar to those whom they never saw, and who will never see them. Much has already been done, of which I shall speak in another place ; for it calls for none of the inspirations of prophecy to foresee that a period of Development in Art awaits us, which will as far surpass whatever the world has seen before, as America is surpassing all former ages in the broad realm of physical culture.

SECTION SIXTH.

COMMERCIAL, AND FINANCIAL DISTURBANCES—CONTRACTIONS, PANICS, AND EXPANSIONS—ADMISSION OF NEW STATES.

To the eye of the politician molehills swell into mountains, for to the vulgar and the selfish everything near is big. To the eye of statesmanship mountains sink into molehills, and the nearer seems smaller than the distant. Jackson's second term was filled with illustrations of the truth of these trite sayings.

The veto of the law rechartering the United States Bank need not have been attended with any commercial disasters, for that institution had yet several years to live, and, had it not degraded itself into a political engine to make war upon General Jackson and the Democratic party, it would have lived out a beneficent lifetime, and a wiser system of national finance might have been adopted. But while it carried on that war against the President so defiantly, all the fierce elements of his nature were roused against it, and he literally compassed its death. It was the depository of the public money, holding ten millions of the nation's funds. General Jackson knew that this money was used for two illegitimate purposes : *first*, to effect his political overthrow ; and *second*, by fostering a spirit of commercial speculation it would, through favor and patronage, win power enough to plant it once more, under fresh franchises, within impregnable defences. In his annual message, December, 1832, he recommended to Congress the removal of the funds and securities belonging to the United States. Congress refused to authorize these measures. After the adjournment of the session, the President assumed the responsibility of removing the deposits, on the ground that by the law of 1816—which gave to the bank its charter—funds of the United States deposited in that institution could be withdrawn by the Secretary of the Treasury. In pursuance of this provision, Mr. McLane, then Secretary of the Treasury was urged by the President to make the withdrawal, and to deposit the amount in a fair proportion among the several State banks. The Secretary declined to comply with the request until he could appoint an agent to ascer-

tain on what terms State banks would receive the deposits. He was then ordered peremptorily to do it : and, declining to do so, he was dismissed from office. Roger B. Taney—who not long afterward became Chief-Justice of the United States, and long lived to preside over that great tribunal—succeeded to the office of Secretary of the Treasury in October, 1833. The removal commenced, and was completed within the next nine months.

This act was attended with financial disasters utterly beyond the power of the present generation to comprehend. But for these unfortunate results the President could not alone, nor chiefly, be held accountable. It was by the act of Nicholas Biddle, the friends of the bank, and the whig party, that war *a l'outrance* had been made against General Jackson. Believing they had power to crush him they engaged in the combat, and simply got beaten. The mere fact that *any* financial institution, in a country like this, should assume it could sway the public policy of a nation, would have been enough to concentrate upon its head righteous public indignation. It became simply a war between a colossal financial monopoly and the public administration of the country. In this desperate movement General Jackson and every other disinterested and clear-sighted man saw the growing hydra, which, if not crushed in its cradle, would spring up with a hundred heads to devour the public liberties ; and against any such danger every passion of that great soul rose in anger and abhorrence. He pursued 'the monster' as the ancient heroes assailed the fabled dragons, till he left it dead on the field.

True, the connection of the bank with the business of the country had become so intimate, it had rendered the business of the nation so dependent upon it, that its instant death would of necessity be attended with widespread commercial disaster. But again I assert, that General Jackson was not alone, nor chiefly, responsible for the results. After the refusal of the Government to recharter the bank, it had time enough to wind up its affairs, without material derangement to the affairs of the country. But the notes of alarm had been sounded out long before the expiration of the charter. The commercial community were taught to believe that a national bank was essential to their prosperity, and for two apparently valid reasons—*first*, England had long had a national bank, *ergo* we must ; *second*, the officers and directors of the bank had 'made a good thing of it,' as all financial monopolies do in all countries ; for everybody knows that those who control the money of a government control its fortunes and the fortunes of its people. But Mr. Biddle and his friends forgot to say that, because England is a monarchy, and found a national bank necessary for her purposes, we should of necessity find the same thing necessary for us ; and they forgot also to say that the bank of England was the fiscal agent and servant of the government, absolutely under its control, a simple instrument of its power for the purpose of carrying on the public business of the empire, while the Bank of the United States, at best, was but a convenient depository for the public money, and that by the terms of its charter it was nothing more than a huge monopoly, granted for,

and wielded by, those to whose keeping the financial destinies of the whole people were confided.

Having filled the ear of the nation through the press, which the bank everywhere controlled, with prophecies of panics and business revulsions, it suited the policy of bank men to everywhere embarrass the business of every manufacturer, importer, and capitalist, who did not join in their political crusade. It requires no profound reflection to see how such inconveniences as would, under the wisest management, have attended the deliberate winding up of the affairs of such an institution, became exaggerated a hundred-fold under the circumstances I have described. Thus determined upon making the catastrophe sweeping as possible, the loans of the bank were extended to upwards of sixty million of dollars, in order to furnish means of speculation to what would now be called a national bank ring.

But to the last moment smaller loans were called in from all directions, and money, as it always will be under such circumstances, was found only in stagnant morasses, like water in low places after the tributary rivulets have all dried up.

The evil was wide-spread, and a general paralysis of business came over the country. But in spite of all the malign influence, which in a spirit of desperate revenge the bank monopolists had endeavored to inflame to augment the common disaster, the State banks, which had been strengthened by the distribution of the public deposits, were able to afford relief; confidence began to reappear, and prosperity was in a considerable degree restored. Thinking men throughout the great agricultural districts, removed from the heated centres of speculation and trade, approved of the course the President had taken, and his popularity through all those districts was enhanced, as was proved by the increased vote on his re-election. It did cost him some diminution of his strength in the commercial States, where larger masses of men live on their wits, with no better claim to the rewards of honest industry than those which are based upon superior sagacity in managing other men's money.

The last official act of the President, however, was perhaps one of less sagacity and judgment. By his order, a Circular was issued from the Treasury Department, in July 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. Although the advocates of gold and silver as the only sound basis for the issue of all other so-called *media* of circulation, applauded this measure at the time, and have applauded it ever since, claiming that the Government had come back to the only sound principle of finance, yet the Circular bore very heavily upon all kinds of business. Among other reasons which the President assigned for the act,—and one of great strength,—was that the measure was calculated to check speculations in the public lands, which was fatal to emigration; controlled in vast areas and held at exaggerated prices greatly to the detriment of the people; it prevented the flow of healthful emigration to the new States. In this case, as in

all others, the last effort of the monopolists in money, in manufactures, and in speculation was exhausted in attempting to change the irrevocable purpose of General Jackson, who was visited by delegations from all the great cities, by its chambers of commerce and boards of trade, and rich men—even ecclesiastical bodies, representing vast multitudes of the religious community; and every possible attempt was made to change his purpose; but he was no more to be moved by private appeal or public clamor than old Cheops is to be shaken from his base by the drifting sands of the desert.

Accession of New States.—But the reader will be glad to turn with me from the heated collisions of those days, the memory of which has long since passed away with the footsteps of disaster which have been lost in the steady march of public prosperity.

On the 15th of June, 1836, Acts were passed for the admission of Arkansas¹ and Michigan² into the Union, and thus the original thirteen States had doubled. The two latest admitted present as fair a contrast between northern and southern States as can perhaps be found, in climate, in the productions of the soil, and in the conditions of society. They are nearly equal in area, that of Arkansas being 52,198 sq. miles, that of Michigan 56,451. In their early history Arkansas far outnumbered Michigan in population, having 14,255 in 1820, while Michigan had only 8,765. Ten years later, Michigan was one thousand ahead. In 1840 Arkansas had only reached 97,574, while Michigan had 212,267. In 1850 Arkansas had risen to 209,897, and Michigan to 397,654. In the next decade Arkansas showed an increase to 435,450, Michigan during the same period to 749,113; while by the census of 1870 Arkansas had only reached 484,471, while Michigan had left her southern sister by the enormous increase to 1,184,059. In wealth, hardly a comparison could be instituted, since the assessed value of real estate in Arkansas in 1870, was \$63,101,304, and the personal estate, \$31,426,539; while at the same date the value of real and personal estate in Michigan was \$719,208,118.

In products of agriculture, cash value of farms and live-stock, mining, manufactures, internal improvements, commerce, and education, the number of corporate cities, the prosperity of the people, institutions of religion, charity, and science, all trace of resemblance ceases. All the wealth, indus-

¹ ARKANSAS.—By Act of March 2, 1819, formed as the Arkansas Territory from the southern part of the Territory of Missouri; by Act of June 15, 1836, the same was admitted as the State of Arkansas.—*Historical Note of Ninth Census*, Population and Social Statistics, p. 596.

² MICHIGAN.—By Act of January 11, 1805, to take effect June 30, 1805, formed as a Territory from the Territory of Indiana. It then consisted of that known mainly as the lower peninsula of Michigan, and bounded on the west and north-west by a line 'through the middle of said Lake [Michigan] northwardly to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, and on the south by a line drawn due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan.' By Act of April 19, 1816, and Joint Resolution of December 11, 1816, *ad* was taken into the State of Indiana. By act of April 18, 1818 (the enabling act for the State of Illinois), there was added

to the Territory all that part of the former Territory of Indiana lying north of and not included in the State of Indiana, and that part of the Territory of Illinois which was not included in the State of Illinois. This addition extended the Territory westward to the Mississippi River. By Act of June 28, 1834, there was added to the Territory the territory between the Mississippi River on the east and the Missouri and White Earth Rivers on the west, and between the northern boundaries of the States of Missouri and Illinois on the south, and the international boundary line on the north. The Territory then extended from Lakes Huron and Erie westward to the Missouri River. By Act of June 15, 1836, enabled to become a State as now bounded; by Act of January 26, 1837, the same was admitted as a State. The remainder of the Territory of Michigan was afterwards absorbed by the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and a part of the Territory of Dakota.—*Ibid.*

try, and enterprise of Arkansas, rested upon the single basis of negro slavery. Those of Michigan upon the symmetrical columns of freedom, knowledge, diversified industry, and the universal prevalence of the attributes and forces of a completely equipped modern civilization. The wealth of Wayne county,—of which Detroit is the shire town,—and the resources at its disposal, could purchase the whole State of Arkansas, if it were put up at auction to-day. And yet the capacity of her soil for agricultural purposes, and the wealth of her mines, as far transcend those of Michigan, as Michigan's do those of Rhode Island. So much for the contrast that may everywhere be drawn between slavery and freedom.

The Road opened to California.—But while this battle of the giants was raging with such fury over questions of Banks and Tariffs, and the supremacy of rival parties at Washington, another conflict, which then excited little interest in the United States, was going on beyond our south-western border, which was to put forth a mightier influence upon the fortunes of the Republic in the future than any event which had happened since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Almost unknown and unnoticed by us, a few forest-rangers of the Anglo-Saxon race, were, on the 21st day of April, 1836, engaged in a life and death struggle with a vastly larger, and completely appointed Mexican army, led by the ablest general of the Spanish race then living, to determine, before sun set, on the field of San Jacinto, whether or not the last barrier between the advancement of our Republic to the shores of the Pacific should be overthrown forever.

Most of our modern statesmen and historians have displayed a strange indifference on the subject of Texas, which it now seems so difficult to account for. The achievement of the independence of Texas; the establishment of her autonomy for nearly ten years as an independent Republic; her final admission to our Union as altogether the largest State comprising it, having an area of 274,356 miles, being, within a fraction, six times larger than the State of New York; attended by the opening of the gates to the old empire of the Montezumas, and the acquisition of California, and that other broad stretch of territory which was conceded by Mexico!—surely such an array of events would seem to be worthy of the best consideration that either history or statesmanship could bestow. I know nothing that in magnitude or importance approaches this imposing array of events. Since the foundation of our Republic nothing like it has happened. It at once turned our national energies in a new direction, and imparted a new color to our history. I know of no tragedy in our Revolution to match the massacre of the Alamo. I know of no battle in our Revolution,—after Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown,—that can begin to compare in importance with the battle of San Jacinto. Nor can I recall any campaign so wonderful in the Revolution, if I except THE TEN DAYS OF WASHINGTON ON THE DELAWARE, that can match the campaign of the little Texan army under General Houston, which ended on the field where the independence of Texas was won.

In the lives of very great men there are moments on which fortune seems delighted to suspend their future history. When they meet such crises with a valor that commands destiny, she should take of the future for them—she does. Once passed the crisis, there are no more hardships to undergo, no more dangers to encounter. The gates which guide the way to glory are swung wide open to the advancing hero, and he treads his path of triumph as securely afterwards, as the Roman conqueror went up to the Campidolio through the streets of the Eternal City.

So, too, there are days in the lives of nations when Providence hangs the enduring glory of a people upon a single hour, when they are summoned to decide what their future shall be—whether their banners shall float to new realms, extending liberty, law, and civilization over oppressed communities; crushing old structures of despotism; breaking the arms of tyrants, and sweeping away the rotten fabrics of hoary superstition to emancipate whole peoples; or whether the wheels of their national greatness shall stand still, and the solemn proclamation go forth, that they have reached the furthest limits of their civilization—that the race of their daring young men is suddenly arrested—that there shall be no new field for untrodden adventure and lofty achievement—that the world, and even despotism itself, may roll *its* wheels of conquest up to their frontier borders, and enlarge the empire of tyranny and superstition at its will, for *they* have done *their* work! They have extended their freedom and power far enough, and must extend it no longer. No bold woodsman may pass their limits, and plunge off into the wilds, to cut out for himself and his children a home in *God's* own forests, for his government will never protect the squatter adventurer, albeit the James River settler and uncompromising Puritan were nothing more.

History is filled with such beautiful images, from that night of gloom and death, when the magic watchword, *prepare to march*, sounded along the banks of the Nile, and three millions of captive Hebrews had before sunrise left that mighty river far behind them. When Leonidas, to save his nation from the trampling hoof of an Asiatic despot, held the pass of Thermopylæ. When Charles Martel, on the field of Poitiers turned back the invading hosts of Saracens. When Gustavus Adolphus saved the cause of Protestantism with his life on the field of Lützen. When Marco Bozzaris, fought that decisive battle with the Turks. When Washington turned the tide of war, and saved the Thirteen Colonies on the field of Monmouth!

And if so be that one after another of these forest heroes has led the way through the green woods beyond the Sabine, and they can, at last, show the traveller the smoke of ten thousand new cottages, wreathing up into the clear blue sky of New Estremadura; and if so be this new race of Puritans, Cavaliers, Huguenots and outlaws, all fraternally mingled, have built up the beautiful fabric of a new, free commonwealth, for all the world to come to for a home, and done it withal while they were protecting their wives and little children from savages, made remorseless by the enervated, perfidious Mexicans—why, even after these hunter-legislators, these squatter-founders of states, have done

all the hard work, this old Republic, whose wheels can roll no further, will not even accept what no other nation ever had to offer—the free gift of a mighty domain, declared independent, as New York and Virginia had been eighty years before, although the offering be made without money and without price !

Yes, these trial days come to nations, as they come to men. One of those Rubicon-hours came on the cold, bleak Rock of Plymouth, where a little band of liberty-loving men landed, under the cover of a keen northern blast, to begin the great business for which Anglo-Saxons crossed the Atlantic,—of founding free commonwealths. Virginia, too, had *her* hour, and her cavaliers went through the Indian-haunted woods, as Marshal Ney's cavalry charged through the Black Forest.

At last, after much debate, and more stupid misconception, the New Republic came, and laid on our Federal Altars her young shield. It was riddled with rifle bullets, and battered by the *trenchant* strokes of the tomahawk. You need not have looked very close to have seen, too, the ghostly image of Mexican treachery filling up the interstices. What an offering was this ! A young hero-people, a new Rome, coming out of the forests, walking in light, and clothed in strength,—advancing in manliness up to our altars.

When the future historian shall tell his readers that the Young Republic was driven away from our Capitol, and her shield hurled back in her face—they will not believe it. That the Representatives of America debated, hesitated, laughed Texas to scorn—will, to future times, seem a malignant invention of the historian. But it was so—and the last resource of Republicanism was resorted to. The Texan banner was flung to the breeze, and the people of this country were asked to settle the question. And the rallying cry rang over the hills of New England, 'where the young American Eagle first unfurled his wings'—and far up the valley of the Mississippi, and down to the Florida coast—and back came the shout of a grateful welcome, and Texas came into the Union.

It was a proud day when her senators took their seats. Greatest of the Texans, came that wondrous man, who had stood by the side of the young Republic, leaning on his rifle, and rocked her infancy in those far-off wilds,—ne was on the threshold of the Senate Chamber, bringing in his arms—not like the triumphant generals of Rome—the fine gold or precious stones of distant barbaric princes, lashed to his victorious car—but a new and a vast empire. There was the tall, erect form of the care-worn chieftain—his locks turned prematurely gray by the hardships of a revolutionary frontier life. His wounds were upon him ; he had bled freely in the service of two Republics. It was such a sight as this Republic will not see again.

SECTION SEVENTH.

HOW TEXAS FIRST BECAME SETTLED BY OUR PEOPLE—HOW SHE BECAME A
FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATE—HER DECLARATION OF INDE-
PENDENCE—THE VICTORY WHICH ACHIEVED IT.

So much popular ignorance among the masses, and so much misconception and prejudice among the intelligent, has prevailed on these subjects, that a few plain statements have become indispensable to a correct understanding of the historic facts. The vulgar impression, both here and in Europe, has been, that the first settlement of Texas by the people of the United States began in the invasion of the soil of a neighboring and friendly State by a band of desperate filibusters; and this false impression, which was first spread throughout the country by the agents of Santa Anna, and afterwards industriously scattered by the political party which was hostile to the annexation of Texas, was persistently adhered to up to the very hour of her admission to the Union. So violently were these atrocious libels proclaimed, that it became the common impression throughout the civilized world that the early emigrants to Texas were, in the main, made up of the last offscourings of civilization,—fugitives from justice,—outlaws from society,—murderers,—robbers, highwaymen, bandits,—men stained with every crime, their hands dyed in blood. A more cruel or fouler libel never was branded upon a community. Let us look at the facts.

Character of the Early Texan Colonists.—The American colony in Texas, like every other colony since time began, consisted of men who wanted to better their fortunes, and among them were doubtless desperate and unprincipled characters. Such men have always borne a certain proportion in every similar community. Especially have they been found in considerable numbers along our northern, western, and southern frontiers. But the proportion which such characters bore to the great body of the early settlers of Texas, was much smaller than in many of our Western States and territories; especially in the tidal wave which swept through to California, after the gold fever set in. But the movement to Texas began in no encroachment upon the rights or soil of a friendly State.

Mexico invited Emigration from the United States.—Although Mexico had caught enough of the all-pervading spirit of the Anglo-Saxon to rise and shake off the foul mantle of Spanish despotism, she had not vital energy enough to work out her own political regeneration. She had been too long bowed into the dust by the foreign tyrant—she had been too long steeped in the besotted bigotry of superstition—she had never thought or acted for her-

self—she had no clear perception of human rights—no intelligent idea of liberty. She did not know that a nation never can grow rich by abandoning the cultivation of the soil, and digging gold and silver from the mine—she could not understand why it was that six vigorous republics had grown up into power on the cold barren hills of New England, while *she* had become feeble and impoverished in the midst of the garden of the world. And yet she believed, if she could once introduce that northern population into her limits, she might borrow from them the secret of their magic power. Her statesmen were told that New Englanders, when they found they could not get their bread from their rocky, frozen soil, made commerce of stones, and grew rich by exporting granite, and lime, and cobble-stones, and timber during the summer, and sent off ship-loads of frozen water in winter, albeit they had to find their market for it on the other side of the globe. ‘These,’ said the Mexican statesmen, ‘are the men we must get to colonize our vast garden-province of Texas—for we have for three centuries tried in vain to do it ourselves.’

Character of Stephen F. Austin.—So that fertile territory was thrown open to the people of the United States, and they were plied by all those motives of gain and pledges of protection which, in the mind of the pioneer settler, prove too strong for the allurements of home. A band of choice spirits, hardy men, some of them trained in the district schools of the North and West, cultivating a cold, ungrateful soil, were led out to find their new homes in the fair province of New Estramadura, where all nature was blushing under the purple light of the tropics. At their head went STEPHEN F. AUSTIN; one of those few men upon whose incorruptible, dauntless truth, a young nation finds it her salvation to repose. In his rare and great character, all that was lofty in the Cavalier and uncompromising in the Puritan was mingled. He entered into his obligations with the Mexican Government, and conducted all his negotiations and redeemed all his pledges, in good faith. For a time, Mexico stood by her engagements, and the infant colony struck its roots deep into the soil. At last Mexico discovered that the very qualities from which she promised herself so much advantage—the industry, the enterprise, the inventions of the new colonists—were all owing to that intelligent love of liberty which she so little understood, and yet so much dreaded. She saw the men who had energy enough to be good settlers, where Spaniards and half-breeds had failed, had too much independence ever to be governed as Spaniards. But she found out her mistake only when it was too late to correct it. Like the ancient Britons, she had invited a superior race into her country, unconscious that her sceptre would one day be transferred to their hands.

Loyalty of Texan Settlers.—This was the point upon which the destiny of the old Spanish empire hinged. Mexico might now have borrowed from her new subjects the elements of an entire political regeneration. These

colonists were not ambitious men—they went there *only to cultivate the soil*—but they had carried, of necessity, their civilization and love of liberty with them, and they could not brook the tyranny of Mexican Dictators. They went prepared to stand by the Federal Constitution of 1824, and up to the 2d of March, 1836, when the Declaration of Independence was signed, all the protests and discontent, all the demands and petitions of the Texans, were *limited to a concession of the rights secured to all the States of Mexico by that Constitution!*

But Mexico was now under the sway of selfish, ambitious military chieftains, who, in the struggle for supremacy, had trampled the Constitution of 1824 in the dust. And let it never be forgotten, that when the political agitations of Texas began, and the will of the entire people had been declared, *all they asked for, and all they desired then, was to see the Constitution of 1824 preserved inviolate.* But men, who are driven to the wall, and compelled to fight for life, sometimes fight for victory. Mr. Austin was sent Commissioner to Mexico, and he went to the Capital with his memorial. His very appearance in that city with the prayer of his colony, that the Mexicans would abide by their own Constitution, under whose solemn pledges he had led his people to their new home—was too bitter a sarcasm upon the corrupt tyrants who had trampled down that high compact, and he was plunged into a foul dungeon, where for many months he never saw a beam of sunshine, nor even the hand that fed him.

The Texans Forced into a Declaration of Independence.—How was all this tampering with Anglo-Saxon men to end? Who, that knows what plighted faith means, or has any notion of the obligations growing out of a political compact, will pretend to say that Texas was bound to submit to the decrees of a Dictator who had committed high treason against his own government—treason for which he would have been brought to the block by the people of Mexico, had he not had twenty thousand bayonets at his back. The Federal compact had now been broken, and by the highest law of nations, every State of the Union not only had the right, but was bound in duty to take care of itself. An *immediate* Declaration of Independence would have been justified by the world. But Texas still remonstrated, and still prayed. *All she wanted was a return to the Constitution of 1824.* But that Constitution lay bleeding under the hoofs of Santa Anna's battle-horse, and his myrmidon soldiers had possession of the Capital. War was proclaimed against Texas by Mexico, *because she would not acknowledge a Dictator*—and an invading army was sent across the Rio Grande, to *'lay waste the infant colony, and slaughter all its inhabitants.'*

On the 1st February an election was held by order of the Council for delegates to a convention with *plenary powers*, which assembled at Washington, March 1st, and on the next day they made and signed their memorable DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, which was as well worthy of commanding

the respect of mankind, and above all the sympathy of the people of the United States, as any other Bill of Rights ever promulgated.¹

This was the position of Texas—and if those men were not justified in defending their wives and children from slaughter, and their dwellings from

¹ When a government has ceased to protect the lives, liberty, and property of the people, from whom its legitimate powers are derived, and for the advancement of whose happiness it was instituted; and so far from being a guarantee for their inestimable and inalienable rights, becomes an instrument in the hands of evil rulers for their oppression:—When the Federal Republican Constitution of their country, which they have sworn to support, no longer has a substantial existence, and the whole nature of their government has been forcibly changed without their consent, from a restricted Federative Republic, composed of Sovereign States, to consolidated central military despotism, in which every interest is disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood, both the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the ever-ready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants:—When, long after the spirit of the constitution has departed, moderation is at length so far lost by those in power, that even the semblance of freedom is removed, and the forms themselves of the constitution discontinued, and so far from their petitions and remonstrances being regarded, the agents who bear them are thrown into dungeons, and mercenary armies sent forth to enforce a new government upon them at the point of the bayonet:—

When, in consequence of such acts of malfeasance and abduction on the part of the government, anarchy prevails, and civil society is dissolved into its original elements—in such a crisis, the first law of nature, the right of self-preservation, the inherent and inalienable right of the people to appeal to first principles, and take their political affairs into their own hands in extreme cases—enjoins it as a right toward themselves, and a sacred obligation to their posterity to abolish such government, and create another in its stead, calculated to rescue them from impending dangers, and to secure their welfare and happiness.

Nations, as well as individuals, are amenable for their acts to the general opinion of mankind. A statement of a part of our grievances is therefore submitted to an impartial world, in justification of the hazardous but unavoidable step now taken, of severing our political connection with the Mexican people, and assuming an independent attitude among the nations of the earth.

The Mexican Government, by its colonization laws,

invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize its wilderness under the pledged faith of a written constitution, and that they should continue to enjoy that constitutional liberty and republican government to which they have been habituated in the land of their birth—the United States of America.

In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, inasmuch as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who having overturned the constitution of his country, now offers to us the cruel alternatives, either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood.

It has sacrificed our welfare to the State of Coahuila, by which our interests have been continually depressed through a jealous and partial course of legislation, carried on at a far distant seat of government, by a hostile majority, in an unknown tongue, and this, too, notwithstanding we have petitioned, in the humblest terms, for the establishment of a separate State Government, and have, in accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, presented to the General Congress a republican constitution, which was, without just cause, contemptuously rejected.

It incarcerated in a dungeon, for a long time, one of our citizens, for no other cause but a zealous endeavor to procure the acceptance of our Constitution, and the establishment of a State Government.

It has failed and refused to secure, on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury, that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for the life, liberty, and property of the citizen.

It has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources (the public domain); and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self-government.

It has suffered the military commandants, stationed among us, to exercise arbitrary acts of oppression and tyranny, thus trampling upon the most sacred rights of the citizen, and rendering the military superior to the civil power.

It has dissolved, by force of arms, the State Con-

fire, there never was a people who had a right to smite the arm of a tyrant. The heroes of '76 rebelled against a constitutional government, with its parliament and king, because they were taxed without representation. *The Texans never rebelled at all.* They would not bow to a Dictator who had stamped the free Constitution of his country under his feet ;—and now a war of extermination was proclaimed. Seven hundred brave men had been slaughtered and burned to ashes, after they had, under a solemn pledge that their lives should be spared, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The red flame of exterminating war was now rolling over the bosom of the young Republic, whose only crime was her loyalty to the Federal Constitution of Mexico.

The Slaughter-day of San Jacinto.—It came at last, and the Texans who went into battle, knew that every one of them would be put to death in cold blood, if the enemy conquered. Such had been the case at Goliad and the

gress of Coahuila and Texas, and obliged our representatives to fly for their lives from the seat of government, thus depriving us of the fundamental political right of representation.

It has demanded the surrender of a number of our citizens, and ordered military detachments to seize and carry them into the interior for trial, in contempt of the civil authorities, and in defiance of the laws and the Constitution.

It has made piratical attacks upon our commerce, by commissioning foreign desperadoes, and authorizing them to seize our vessels, and convey the property of our citizens to far-distant parts for confiscation.

It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty, according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the support of a national religion calculated to promote the temporal interest of its human functionaries, rather than the Glory of the true and living God.

It has demanded us to deliver up our arms, which are essential to our defence—the rightful property of freemen—and formidable only to tyrannical governments.

It has invaded our country both by sea and by land, with the intent to lay waste our territory, and drive us from our homes ; and has now a large mercenary army advancing to carry on against us a war of extermination.

It has through its emissaries, incited the merciless savage, with the tomahawk and scalping-knife, to massacre the inhabitants of our defenceless frontiers.

It has been, during the whole time of our connection with it, the contemptible sport and victim of successive military revolutions ; and hath continually exhibited every characteristic of a weak, corrupt, and tyrannical government.

These, and other grievances, were patiently borne by the people of Texas, until they reached that point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. We then took up arms in defence of the National Constitution. We appealed to our Mexican brethren for assistance ; our appeal has been made in vain ; though months have elapsed, no sympathetic response has yet been heard from the interior. We are, therefore, forced to the melancholy conclusion, that the Mexican people have acquiesced in the destruction of their liberty, and the substitution therefor of a military government ; that they are unfit to be free, and incapable of self-government.

The necessity of self-preservation, therefore, now decrees our eternal political separation.

We, therefore, the delegates, with plenary powers, of the people of Texas, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, do hereby resolve and declare, that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas do now constitute a FREE SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, and we are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations ; and, conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of nations.

'In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names. Signed by 58 Delegates whose birth-places are given as follows. Virginia 11, Tennessee 9, North Carolina 9, Kentucky 5, South Carolina 4, Georgia 4, New York 2, Texas 2, Pennsylvania 2, Massachusetts, 1, New Jersey 1, Foreign 8.

Alamo, and such was the watchword of the advancing dictator. But high over the smoke of San Jacinto the bow of vengeance was held by the hand of eternal justice. The wing of an Almighty Providence had sheltered the bark of the Pilgrims, and its strong shield had been held before the rude homes of Plymouth, and James River. Over the deliberations of the Provincial Congress, Heaven presided, and in the Declaration of Independence its will was done. And now, having decreed, that the broad prairies and shining rivers of that vast land, which had groaned under the tramp of despotic power, and been blasted by the withering blight of superstition for ages, should be regenerated by a nobler and better race, Omnipotence had begun to reveal its great purposes.

The *last* act of this drama, which had begun on the shores of New England, was to be opened on the field of San Jacinto. And although the sun gleamed on the armor of eighteen hundred Mexicans that morning, and when the Commander's bugles sounded the charge, he was, to all human appearances, sure of a victory, yet the result proved that the battle is not always to the strong—that 'God rules among the nations of the earth, and giveth its kingdoms to whomsoever He will.' A decree had gone forth against that army, and against the long-abused reign of Spanish power in Mexico—'thy dominion is taken from thee.'

And the future historian will, one day, open his scroll by announcing that when the sun went down over the groans and the slaughter of San Jacinto, the dominion of Mexico passed away.

The Battle of San Jacinto.—Houston's little army of 700 men, had finished their march, and come up with Santa Anna, and his 1800 troops on the field of San Jacinto. The day had already begun to wear away; it was three o'clock in the afternoon, and yet the enemy kept concealed behind his breast-works, and manifested no disposition to come to an engagement. Events had taken just such a course as Houston expected and desired, and he began to prepare for instant battle.

Everything was ready, and every man at his post waiting for the charge. Houston's two six-pounders had commenced a well directed fire of grape and canister, and they shattered bones and baggage where they struck. The moment had at last come. Houston ordered the CHARGE, and sounded out the war cry, REMEMBER THE ALAMO. These magic words struck the ear of every soldier at the same instant, and 'the Alamo!' 'the Alamo!' went up from the army in one wild scream, which sent terror through the Mexican host. At that moment a rider came up on a horse covered with mire and foam, and swinging an axe over his head, as he dashed along the Texan lines, crying out, as he had been instructed to do, '*I have cut down Vince's bridge—now fight for your lives and remember the ALAMO,*'¹—and then the solid

¹ Early in the morning General Houston had sent for me of his 'trusty men—Deaf Smith'—with a companion well mounted. He retired with them to the spot where the two axes he had provided had been deposited. Taking one in either hand, and examining them carefully, he handed them to the two trusty fellows, saying,

'Now, my friends, take these axes, mount, and make the best of your way to Vince's bridge; cut it down, and burn it up, and come back like eagles, or you will be too late for the prey.' This was the bridge over which both armies had crossed in their march to the battle-ground

phalanx, which had been held back for a moment at the announcement, launched forward upon the breast-works like an avalanche of fire. Houston spurred his horse on at the head of the centre column right into the face of the foe. The work of the day had to be done quick now—or it never would be done at all.

The Mexican army was drawn up in perfect order, ready to receive the attack, and when the Texans were within about sixty paces, and before they had fired a rifle, a general flash was seen along the Mexican lines, and a storm of bullets went flying over the Texan army. They fired too high, but several balls struck Houston's horse in the breast, and one ball shattered the General's ankle. The noble animal staggered for a moment, but Houston spurred him on. If the first discharge of the Mexicans had been well directed, it would have thinned the Texan ranks. But they pressed on, reserving their fire till each man could choose some particular soldier for his target; and before the Mexicans could reload, a murderous discharge of rifle balls was poured into their bosoms. The Texan soldiers rushed on. They were without bayonets, but they converted their rifles into war-clubs, and levelled them on the heads of Santa Anna's men. Along the breastwork there was little more firing of muskets or rifles—it was a desperate struggle hand to hand. The Texans, when they had broken off their rifles at the breech, by smashing in the skulls of their enemies, flung them down, and drew their pistols. They fired them once, and having no time to reload, hurled them against the heads of their foes; and then drawing forth their bowie-knives, literally cut their way through dense masses of living flesh.

It would be a gross mistake to suppose that the Mexicans played the coward that day—for they were slain by hundreds in the ranks where they stood when the battle began—but the fierce vengeance of the Texans could not be resisted. They fought as none but men can fight, when they are striking for their homes, their families and their dead kindred. The Mexican officers and men stood firm for a time, but the Texans stamped on them as fast as they fell, and trampled the prostrate and the dying down with the dead, and clambering over the groaning, bleeding mass, plunged their knives into the bosoms of those in the rear. When they saw that the dreadful onset of their foe could not be resisted, they either attempted to fly, and were stabbed in the back, or fell on their knees to plead for mercy, crying, '*me no Alamo!*' '*me no Alamo!*' These unfortunate slaves of the Mexican tyrant had witnessed that brutal massacre of brave men, and now they could think of no other claim for mercy, but the plea that they were not there: for they knew the day of vengeance for the Alamo had at last come.

But before the centre breastwork had been carried, the right and left wings of the enemy had been put to rout, or slaughter. The Mexicans, however, not only stood their ground at first, but made several bold charges on the Texan lines.

of San Jacinto, and its destruction cut off all chance of escape for the vanquished.

'This,' said Deaf Smith, in his droll way, 'looks a good deal like fight, General.' It *meant* work.

A division of their Infantry, of more than five hundred men, made a gallant and well-directed charge, upon the battalion of Texan Infantry. Seeing them hard pressed, by a force of three to one, the Commander-in-chief dashed between them and the enemy's column, exclaiming:—'Come on, my brave fellows.' The Battalion halted and wheeled into perfect order, like a veteran corps, and Houston gave the order to fire. If the guns of the Texans had all been moved by machinery, they could not have been fired nearer the same instant. There was a single explosion—the Battalion rushed through the smoke, and those who had not been prostrated by the bullets were struck down by the cleaving blows of uplifted rifles; and the levelled column was trampled into the mire. Of the five hundred, only thirty-two lived, even to surrender as prisoners of war.

In the meantime, although Houston's wound was bleeding profusely, and his dying horse could scarcely stagger over the slain, yet the Commander-in-chief saw every movement of his men, and followed the tide of battle as it surged over the field. Wherever his eye fell, he saw the Mexicans staggering back under the resistless shock of his heroic soldiers. Regiments and Battalions, Cavalry and Infantry, horses and men, were hurled together; and every officer and man seemed bent upon his own work of death.

The Mexican army had now been driven from their position, and were dying before their pursuers. Houston saw that the battle was won, and he rode over the field and gave his orders to stop the carnage if the enemy would surrender. But he had given *the Alamo* for their war-cry, and the magic word could not be recalled. The ghosts of brave men, massacred at Goliad and the Alamo, flitted through the smoke of battle, and the uplifted hand could not be stayed.¹

Such was the day of vengeance. It was not strange that no *invading* army, however brave, could long withstand so dreadful an onset. 'When the Mexicans were first driven from the point of woods where we encountered them,' said General Rusk, 'their officers tried to rally them,' but the men cried, 'It's no use, it's no use, there are a *thousand* Americans in the woods.' When Santa Anna saw Almonte's Division running past him, he called a drummer, and ordered him to beat his drum. The drummer held up his hands and told him he was shot. He called then to a trumpeter near him to sound his horn. The trumpeter replied that he, also, was shot. Just at that instant a ball from one of our cannon struck a man who was standing

¹ 'While the battle was in progress,' said General Rusk to me, 'the celebrated Deaf Smith, although on horseback, was fighting with the infantry. When they had nearly reached the enemy, Smith galloped on ahead, and dashed directly up to the Mexican line. Just as he reached it, his horse stumbled and fell, throwing him on his head among the enemy. Having dropped his sword in the fall, he drew one of his belt-pistols, presented it at the head of a Mexican, who was attempting to bayonet him, and it missed fire. Smith then hurled the pistol itself at the head of the Mexican, and, as he staggered back, he seized his gun, and began his work of destruction. A young man, by the name of Robbins, dropped his gun in the confusion of the battle, and happening to run directly in contact with a

Mexican soldier who had also lost his musket, the Mexican seized Robbins, and both being stout men, rolled to the ground. But Robbins drew out his bowie-knife, and ended the contest by cutting the Mexican's throat. On starting out from our camp, to enter upon the attack, I saw an old man, by the name of Curtis, carrying *two* guns. I asked him what reason he had for carrying more than one gun. He answered; 'D—n the Mexicans; they killed my son and son-in-law in the Alamo, and I intend to kill two of them for it, or be killed myself.' I saw the old man again during the fight, and he told me 'he had killed his two men; and if he could find Santa Anna himself he would cut out a *razor-strap* from his back.'

near Santa Anna, taking off one side of his head. Santa Anna then exclaimed 'D—n these Americans ; I believe they will shoot us all.' He immediately mounted his horse and commenced his flight.

The flight had now become universal. The Texans had trampled into the ground, where the battle began, more than their entire number, dying and dead ; and far away over the prairie they were chasing the flying, and following up the slaughter. Multitudes were overtaken and killed as they were making their escape through the deep grass. The Mexican cavalry were well mounted, and after the event they struck deep their spurs into their fleet horses, and turned their heads towards Vince's Bridge. They were hotly pursued by the victors, and when the latter came up, the most appalling spectacle, perhaps, of the entire day, was witnessed. When the fugitive horsemen saw that the bridge was gone, some of them in their desperation, spurred their horses down the steep bank ; others dismounted and plunged in the stream ; some were entangled in their trappings, and dragged down with their struggling steeds ; others sunk at once to the bottom ; while those whose horses reached the opposite bank fell back into the river. In the meantime, their pursuers, who had come up, were pouring down upon them a deadly fire, which cut off all escape. Horses and men, by hundreds, rolled down together ; the waters were red with their blood, and filled with their dying gurgles. The deep, turbid stream, was literally choked with the dead !

A similar spectacle was witnessed on the Southern verge of the Island of Frees, near the Mexican encampment, in the rear of the battle-ground. There was little chance of escape in that quarter, for a deep morass was to be passed ; and yet multitudes, in their desperation, had rushed to this spot as a forlorn hope. They had plunged into the mire and water with horses and mules, and, in attempting to pass, had been completely submerged ; every one who seemed likely to escape soon received a ball from the murderous aim of a practiced rifleman, and the morass was literally bridged over with carcasses of dead mules, horses, and men.

The conqueror rode slowly off from the field of victory, and the resting-place of the dead, and returned to the oak, at whose foot the hero of San Jacinto had slept till the 'Sun of Austerlitz' had woke him that morning. All resistance to the arms of Texas ceased. The pursuers returned to the camp, where a command was left to guard the spoils taken from the enemy. As the Commander-in-Chief was riding across the field, the victorious soldiers came up in crowds, and slapping him rudely on the wounded leg, exclaimed—

'Do you like our work to-day, General?'

'Yes, boys, you have covered yourselves with glory, and I shall decree to you the spoils of victory ; I will reward valor. I only claim to share the *honors* of our triumph with you. I shall not take my share of the spoils.' He did not.

While he was giving his orders, after he reached the Texan encampment,

and before he dismounted, General Rusk came in and presented his prisoner Almonte. It was the first time these two men had ever met. This seemed to give a finishing stroke to the victory; and Houston who was completely exhausted from fatigue and loss of blood, fell from his horse. Colonel Hockley caught him in his arms and laid him at the foot of the oak.

Thus ended the bloody day of San Jacinto—a battle that has scarcely a parallel in the annals of war. Its *immediate fruits* were not small—for the spoils were of great value to men who had nothing in the morning but the arms they carried, scanty, coarse clothing, and the determination to be free. About nine hundred stand of English muskets—besides a vast number that were lost in the Morass and Bayou—three hundred sabres, and two hundred pistols, three hundred valuable mules, a hundred fine horses, a good lot of provisions, clothing, tents, and paraphernalia for officers and men, and twelve thousand dollars in silver, constituted the *principal* spoils.

But the booty was esteemed meaner than nothing, in comparison with the great moral and political consequences that would attend the victory. On that well-fought field Texan Independence was won. A brave, but an outraged people, in imitation of their fathers of the last age, had entrusted their cause to the adjudication of battle, and God took care of the issue. For our own part, we can find in the whole range of history few spectacles more inspiring. It was not a struggle for the aggrandizement of some military chieftain—nor was it a strife for empire. The soldiers, who marched under the 'Lone Star' into that engagement, were free, brave, self-relying men. Some of them, indeed, had come from a neighboring Republic, as Lafayette crossed the sea, to join in the struggles of freedom, but most of the Texan army were men who cultivated the soil they fought on, and had paid for it with their money or their labor. Hundreds of them had abandoned their fugitive wives to achieve freedom for their children. They were fighting for all that makes life worth having.

And when the victors laid themselves down to rest that night, and Heaven folded its blue curtains kindly around them, and they thought that their troubles and anxieties were over—that they could now return to the embraces of their happy families with the hope of a long and peaceful life of earnest and manly endeavor, and a quiet old age, when they should hold their grandchildren on their knees, and tell them the story of the bloody day of San Jacinto—it is not strange that they felt more than compensated for all their privations and all their sufferings.¹

¹ The battle of Independence had been fought. Seven hundred soldiers had met nearly three times their number, and come off victorious. Six hundred and thirty men were left dead on the field; among them were, one general officer, four colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, seven captains, and twelve lieutenants. Multitudes had perished in the morass and the bayous. Of the surviving, upwards of two hundred and eighty were wounded, and there were nearly eight hundred

prisoners. Only seven men are known to have escaped from the field. And yet, incredible as it may seem, this bloody engagement had cost the Texans the lives of only seven men, and less than thirty had been wounded. It *was* incredible, and when the Commander-in-Chief awoke the next morning, and heard the facts, he asked, 'Is this so, or is it only my dream?'

At ten o'clock in the morning, General Houston sent a detachment of men to bury the enemy's dead who

I have dwelt longer on this Texas matter than I otherwise should, because it has hitherto received little attention, and I thought the time had come to give it some portion of the consideration to which it is justly entitled. The influence of the establishment of Republican institutions in the old Mexican dominion by the American people, has never been correctly estimated. Although it led the way directly to the war with Mexico, yet the annexation of Texas was not the *cause*—it was only the occasion of that collision. By all

had fallen in battle; but decomposition had taken place so rapidly, the troops returned and reported they could not execute his order! This extraordinary circumstance excited the greatest surprise, and the Mexican prisoners accounted for it by resolving it, like the defeat of the previous day, into 'a malignant blast of destiny.'

In the meantime, a large number of Texans were scouring the prairie throughout the day, and bringing in prisoners. The grass was everywhere four or five feet high, and those who had not been taken the day before, were now crawling away on their hands and knees, hoping thus to effect their escape. Santa Anna had not yet been taken, but the victors were scouring every part of the field in search of the Dictator. 'You will find the Hero of Tampico,' said Houston, 'if you find him at all, making his retreat on all fours, and he will be dressed as bad at least as a common soldier. Examine closely every man you find.'

Lieutenant Sylvester, a volunteer from Cincinnati, was riding over the prairie, on a fine horse, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when he saw a man making his way towards Vince's bridge. The moment he found himself pursued, the fugitive fell down in the grass. Sylvester dashed on in that direction, and his horse came very near trampling him down. The man sprang to his feet, and apparently without the slightest surprise, looked his captor full in the face. He was disguised in a miserable rustic dress. He wore a skin-cap, a round jacket, and pantaloons of blue domestic cotton, with a pair of coarse soldier's shoes. But his face and his manners bespoke, too plainly, that he belonged to a different class than his garb betokened; and underneath his coarse disguise, Sylvester saw that he wore a shirt of the finest linen cambric. 'You are an officer, I presume, sir,' said the horseman, raising his cap politely. 'No, soldier,' was his reply; and he drew out a letter in Spanish, addressed to Almonte. When he saw there was no hope of escape, he inquired for General Houston. By this time, Sylvester had been joined by several of his comrades, and mounting his prisoner behind him, they rode off together, on the same horse, to the camp, several miles distant. As he passed the Mexican prisoners, they exclaimed with the greatest surprise as they lifted their caps, '*El Presidente!*'

In a single moment, the news spread through the camp that Gen. Santa Anna was a prisoner, and the Dictator was taken to Houston. The General was lying on the ground, and having slept little during the night, in consequence of his wound, he had now fallen into a doze. Santa Anna came up behind him, and took his hand. Houston roused himself, and turning over, gazed up in the face of the Mexican, who extended his left arm, and laying his right hand on his heart, said, '*I am General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.*

President of the Mexican Republic, and I claim to be your prisoner of war.' Houston waived his hand to a box,—for it was the only seat in the camp—and asked his prisoner to be seated. He then sent for Almonte, who spoke English perfectly, and requested him to act as interpreter.

In the meantime, Santa Anna had taken his seat, and glancing his keen eye occasionally around the camp, with a timid expression, pressed the sides of his breasts with both hands, and gave two or three half-suppressed groans, like a man suffering deep pain. An interesting incident took place about this time, which Gen. Rusk thus related to me. "At the time Santa Anna was brought into our camp, I was walking with young Zavala. (The reader will recognize in this youthful character, the son of the noble and venerable Zavala, who distinguished himself as the friend of Texan independence.) We approached him together. Santa Anna recognized young Zavala at once, and advanced to meet him with great apparent cordiality, uttering many expressions of kindness, such as are customary among the Mexicans on such occasions, several of which I remember. Among other things, he exclaimed, 'Oh! my friend, my friend, the son of my early friend;' with which, and other exclamations in the same strain, he embraced young Zavala, with high indications of *apparent* feeling, and I think, *dropping a tear*. Young Zavala returned his greeting with that deference which would have been due to his former rank and power; but at the same time, emitting from his countenance an expression I have scarcely seen equalled on any occasion. His look seemed to wither Santa Anna, and staring him full in the face, he replied immediately, with great modesty, 'It has been so, sir.' Santa Anna evinced plainly that he was much mortified."

Almonte approached his captive General with evident respect and grief, and the following conversation took place between the two commanders; Houston, in the meantime, lying on the ground, resting on his elbow. Great pains has been taken to get as nearly as possible the exact words used by the speakers, and those who were present at the interview, have assured me that all here related they do remember, and they recollect nothing else of importance.

Santa Anna (after embracing Almonte, and recovering perfectly from his embarrassment), rose, and advancing with the air of one born to command, said to General Houston—"That man may consider himself born to no common destiny, who has conquered the Napoleon of the West; and it now remains for him to be generous to the vanquished."

Houston.—"You should have remembered that at the Alamo."

laws of war, and by all principles of international law, Texas had established her independence, and been recognized by civilized nations as one of the States of Christendom. Her title to independence, as a Republic, was removed beyond the realm of debate. And when we come to treat of the war

S. A.—'You must be aware that I was justified in my course by the usages of war. I had summoned a surrender, and they had refused. The place was then taken by storm, and the usages of war justified the slaughter of the vanquished.'

H.—'That *was* the case once, but it is now obsolete. Such usages among civilized nations have yielded to the influences of humanity.'

S. A.—'However this may be, I was acting under the orders of my Government.'

H.—'Why, you *are* the Government of Mexico.'

S. A.—'I have orders in my possession commanding me so to act.'

H.—'A Dictator, sir, has no superior.'

S. A.—'I have orders, General Houston, from my Government, commanding me to exterminate every man found in arms in the province of Texas, and treat all such as pirates; for they have no Government, and are fighting under no recognized flag. This will account for the positive orders of my Government.'

H.—'So far as the first point is concerned, the Texans flatter themselves they have a Government already, and they will probably be able to make a flag. But if you feel excused for your conduct at San Antonio, you have not the same excuse for the massacre of Colonel Fannin's command. They had capitulated on terms proffered by your General. And yet, after the capitulation, they were all perfidiously massacred, without the privilege of even dying with arms in their hands.'

Those who were present say that when Houston came to speak of the Goliad tragedy, it seemed impossible for him to restrain his indignation. His eye flashed like a wild beast's, and in his gigantic effort to curb in his wrath, cold sweat ran off from his brow in streams.

S. A.—'I declare to you, General (laying his hand on his heart), that I was not apprised of the fact that they had capitulated. General Urea informed me that he had conquered them in a battle, and under this impression I ordered their execution.'

H.—'I *know*, General, that the men had capitulated.'

S. A.—'Then I was ignorant of it. And after your asseveration I should not have a shadow of doubt, if it were not that General Urea had no authority *whatever* to receive their capitulation. And if the day ever comes that I can get Urea into my hands, I will execute him for his duplicity in not giving me information of the facts.'

Here the conversation was suspended for a while, and Santa Anna requested a small piece of opium. It was ordered by Houston, who asked him if he would desire his marquee and luggage, and the attendance of his aides and servants. Santa Anna thanked him very politely, and said 'it would make him very happy, since they were proffered by his captor.'

While the order was being given, Almonte manifested a disposition to continue the conversation with

Houston. After remarking to the Texan General that fortune had indeed favored him, he asked why he had not attacked the Mexicans the first day the armies met. 'You had reason to suppose we should be reinforced. And yet if you had risked a battle that day you would have had another story to tell, perhaps, for our men were *then* ready to fight, and so anxious for the battle to come on, that we could hardly keep them in their ranks. Why did you wait till the next morning, General?'

'Well,' replied Houston, 'I see I was right. I *knew* you expected I should bring on the battle that day, and were consequently prepared for it. Now if I *must* be questioned by an inferior officer in the presence of his General; I will say that *was* just the reason *why* I did not fight; and besides, I thought there was no use of having two bites at one cherry.' After some remark of Almonte, which irritated Houston, and which, in the opinion of all who heard it, ill-befitted the occasion, he said—'You have come a great way to give us a great deal of trouble—and you have made the sacrifice of the lives of a great many brave men necessary.' 'Oh,' flippantly replied Almonte, 'what of six or eight hundred men! And, from all accounts, only half a dozen of your *brave* men have fallen.'

Houston replied: 'We estimate the lives of our men, I perceive, somewhat higher than you do,' and he gave him a look which seemed to say, 'taunt me again and you don't live an hour.' Almonte very politely changed his tone. 'You talk about reinforcements, sir,' said Houston, raising himself up, 'it matters not how many reinforcements you have, sir, you *never* can conquer freemen.' And taking from his pocket an ear of dry corn which he had carried for four days, only a part of it being consumed, he held it up and said, 'Sir, do you *ever* expect to conquer men who fight for freedom, when their General can march four days with one ear of corn for his rations?'

The exhibition of the ear of corn stirred up all the enthusiasm of the Texan soldiers, and they gathered round their General, and asked him to allow them to divide the corn. 'We'll plant it,' said they, 'and call it the Houston corn.' 'Oh, yes, my brave fellows,' said the General, smiling, 'take it along if you care anything about it, and divide it among you—give each one a kernel as far as it will go, and take it home to your own fields, where I hope you may long cultivate the arts of peace as nobly as you have shown yourselves masters of the art of war. You have achieved your independence—now see if you cannot make as good farmers as you have proved yourselves gallant soldiers. You may not call it Houston corn; but call it *San Jacinto* corn—for then it will remind you of your own bravery.' It is also said that in one of his dispatches that day to the people of the Sabine, the General said to those who had fled from their homes, 'return and plant corn.' The soldiers distributed their corn, and it now waves over a thousand green fields in Texas.

between Mexico and the United States which followed ten years afterwards, we shall see that neither the independence of Texas, nor the recognition of her existence as a Republic by us, nor the ratification of the treaty of annexation which brought her into the American Union, had any necessary or legitimate connection with that war. These were only used as pretexts.

There was another, and I think a very good reason, why I should have

dwelt so long on this subject. It was the fairest opportunity in our annals to show the results which might have been expected to flow from the establishment of our Republic. The principles of Republican government which had thoroughly rooted themselves into American soil, and grown with such vigor, could not be expected to limit themselves within any bounds prescribed by conventional arrangements. From the beginning, it was evident enough to all clear thinkers, that Republicanism and not monarchy was to be the law of this continent. Lord Bacon somewhere says, 'Men *discover* laws—God makes them.' Philosophers interrogate Nature, and as fast as they find out her laws, they mark the progress of Science. The steam-engine, the printing-press, the cotton-gin, the daguerreotype, the magnetic telegraph—each has to be invented or discovered but once. One Columbus is enough for one hemisphere.

It were well if statesmen would act on the same law as applied to the political world; for both systems—the physical and the moral—came from the same source, and are swayed by the same Master. The brain of Shakspeare sprang from the same moulding hand that chiselled the Gothic peaks of the Alps, and painted last evening's sunset. Certainty of results—the conditions all being complied with—is the physical law of the universe. A thousand Galileos could not make the peasant of the Appenines believe that the sun will not rise to-morrow. Experience has taught him the unvarying order of nature. Why should we stop here to blunder along our bewildered track through the moral and political world, heedless of laws of action and of states, which just as inevitably control the fortunes of men and the fates of empires? Tracing these analogies into the political world, we should find just the same certainty and precision of results there, that Galileo and Newton discovered in physics, or Shakspeare and Alfieri demonstrated in the drama, or Cooper and Scott in romance.

The question then meets us—WHAT IS THE LAW OF EMPIRE IN THIS NEW WORLD? There is a law of existence for all beings and all things—from the mote that floats in the sun-beam, to the Bengal tiger in his jungle. Historians have been busy with the *general* problem of empire from the earliest nations; and Tacitus, Gibbon, and Sismondi have helped us to a better interpretation of the law which has controlled the growth and decay of the panoramic commonwealths that have gone by, in their solemn movement over the broad fields of history. From such sources we learn that the frequent captivities of the Jews, and the repeated destruction of their gorge-

ous capitol, followed by the carrying away of the whole nation into slavery did by no means effect their extermination. Nor was that work brought about even by the remorseless persecutions to which they have been subjected by every nation under heaven except our own. The sons of Abraham are still a nation, and they are more numerous by five fold to-day, than they were when they turned back their farewell gaze upon the falling towers of Jerusalem. England has at last been compelled to acknowledge the Jews as citizens, and the scattered children of Jacob could to-day send a million of armed men to recover their own land, which has been cruelly robbed from them by Pagans, Othmans, and Christians. From whence sprang this vitality—this power of endurance—which makes them, above all the people of the earth, THE ETERNAL NATION? *They have always been believers in the only true God.*

We glance at Switzerland, and we learn that she has always been free. The hunted spirit of liberty has always found a home there. The reason is plain. Among those everlasting mountains, a race of men has been nurtured amidst the sublimest scenes of the physical creation, where the hardest characters have been formed, the sternest wills educated, and the deepest love of liberty inspired. *Despotism never flourishes among mountains.*

Manifest Destiny in America.—We have been criticised very often for talking about manifest destiny, and probably we have done our full share in this line ; but a great principle underlies this question, and in the application I am now making of it, I wish my reader to understand that I am speaking as reverently of one of the cardinal facts of the universe, as Huxley, or Spencer, or Darwin, do when they talk about the correlation of forces, or the origin of species, or ultimate particles of matter ; for none of these principles are more clearly established, so far as actual demonstration has yet gone, nor has anything outside of the realm of mathematics been more clearly proved than that, the Anglo-American wherever he goes, carries with him the fundamental principles of liberty which were first established in England, and wrought into her constitution—principles which have, in this country, been more clearly demonstrated, determined with more precision, and extended into broader fields. No better illustration has ever been had of all this than was made in Texas, where in her Declaration of Independence she framed a whole code of law—a full bill of rights—a complete constitution. Those men had met there at hap-hazard from every part of the country, but there was a complete uniformity in their political views ; the ring of *seventy-six* was in every blow that fell on the anvil where they forged that Declaration. What they did was to form a crystallized definition of civil rights—on as firm and strong basis as has yet been constructed. With that fundamental statute to stand on, a legislature of the commonest men could make laws for any and all exigencies. This is what I mean by saying that the Anglo-American has a universal and unchangeable comprehension of civil rights—in what those rights consist—how the frame-work of free government is constructed, from the school dis-

trict up to a national congress—on what foundation, law, order, liberty and civilization rest—how the co-ordinate branches of civil administration work together in harmony, and how the whole thing which we call constitutional liberty as a structure, is founded—how it is built up—how it is maintained.

Texas Enters the Family of Nations.—Stephen F. Austin, as a Colonization leader, had been the founder and father of Texas. General Sam. Houston was to achieve her independence by his valor and military genius in the field, and establish her political institutions by his statesmanship in the cabinet. Brought up 'at the feet of' General Jackson, whom he worshipped as his military and political ideal, and whose affection and respect he preserved to the last, Houston fairly won a name which not only stands unique in our history, but which will be long preserved in the memory of mankind among the founders of states, whom Bacon reckoned among 'the first and highest class of men.'

The chief military troubles of Texas closed with the battle of San Jacinto. Mexico never was able after that disastrous day, to bring any formidable army into the fields against her. But a far more difficult task awaited the new State in the construction of her political edifice,—the complete organization of society—and the blending of all the strange elements of her mixed population into a homogeneous system of law and order. There it was that Houston displayed the highest qualities of the State-builder. No sooner had a Constitution been adopted, than the people proceeded to the election of their first President. The choice necessarily fell upon General Houston, and at the close of his first term, when the Constitution compelled him to retire, he could congratulate himself on what no other man in history had been able to do. Within less than half a decade, a handful of people scattered over a wide territory, had passed through all the transitions from nomadic life to a consolidated Republic—emerging from the pressure of a cruel, malignant and tyrannical dictator, into the full enjoyments of Anglo-American liberty—he had seen a nation born in a day. Everywhere agriculture, and the arts of peace were flourishing. A large emigration was flowing in from the older States, and from European countries. Her Independence had been recognized by the United States, and she was complete mistress of her own political destinies. All of which she owed to Sam Houston, more than to any or all other men. The moment had come for him to retire from office, and the greatest crowd of men that had ever met in Texas, had assembled at the seat of government.

President Houston's Farewell Address.—When he came forward in the porch of the Capitol, and the people gazed upon his lofty, ample, and heroic form, relieved against the portrait of Washington suspended behind him, a wild shout of enthusiasm rent the sky. He spoke three hours,¹ and we have

¹ There were no accomplished short-hand writers that region had no scholastic habits; they cultivated there, nor on any one of the many occasions which none of those graces of style which received so much called forth the eloquence of the speaker. The men of attention in more prominent scenes of debate in the

been told by those who heard him, that the dense thousands before him swayed to and fro under the impetuous storm of his eloquence, like a forest swayed by a strong wind. He had unrolled the scroll of the history of Texas—he portrayed her future policy, and dwelt upon her great destiny if that policy were pursued. He enjoined most solemnly good faith with all nations—economy in the government and in individuals—the cultivation of peace with the Indians—he warned the people against faction and the rancor of party spirit, and he implored them not to treasure up their hopes in annexation or treaties, but to rely upon their own public and private virtue—to be just and magnanimous with all men and with all nations.

And in conclusion, when he took his farewell of the people he loved, he extended his broad arms, and poured down upon them from his great heart the benediction of the patriot, and the soldier, as the tears streamed from his face. When he ceased, all was still but the deep murmur of subdued feeling, and that vast multitude of frontiersmen were all in tears!

No man had ever been confronted with greater difficulties in the beginning of his administration—for the mild but firm sway of Constitutional Law had to be substituted in the place of anarchy and confusion over a reckless people who had long been accustomed to the unrestrained liberty of the frontier, where no man looked for protection but to his own right arm. During those revolutionary times, too, even in the older settlements, the ordinary course of justice had been suspended, and it was no strange thing that such

older parts of the country. Great orators at that period, and especially in those distant regions, were situated very much as Patrick Henry was, and for that matter, most of the orators of the Revolutionary period. Few, if any of their speeches were written out before, or after their delivery. The art of stenography as we understand it, was then unknown even in England and in France; and although Burke and Chatham and a few of their great cotemporaries did speak from full notes, and afterwards attempted to write out reports of their own performances, yet we delude ourselves very much if we think that we have any truthful account of those forensic efforts. In this country we have not even the materials for giving the skeletons of the greatest speeches that were delivered, until within the last generation. We have seen that we have not a single speech, or hardly the outline of one, that was delivered in any of the continental congresses. Nor in the debates which adopted the Constitution, nor any one of the debates of the thirteen States, under the adoption of their constitution; least of all of the Bills of Rights which had preceded them.

Houston had no literary habits. In this respect he closely resembled Patrick Henry. He substituted for protracted study, reading, observation, and reflection—reading very scant—observation very sharp and wide—reflection deep and logical. But when these men came before their neighbors, dressed as rudely as they, and a full match in muscle for any of them, and masters in mind of the whole, and they launched off—in the wild freedom of frontier life—into the unrestrained eloquence

of nature, men bent before them, as the primitive forests bend before the tornado.

On the occasion of the admission of Texas to the Union in 1845, I spent several months in Washington investigating this whole subject. During the entire period the archives of the Republic of Texas passed through my hands. For three months, General Houston gave to me several hours every day, of careful revision of those documents. Every date and every fact passed the severest scrutiny. General Rusk, Houston's colleague in the Senate, was equally attentive and obliging. There were many other gentlemen from Texas, who had figured conspicuously in her affairs staying at the same time at the National Capital. I saw and conversed with them all. They all contributed their full quota to the facts, which I afterwards published under the title of *SAM HOUSTON AND HIS REPUBLIC*. I therefore claim to speak with some degree of intelligence on this subject; and while I am now drawing from those sources what appears in this work, I only regret that the narrowness of my space admits no further illustrations. Besides an entire harmony of opinion among those gentlemen, and the sanction of authorities from which there never could be any appeal, they all agreed that they had never known a man who swayed such unlimited power over audiences as General Houston. He swept everything before him. 'If,' said General Rusk, 'he saved Texas in the field a score of times, he saved her on the stump, and in the Senate a hundred. The power with which he managed those masses of wild men was simply omnipotent.'

men should not at once yield to the high supremacy of the Constitutional Law. The very same elements of character which have long made the Anglo-Saxons the most law-abiding people on the globe, have always made them the most lawless frontier-men. Men who choose their homes in the distant forest and prairies, are slow to transfer their protection from their rifles, which never miss fire, to tardy juries which seldom mete out justice. How long was it before that wonderful People that first scared the wild beasts from the solemn forests of the Tiber, voted to abide by the awards of the Temple of Justice ! And how many centuries did our ancestors roam over the sea-girt Island of Britain, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, before they would listen to the stern utterances of Judicial Tribunals ! But Houston could sway those reckless frontier settlers by the mild sceptre of Civil Law, as easily as he had swayed them by the stern despotism of the camp.

Wherever the news of the battle of San Jacinto flew, bold and restless spirits rushed to the new land to swell the population. This added to the confusion which everywhere prevailed, for the first settlers had only just recovered from the shock and the devastation of a powerful invading army ;—and yet environed with Mexican and Savage foes, these frontiersmen quietly and successfully began to cultivate the arts of peace. Houston had proclaimed trade and intercourse between Mexico and Texas, and caused his Proclamation to be printed and circulated in both languages. Trade grew up rapidly ; the frontier countries were repopulated ; and the tide of emigration was gradually flowing towards the Mexican borders. Caravans of horses and mules came into Texas, with large quantities of silver and merchandise ; good feeling was fast growing up, and continued to increase. Men, on both sides of the line, were now anxious for peace. The Mexican people had nothing to gain in battle ; and had the renewal of hostilities depended on the vote of the Mexican population, both countries would have soon blended into pacific commercial and social relations ; for Houston was pre-eminently a man of peace. Brave and great as he was in war, he abhorred its atrocities, and deprecated all its attendant miseries. But through them all, he saw and hailed with gladness, the blessings of peace : and his longest efforts and deepest solitudes were expended in rearing for the Commonwealth he had created, the fair structure of civil prosperity.

Houston's Successor :—The administration of Mr. Mirabeau Lamar, even with his acknowledged ability and, as his friends claimed, good intentions, was a failure—he brought Texas to the brink of ruin. Much as I begrudge the space, yet I must give the skeleton of this portion of the history of Texas, for every reader who would understand what is to follow must know what happened at this stage of the progress of the LONE STAR REPUBLIC.

The new President began his administration by opposing everything that had been pursued and recommended by Houston. In his Inaugural Address he recommended the extermination of the Indians—pronounced a violent

philippic against the Annexation of Texas to the United States—advocated the establishment of a huge National Bank, and inculcated a *splendid* Government.

The first appropriation for frontier defence was one and a half million of Treasury Notes, and another half million for the civil list—without a dollar to base the issues upon. A regular army of two Regiments was to be raised for exterminating the frontier Tribes. A law was passed to remove the Seat of Government to some point N. W. of the San Antonio Road. Commissioners were appointed by Congress from its own body, contrary to the Constitution, to perform this act. The entire object of the movement was speculation. With land scrip, which they had procured, and certificates of head-rights granted to settlers, they dispatched surveyors to locate land around the spot where Austin now stands, then at the extremest settlement of the Republic. The expense of removal, with the erection of suitable buildings, caused an additional issue of Promissory Notes. The new Capital was so far from the settlements, that the plank had to be carried thirty miles.

The Republic soon lost confidence in the Administration—the depression of the currency naturally followed. And yet, in this state of embarrassment of the finances, and while Texas was at peace with Mexico, the President caused a proposition to be introduced into both Houses, to conduct an Expedition to Santa Fé, through wilderness and Prairie more than five hundred miles. The proposition was made in both Houses at the same time, and by both rejected. But the President ordered the Expedition during the recess of Congress in 1840, and upwards of three hundred armed men started on a warlike expedition to a distant country. Its disasters are too well known to need a relation. The President appointed a Governor for Santa Fé—a Custom House Officer and a Military Commandant, and organized a Territorial Government. All his plans subsequently fell into the hands of the enemy when the men were captured, and were a moving cause for the cruelty with which they were treated. This Expedition flooded the country with another enormous issue of paper '*promises to pay money,*' unauthorized by the Constitution or Congress. The horses on that Expedition cost, on an average, a thousand dollars each, the currency of the President had become so depreciated. Costly arms and munitions of war had been abstracted from the public arsenal by Presidential edict—the country was robbed of a large number of its most chivalrous men—the public wagons and means of transportation were laid hold of, and a piece of artillery, with Mirabeau B. Lamar inscribed on its breech, dragged through the Prairies that immense distance, to become the trophy of the enemies of Texas, and afford an illustration of the stupidity of the President, and the degradation of the nation.

This expedition revived the hostilities between Texas and Mexico, which, but for it, would have slept, perhaps, for ever. Houston had left the two

countries really at peace, and the sole cause we have ever been able to ascertain for the renewal of hostilities, was this silly and lamentable Expedition. It is to be remarked, that for some time previous to this Expedition, Mr. Lamar had sent Commissioners to Gen. Arista, and his object was supposed, by his friends, to have been to propose a Union of the Northern Provinces with Texas, forming a great Power, over whose government he was to be placed. The sagacious Arista took advantage of the incompetency of his friend, and dismissed the Commissioners. They were in Austin when the Santa Fé Expedition took up its line of march, and witnessed the foolish display. The world knows the result. Arista seems to have given into the plan, for one thing is certain; the Expedition started from Austin with a guide who had long resided in Mexico, and spoke the language perfectly; and the commanding officers charged him with their betrayal at San Miguel and Santa Fé. When the guide got them many days into the wilderness, and the miseries of their situation began to press heavily on them, he abandoned them in their calamity, and never was heard of again. The object of Arista doubtless was to have them conducted into the solitudes of the wilderness, and there left to perish—if this should fail, the authorities of San Fé being duly informed, were to receive, betray and then capture them. The blame of these proceeding justly cast upon the President.

Mr. Lamar began his administration by carrying out that section of his Inaugural Address, in which he had recommended the extermination of the Indians. The Cherokees were a peaceful, industrious, and profitable community. The arts had made considerable progress among them, and they lived nearly as comfortably as white men. During the hostilities with Mexico, they had been prevented by the influence of Houston and Rusk from going over to the enemy, and they had made great advances in civilization during Houston's Presidency. They looked upon the Texans as their friends, and Houston as their 'Father.' With a force of 700 men, a portion of whom had fought at San Jacinto, Lamar commenced his war of extermination against 'Houston's *pet* Indians.' His force was some five times superior, and of course he carried ruin to the poor Red men's homes!

This treatment of the Cherokees and other tribes spread scenes of rapine and murder from the Red River to the Rio Grande. Even the President's two regiments of regulars in the field could not secure frontier protection.

Such were some of the acts of this puerile administration. I should not have glanced at them, even in so brief a manner, had it not been necessary to give the reader an idea of the state of the country when Houston's second term began. Lamar, who had found the Government perfectly organized, succeeded in reducing the country to the very verge of ruin. All the difficulties that had lain in the way of the advancement of Texas, Houston had successfully overcome. Disinterested and sagacious spectators of the progress of affairs beyond the Sabine, have often been heard to say, that in no

portion of the world, had civil government ever been established and consolidated in so short a space of time. This was as much the work of Houston, as the victory of San Jacinto had been ; although in both instances he was surrounded and aided by brave and true men, or he never could have done it. He had left the domestic and foreign relations, the finances and the administration of law, the agriculture and the commerce of Texas, all in a sound, peaceful, flourishing state.

Mr. Lamar had committed outrages upon peaceful Indian tribes, and kindled the flames of savage war all along the borders of Texas. He had sent a hostile marauding Expedition into the very heart of the Mexican Provinces, and dispatched the navy to aid a revolting territory in making war upon Mexico, which was now rousing all her force for a new invasion of Texas. He had quadrupled the national debt, and squandered the public treasure, till Texan securities depreciated ten to one. The people had lost all respect for the Government, and confidence in its stability. The mail routes had been broken up, profligacy prevailed, and the social compact began to be regarded by the orderly and patriotic everywhere as virtually dissolved.

Houston's Second Term :—But Lamar's term was expiring and the eyes of all men who surveyed with gloomy forebodings the ruin that seemed to threaten the country, were now turned once more anxiously upon Houston. He could again be constitutionally reëlected. Even the lawless and the desperate began to fear the result of their crimes, and with a united voice, the man who had already twice saved the country, was again called to the helm. Houston was one of the few men who believed that the Nation and the Government could be saved, and he came forward to the rescue. No Conventions were obliged to nominate him. There was an almost universal feeling that no other man could save Texas, and Texas made him her President for the second time, the first hour the Constitution would allow her to do it.

During Lamar's administration, Houston had consented to represent his District in the Texan Congress of 1839-40, and again in 1840-41 ; and it was well that he had, for he not only arrested the tide of evil—he *prevented a dissolution of the Government*. On a certain occasion, after a stormy debate, Congress was about to adjourn *sine die*. The members publicly proclaimed that all hope of carrying on the Government was gone, and they were determined to end the farce by going home. Houston rose in the midst of the tempest, as the members were leaving their seats, and addressed the Speaker. There never was a time when he could not get a hearing, and the rush to the door stopped. '*Let us hear old Sam,*' was the voice on every side.

The crowd began to return—members gradually resumed their seats and dropped their hats—they pressed up around him—the House became still, and not ten minutes went by before nothing was heard throughout the hall but the rich, clarion voice that had echoed over the field of San Jacinto. No

idea of the speech can be given but by telling the result. He closed by reading a resolution, 'that the House adjourn till to-morrow morning at the usual hour,' and not a member voted against it! They flocked around him, and so universal was the feeling that but for him the Government would have gone to pieces, even his old enemies seized him by the hand, and thanked him 'for saving the country.'

How Houston Saved his Republic:—But the country had only been rescued for the hour—it had only been placed where it could be saved. *How* its salvation was to be effected no one but Houston knew. We follow him a few steps further. He was inaugurated the second time, on the 13th of December, 1841. His Message was hardly delivered before the news came of the capture of the Santa Fé Expedition. This was the first greeting he had in office, of the fatal results of the policy of his predecessor. He, however, began immediately to bethink himself of the redemption of the unfortunate men who had been deluded away into the wilderness—for the lives of Texan soldiers seemed to be as dear to him as they could have been had they been his own children.

The Government was now in an infinitely worse state than it had been when he took the reins five years before. Then it was a chaos—now it was a *ruin*. The body politic had fallen into premature and inflammatory decay. It was not a disease only, but a *relapse*. The Treasury was not only empty, but millions in debt; and not another dollar could be borrowed in Christendom. The Promissory Notes and Liabilities of the Government depreciated *ten to one*, and they were *postponed*, but not *repudiated*. The money had been squandered, but the debt must be paid. But Texas could at that time have no more paid it, than Parliament could pay the Debt of England. But something had to be done. Houston proposed a new currency called the Exchequer System—its entire issues were not to exceed \$200,000. He had asked as a guarantee for their redemption, the Customs of the country, and certain tracts of lands, amounting to about three million acres. While in Congress, he had procured an act to be passed, declaring these lands not subject to location. But now the private interests of members were to be interfered with, and although Congress hypothecated the Customs, they would not pledge the lands.

The President was fully aware of the opposition that was combining against him. The same hostile clique which had attempted to ruin him whenever he was in power, and who had come so near ruining the country when they had power themselves, were now determined to control the appointments under the new administration. But all attempts to constrain his policy proved as ineffectual as they had hitherto done. He chose for his cabinet officers men, in whom he had unlimited confidence, and they were among the most enlightened and firm statesmen of Texas. During these turbulent times, when prominent men declared openly that they would ruin Houston's administration, even if they had to do it by a revolution, multitudes

of broken-down speculators and politicians from the United States were continually flocking into Texas ; and as they found little chance of winning distinction in the new field they had chosen, they joined the ranks of the opposition, and devoted themselves zealously to the ruin of the State.

But Houston had marked out his policy, and he went calmly and firmly on to its execution. His first measure was to despatch a minister to Washington, to open negotiations for the annexation of Texas. His first object was annexation—if this failed, his next was the recognition of the independence of Texas by Mexico ; and if he failed in both, he was resolved to open negotiations with France and England, and enter into some treaty or alliance which would secure peace to Texas, extend her commerce, and advance her prosperity. His next movement was to recall the navy, which Mr. Lamar had despatched to help on a revolt in Yucatan.

In the meantime, the country was absolutely stripped of all her defences. A wide coast and a broad sea were open to the depredations of the enemy ; the Santa Fé expedition and the league with Yucatan had given Mexico every provocation for a renewal of hostilities ; and the outrages committed upon the Indian tribes, had broken the amity that had subsisted.

In this exposed situation of the country, when an irruption from the frontiers, or an invasion from Mexico, might be reasonably apprehended, Houston recommended Congress to raise a company of sixty men to protect the archives—for there was then no military force in the field. Congress refused to grant the subsidies necessary, and adjourned the 5th of February. He soon after started for Houston, to bring his family to the seat of government. While he was at Galveston, in the early part of March, the news came of the invasion by Vasquez. The intelligence spread the deepest alarm throughout the country. All along the western border, families were seen flying from their habitations towards the interior. The public mind was stirred by the wildest apprehensions. Everybody knew the provocation that had been given to the enemy—the follies and the disasters of Santa Fé seemed but a prelude to another Goliad or Alamo slaughter—the coast was without protection, and no army was concentrated to march on the invader.

Suddenly all the intrigues and conspiracies against Houston ceased. The very men who had been foremost to threaten the overthrow of his administration in the tempest of a mob, were now the most active in stimulating their neighbors to prepare for impending disasters. Committees of vigilance and safety were everywhere organized, and all those means resorted to which are called into requisition in revolutionary times. Houston's orders at this time, show that he did not believe the enemy would remain long in the country. The event proved that the Mexicans had already made a precipitate retreat beyond the Rio Grande, after committing outrages upon the citizens of San Antonio.

In the meantime, the Press throughout the South and West had displayed great sympathy for the cause of Texas, and relying upon the sensation caused

in the United States by the news of the reported invasion, and the mis-carriage of the Santa Fé expedition, Houston made an appeal to the American people. He sent agents to the United States to receive contributions, and procure volunteers. He issued a Proclamation, in which he distinctly required that all troops which came should be perfectly armed and provisioned for a campaign of six months—since Texas had no means of doing it herself. Several hundred volunteers went to Texas, in direct violation of the Proclamation—for they went without arms and destitute of provisions. Contributions were merely nominal. Some generous individuals in Georgia raised something over \$500 at a public meeting—but all that was raised besides, throughout the United States, and reported to the government of Texas, in arms, ammunition, provisions, equipments and money, did not amount to five hundred dollars!

In June, Houston called an extra Session of Congress, to consider the state of the country, and devise means for national defence. They debated and legislated without much formality or delay, for the impression was general, that if anything was to be done, it had better be done quickly. So, too, all wise men would have said, 'if 'twere *well* done.' But their deliberations ended in passing a bill which invested Houston with dictatorial powers, and appropriated ten million acres of the public domain to carry on a campaign. But this came no nearer making a provision for war, than a resolution appropriating ten million acres of blue sky, and conferring dictatorial power upon the north wind! For there was not a dollar of money in the treasury to pay agents to go and dispose of the land, and Houston was the last man to make use of dictatorial powers in resisting the encroachments of a Dictator.

But Congress thought they had acquitted themselves like men—and their disposition, too, may have been good enough, but it had no more efficacy than the disposition of the man who willed in his last testament all his debts to be paid, for in neither case could the executor find anything had been left to pay the debts with. Apprehensions had been felt, while the bill was under debate, that Houston would veto it, and the time he could constitutionally keep it had nearly gone by. The excitement was intense; the Capital was filled with angry and desperate men, and their noisy clamor spread over the country. All sorts of accusations were brought against the President, and he was plied with threats from every quarter. He was told that his life would pay the forfeit if he vetoed the bill. His friends, who apprehended his assassination, gathered around him, and besought him not to hazard a veto, for it would end in the ruin of himself and his country. At last the *ebullitions* of excitement began to subside, but they were followed by demonstrations of a deeper and more desperate feeling. For two weeks, few, even of his friends, approached the President's house, and when they did, they stole there under the shadow of night; and assassins, meantime, were lurking around his dwelling. Even his Cabinet officers began to talk about resigning

But in the midst of all this storm, which few men could have resisted, Houston was calm and cheerful. He stationed no guard around his house ; he had no spies on the alert ; he did not even inquire what was said in Congress or done in the streets. The blinds and the windows of his dwelling were wide open, and he was often seen walking across his parlor, conversing cheerfully with his family. His wife, whom he had married in 1840—one of the most accomplished and gifted of women—reposed confidently upon his character, and she calmly and confidently sustained him by her placid and intellectual conversations. Long after the lights had been extinguished through the town, and sullen, desperate, armed men were gathered in secret meetings to plot, and counterplot, the gay voice of his wife, mingling with the tones of the harp and the piano, which she had carried with her to the wilderness, was heard coming from the open windows of Houston's home.

All this must seem strange to the reader, without doubt, but the mystery will very soon be solved. It was a fearful crisis ; but Houston was equal to it ; and we know of no act of his life in which he gave such indubitable evidence that nature had lavished upon him those rare gifts which make up the really great man.

When the time came, the veto was sent up to Congress. In it he showed that Congress had utterly failed to accomplish the very objects for which he had called them together. They had proclaimed war against a powerful and organized foe, but they had made no provision for carrying it on. The President had not the means of buying a pound of powder. If they would provide the means for a campaign, he would head it himself, if necessary ; but without money, no army could he got ready to take the field, and any attempt at hostilities would only bring down upon Texas universal contempt. He also dwelt upon the danger of the precedent they had established, in conferring upon the Chief Magistrate of the country unlimited powers. The prerogatives of a dictator he never would accept, while they were fighting against that same power in a neighboring State.

The veto was published,—a universal calm at once succeeded, and the man who had so lately been covered with maledictions became the idol of the people.

We must now cut short our relation of events to glance at other more important movements. Confidence began to be restored. One open rebellion against the laws of the country Houston put down by going to the scene and calling out the militia. When desperadoes found there was a man at the head of affairs, who could not be trifled with, they soon disbanded, and the supremacy of law was again restored. A new set of men were in office—justice was efficiently administered—economy was observed ; and although Mr. Lamar had saddled an enormous debt upon the country, which could not be discharged for a long time to come, yet public credit was being restored, and men began to feel proud of their Government.

Houston had left no resource untried to effect the liberation of the Santa Fé prisoners. He had appealed to all friendly powers to mediate in their release. The Congress of Texas had adjourned, after the news of their capture had arrived, without doing anything to aid the President in restoring them to their liberty. They had been given up as doomed men; they had gone to Santa Fé in violation of the law of nations, and with no constitutional authority from their Government. They had been thrown on Houston's hands; his only reliance being on the terms of their capitulation, for he insisted that, even if they had been outlaws before, this had brought them within the pale of civilized warfare.—But the negotiations for the release of these brave but misguided men ended in their liberation.

How Texas was finally Saved.—Texas had now been repeatedly invaded by predatory Mexican bands, who seemed to have but two objects—to harass the nation they could not subdue, and pay up arrearages due to their soldiers from the treasury of Mexico, out of spoils of the robber. Mexico was always talking about a grand campaign; but since the battle of San Jacinto she had not dared to meet the revolted Province in honorable battle. The people of Mexico knew that the tyranny of her dictators had lost them forever that portion of their dominion; and at no period did they wear the yoke so tamely that the tyrant in power dared to leave the Capitol to head any army of invasion. Whoever that tyrant may have been, he knew that his worst enemies were the Mexicans themselves; his supremacy rested upon the presence of his troops in the city; and if he succeeded in consolidating his power at home, and turned his face towards Texas, he was sure to be overtaken by a courier from the capital, with the news that his dominion was ended, and another dictator had been proclaimed. In the opinion of the Texan President, the time had come when the civilized world should interfere to end this contemptible system of pillage and robbery of the Republic.

Accordingly he caused his Secretary of State to address a high-toned and honorable appeal to the Great Powers which had acknowledged the independence of Texas. It showed clearly the condition of Texas, and corrected many false impressions which had gone abroad in reference to the struggles of that nation. It won the sympathy and respect of Sir Robert Peel and M. Guizot, who ever after showed the deepest interest in the fortunes of Texas.

Annexation—French, British, and American Cabinets.—This luminous and able paper, unfolded clearly the merits of the Texan struggle, and received the profound attention of the Cabinets of Washington, London, and Paris. The leading journals of England and France, borrowing their prejudices, and their *intelligence* about Texan affairs, from powerful and widely circulated American papers, had hitherto regarded the people of Texas as a band of outlaws. Scarcely a word of encouragement or sympathy had been uttered by their ministers to the agents of Texas in Europe; and beyond a tardy recognition of her independence, they hardly ventured. The

American press groaned under the burden of calumnies against the Texan people and their bold leader.¹

Consequently this appeal was received and read with surprise and mortification. They saw that the same high veneration for justice—the same lofty regard for national honor; and the same—if not a nobler—recognition of the claims of humanity and Christian principle which had characterized the progress and the intercourse of those great kingdoms—inspired the councils of the man who had given freedom to his outraged country.

Being in Europe at the time, I happened to know that both the great ministers who guided the destinies of England and France, declared, on reading this appeal, that it would have done honor to the bravest nation and most enlightened statesman. I learned also from the archives of Texas, that immediately afterward, a rivalry began between the French and English Cabinets, for the cultivation of friendly relations with the far-off Republic. Instructions were sent to the ministers of those nations accredited to the Texan Government, to allow no opportunity of winning the regard and friendship of Texas to pass unimproved, and no effort which vigilant ministers could put forth, and no motives which keen-sighted diplomatists could press, were left untried, to gain for their sovereigns control over the commerce and the

¹ Lest the reader may suppose that Texas was acquired for the purpose of extending slavery, as party politicians averred before she came into the Union, we cite from a speech made in the Senate of the United States, to show by facts, that this was not the case. In the Senate Mr. Benton said, in 1836: 'Heartless is the calumny invented and propagated, not from this floor, but elsewhere, on the cause of the Texan revolt. It is said to be a war for the extension of slavery. It had as well been said that our own Revolution was a war for the extension of slavery. So far from it, that no revolt, not even our own, ever had a more just and a more sacred origin. The settlers in Texas went to live under the form of government which they had left behind in the United States—a government which extends so many guarantees for life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness, and which their American and English ancestors had vindicated for so many hundred years. A succession of violent changes in government, and the rapid overthrow of rulers, annoyed and distressed them; but they remained tranquil under every violence which did not immediately bear on themselves. In 1822 the Republic of 1821 was superseded by the Imperial diadem of Iturbide. In 1823 he was deposed and banished, returned, and was shot, and Victoria made President. Mentuno and Bravo disputed the Presidency with Victoria; and found in banishment the mildest issue known among Mexicans to unsuccessful civil war. Pedraza was elected in 1828; Guerrero overthrew him the next year. Then Bustamante overthrew Guerrero; and quickly Santa Anna overthrew Bustamante, and with him all the forms of the Constitution, and the whole frame of the federative government. By his own will, and by force, Santa Anna dissolved the existing Congress, convened another, formed the two Houses into one, called it a Convention—and made it the instrument for deposing, without trial, the constitutional Vice-President, Gomez Farias, putting Barragan into his place, annihilating the State government, and establishing a consolidated government, of which he was monarch, under the retained republican title of President. Still the Texans did not take up arms: they did not acquiesce, but they did not revolt. They retained their State government in operation, and looked to the other States, older and more powerful than Texas, to vindicate the general cause, and to re-establish the Federal Constitution of 1824. In September, 1835, this was

still her position. In that month, a Mexican armed vessel appeared off the coast of Texas, and declared her ports blockaded. At the same time General Cos appeared in the West with an army of fifteen hundred men, with orders to arrest the State authorities, to disarm the inhabitants, leaving one gun to every five hundred souls; and to reduce the State to unconditional submission. Gonzales was the selected point for the commencement of the execution of these orders; and the first thing was the arms—those trusty rifles which the settlers had brought with them from the United States, which were their defence against savages, their resource for game, and the guard which converted their houses into castles stronger than those "which the king cannot enter." A detachment of General Cos's army appeared at the village of Gonzales on the 28th of September, and demanded the arms of the inhabitants; it was the same demand, made for the same purpose, which the British detachment, under Major Pitcairn, had made at Lexington on the 16th of April, 1775. It was the same demand! And the same answer was given—resistance—battle—victory! The American blood was at Gonzales what it had been at Lexington; and between using their arms, and surrendering their arms, that blood can never hesitate. Then followed the rapid succession of brilliant events, which in two months left Texas without an armed enemy in her borders, and the strong forts of Goliad and the Alamo, with their garrisons and cannon, the almost bloodless prizes of a few hundred Texan rifles. This was the origin of the revolt; and a calumny more heartless can never be imagined than that which would convert this rich and holy defence of life, liberty, and property into an aggression for the extension of slavery. Just in its origin, valiant and humane in its conduct, the Texan revolt has illustrated the Anglo-Saxon character, and given it new titles to the respect and admiration of the world. It shows that liberty, justice, valor—moral, physical, and intellectual power—characterize that race wherever it goes. Let our America rejoice; let old England rejoice, that the Brases and Colorado, new and strange names—streams far beyond the western bank of the Father of Floods—have felt the impress, and witnessed the exploits of a people sprung from their loins, and carrying their language, laws, and customs; their *Magra Charta* and its glorious privileges, into new regions and far-distant climes.'

political fortunes of Texas. They saw that, as an independent power, no barriers could be interposed to her ultimate advancement; and it became a matter of infinite moment to France and England to prevent the final union of Texas with the United States. Hence, those powers watched with so much vigilance and alarm, the tendency of affairs towards annexation. Hence they brought into requisition all their diplomatic, commercial, and financial machinery, to prevent what they clearly foresaw would prove so detrimental to their ancient supremacy in the New World. I venture to say, that had not Houston held the control of these negotiations, and been a man whose policy neither England nor France could constrain or coerce by *any* motives of personal aggrandizement—Texas never would have been a part of our confederacy, and those great Powers would have gained a foothold beyond the Sabine, which would not unlikely have transferred to their hands that vast empire which we are now yielding on the shores of the Pacific.

President Tyler's Noble Conduct in procuring the Annexation of Texas.

—The very moment the French and British Cabinets saw the tendency of events, they increased their vigilance just in proportion as Texas was spurned from our embraces. But while timidity and apprehensions filled the minds of the friends of Texas in this country, and Congress, blinded by falsehood and prejudice, plied by threats and awed by clamor, still held itself aloof from all legislation on the subject, Mr. Tyler and his Cabinet were no idle spectators of the advancing drama. That President—whatever may have been the wisdom of the rest of his course—pursued, in the affair of Texas, a most enlightened, sagacious, and American policy. He saw the vast importance of consummating annexation at the earliest possible moment; and all that vigilance, activity, and a complete understanding of the merits of the question could accomplish, was done. His efforts were at last successful. And although his reputation as a statesman may have suffered, and he may have paid the penalty of having in some things proved untrue to both parties as well as to himself, yet all this has been in a great measure forgotten, and the time will come when the vast consequences of that great act, whose consummation is so much due to him, will become so apparent to all our people, that his name will be cherished by every American. Throughout his administration he was true to his policy on this question. Unawed by popular clamor, and unseduced by the minions who pressed around his feet—and who brought the transient eclipse over his fame—he steadily and firmly pursued his noble purpose.

In the meantime, France and England *did* interfere, and brought about an armistice between Mexico and Texas. The friendly offices of our cabinet were also proffered, but they had little influence with Mexico. The negotiations in London were conducted with consummate ability by Mr. Ashbel Smith.

In a dispatch from the Department of State of Texas, to Mr. Van Zandt,

Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic at Washington, dated July 6th, 1843, that functionary was thus instructed : 'The United States having taken no definite action in this matter, and there now being an increased prospect of an adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico, the President deems it advisable to take no further action at present in reference to annexation, but has decided to await the issue of events now in progress, and to postpone that subject for future consideration, and for such action as circumstances may hereafter render most expedient for the interests of this country.'

This extract will unfold the policy of Houston on this important subject. Whatever his own private feelings may have been, it was exceedingly doubtful whether our Government would ever consent to annexation on what he considered fair and equal terms ; and he was resolved to maintain with France and England the most friendly relations ; that in the event of Texas being spurned from the embrace of the United States, she might fall back upon a Treaty with a powerful ally, under whose patronage she might claim protection from her foe, and under whose policy—made liberal by interest—she might advance rapidly to power.

The French and English ministers resident in Texas had already manifested some little jealousy on the subject of Houston's negotiations with the Washington Cabinet, and seeing little probability of consummating a treaty of annexation, he instructed Mr. Van Zandt to defer all further action.

These instructions to suspend negotiations on the subject of annexation, with a knowledge that England was pressing her powerful and friendly offices upon the Republic, alarmed the Cabinet at Washington. The facts which were soon after made public, excited the apprehensions also, not only of all the friends of annexation, but of all those Americans who had the foresight to anticipate the prejudicial consequences that would come upon this country by allowing England to gain a foothold on our Southern frontier. She had sometimes proved a bad neighbor, as our difficulties growing out of the North-Eastern and Oregon boundaries had abundantly proved—and the deepest anxiety was everywhere manifested for the prompt action of Congress. In the meantime, Mr. Tyler, fearing the result, had instructed his Secretary of State to lose no opportunity of assuring the Texan government of his earnest desire to consummate annexation.

The President of Texas was placed in a position of extreme delicacy, and any imprudent act or movement would have proved exceedingly hazardous to the interests of his country. He had early manifested his desire for annexation, and done all he could to effect it during his first executive term. Under Mr. Lamar's administration the question had slept. Houston had pursued a discreet course in regard to it after his re-election, and although he had now been for some time earnestly occupied in securing annexation, he had, like a wise man, kept his own counsels.

On the 20th of January, 1844, however, he sent a secret message to Congress, in which he recommended that in the event of the failure of

annexation, Texas should enter into 'a treaty of alliance, defensive at least, if not offensive,' with the United States.

The effect of this message was most salutary; for it is more than probable that our Congress would have turned a deaf ear to 'the voice of supplication,' had they not discovered that the people of Texas, grown weary of delays and indignant at repeated repulses, would supplicate no longer. The position of parties was suddenly changed—completely reversed. It became clearer than noon-day, that unless Texas was allowed to come into our Union, under auspices the most favorable to her, she would not enter—and in any event, it seemed probable that she was after all to be the sufferer. Her anxiety, therefore, for annexation, was every hour growing less, while ours was increasing.

Both parties were aware of the movements of England—and while Texas saw in the extension of that proud shield over her young Republic, the boon of mighty protection, we watched with jealous and anxious interest, the progress of that same imperial emblem. When, therefore, that Republic, whose people, 'bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,' had been pleading on its knees, for the same admission which had hitherto been cordially tendered by Congress to every other American colony on the continent, was repulsed 'like some stranger,' she sprang to her feet, and the next moment we saw her youthful figure relieved against the giant form of Old England, whose purple mantle was thrown kindly over her shoulder, and whose flag of St. George was waving over her head. It was a strange, but beautiful spectacle. 'Is that,' said all, 'the suppliant who so lately was kneeling on the steps of our Capitol?'

Texas was now lost to America.—The only question was, 'Can she be again won?' and the American Congress was no longer the sole party to answer the inquiry. The Cabinet at Washington manifested an anxiety to renew negotiations. In his letter to Mr. Van Zandt—29th January, 1844—Houston instructs his Minister to meet the United States half way, and to inform him of any disposition on their part to come to the terms they had rejected. 'They must be convinced,' says he, 'that England has rendered most important service to Texas by her mediatorial influence with Mexico.'

While negotiations for annexation were still in progress, President Houston addressed a *private* letter to Mr. Murphy, the American Minister to the Texan Government, which gives a clearer insight into the statesmanship of the writer than appears from any one of the numerous and able papers which came from his hand during that anxious period.¹

¹ The times are big with coming events to Texas and the world. I feel that matters now transacting are, if carried out, to perpetuate the union of the States, by the annexation of Texas, for centuries. If this great measure fails, the Union will be endangered; its revenues diminished; and a European influence will grow up in Texas, from our necessities and interests, that

will most effectually prejudice the interests of the United States, so far as they are to look for the sale of their fabrics in the southern section of this continent, and a forfeiture of our sympathies. Mexico, in a short time, by the influences which Texas can command, will yield everything to the superior energy, activity, and the employment of well-directed capital,

It shows the writer was persuaded that Texas, even if she was compelled to stand alone, had no mean destiny awaiting her. The views here given are those of a statesman—of one who knew the history of his nation, and the character of her people—of a patriot, who never despaired for his country, on whose altars he had consecrated himself. I select only some extracts in the note.

which will flow into us from Europe, and render us the beneficiaries of a most important and extensive trade. All our ports will soon become great commercial marts; and places, now scarcely noticed upon our maps, will be built up, and grow into splendid cities.

These are but few of the advantages which are noticed; but these, to the statesmen of the United States, ought to cause ceaseless efforts to secure so rich a prize.

The present moment is the only one that the United States will ever enjoy to annex Texas. I am intensely solicitous to see the matter consummated, and my country at rest. 'Tis true that we are not to be great gainers, when compared to the United States, in what they derive. Had I been at Washington, I would, most certainly, not have made a treaty so indefinite as to individual rights which may arise, and be involved in the subject of annexation. We surrender everything, and in reality get nothing but protection—and that at the hazard of being invaded or annoyed by Mexico before any aid could be rendered by the United States. I hope that the precautions taken will be such as to deter Mexico from any attempt upon us.

The fact that the United States is one of the rival powers of the world, will render that nation more liable to war than we would be as a minor power. There are a thousand reasons which I could urge, why Texas would be more secure from trouble if she could have present peace, which she can obtain readily if she is not annexed. When we once become a part and parcel of the United States we are subject to all their vicissitudes. Their commercial relations are extensive, which subjects them to jealousy and the rivalry of other powers, who will seek to overreach them, and cramp them by restrictions, or annoy them by interference. They will not be willing to submit to these things, and the consequences will be war. Nor will this danger arise from any one power of the earth, but from various nations. The wealth of European nations depends more upon their labor than the people of this continent. We look to the soil—they to their manufacturing capacity—for the means of life as well as wealth. These facts are not all; and, indeed, but a very partial notice of important affairs. The political relations of the United States will increase, and become more complicated and extensive with their increase of power. Not only this, but they, too, will grow arrogant, and it will not be half a century, if the Union should last, before they will feel a strong inclination to possess, by force, that which they at present would be willing to make a subject of negotiation and treaty.

In all contingencies, if we are annexed, we have to bear a part of their troubles, no matter of what character. Alone and independent, Texas would be enabled to stand aloof from all matters unconnected with her existence as a nation; while the causes of war to the United States would be a source of benefit and pros-

perity to her. War could grow up between no power and the United States, but what Texas would be the beneficiary. The value of her staples would be enhanced, and that arising from the influence of war upon the United States. Texas, enjoying as she does a situation on the Gulf, and a neutral attitude, would derive the greatest possible benefits. Calamity to other nations would be wealth and power to Texas. The encouragement given us by the demand for our staples would increase our individual as well as our national wealth. The fleets of belligerents would be supplied with meats from our natural pastures, and the sale of our superabundant herds would, when added to the sale of our other commodities, give us more wealth than any other nation, in comparison to our population.

Apart from this, if we should not be annexed, all the European nations would introduce with alacrity vast numbers of emigrants, because it would enable them to extend their commerce. Those who migrate from the different nations to Texas will retain predilections, for many years, in favor of the partialities which nativity carries with it in after-life.

That France and England will pour into our country vast numbers of industrious citizens, there can be no doubt. Belgium, Holland, and other countries, will not be remiss in their duty to ulterior consequences. All these countries have an excess of population, and the common policy and economy of nations are such, that they will have a care to the location of those who leave their native countries. Never, to my apprehension, have all nations evinced the same disposition to commerce as that which is now exercised and entertained. Hence, no time has ever been so propitious for the upbuilding of a nation possessed of our advantages, as that which Texas at this moment enjoys, in the event that the measure of annexation should fail. Its failure can only result from selfishness on the part of the Government or Congress of the United States. If faction, or a regard to present party advantages, should defeat the measure, you may depend upon one thing—and that is, that the glory of the United States has already culminated. A rival power will soon be built up, and the Pacific, as well as the Atlantic, will be component parts of Texas, in thirty years from this date.

The Oregon region, in geographical affinity, will attach to Texas. By this coalition, or union, the barrier of the Rocky Mountains will be dispensed with or obviated. England and France, in anticipation of such an event, would not be so tenacious on the subject of Oregon, as if the United States were to be the sole possessors of it. When such an event would take place, or in anticipation of such result, all the powers, which either envy or fear the United States, would use all reasonable exertions to build us up, as the only rival power which can exist, on this continent, to that

It would be difficult in the history of governments to discover a more striking illustration of far-sighted statesmanship. Such was the destiny which, to the keen vision of Houston, awaited Texas if she remained a Sovereign Nation. But he had from the beginning desired annexation, and he was up to the last moment in favor of that great measure.

He favored it, because it would secure immediate peace to his fellow-citizens, and protection from a perfidious and barbarous foe. He favored it, because it would settle the affairs and establish the tranquillity of the Republic,

of the United States. Considering our origin, these speculations may seem chimerical, and that such things cannot take place. A common origin has its influence so long as a common interest exists, and no longer. Sentiment tells well in love matters or in a speech; but in the affairs and transactions of nations there is no sentiment or feeling but one, and that is essentially selfish.

I regard nations as corporations on a large and sometimes magnificent scale, but no more than this; consequently, they have no soul, and recognise no Mentor but interest.

Texas, once set apart and rejected by the United States, would feel that she was of humble origin; and if a prospect was once presented to her of becoming a rival to the United States, it would only stimulate her to feelings of emulation; and it would be her least consideration, that, by her growth to power, she would overcome the humility of her early condition. So the very causes which now operate with Texas, and incline her to annexation, may, at some future period, give origin to the most active and powerful animosity between the two countries. This, too, we must look at, for it will be the case. Whenever difficulties arise between the United States and Texas, if they are to remain two distinct nations, the powers of Europe will not look upon our affairs with indifference; and no matter what their professions may be of neutrality, they can always find means of evasion. The union of Oregon and Texas will be much more natural and convenient than for either, separately, to belong to the United States. This, too, would place Mexico at the mercy of such a power as Oregon and Texas would form. Such an event may appear fanciful to many, but I assure you there are no Rocky Mountains interposing to such a project. But one thing can prevent its accomplishment, and that is *annexation*.

If you, or any statesmen, will only regard the map of North America, you will perceive that, from the forty-sixth degree of latitude North, there is the commencement of a natural boundary. This will embrace the Oregon, and from thence south on the Pacific coast, to the twenty-ninth or thirtieth degree of south latitude, will be a natural and convenient extent of seaboard.

I am free to admit, that most of the Provinces of Chihuahua, Sonora, and the Upper and Lower Californias, as well as Santa Fé, which we now claim, will have to be brought into the connection of Texas and Oregon. This, you will see by reference to the map, is no bugbear to those who will reflect upon the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon people. What have they ever attempted, and recoiled from, in submission

to defeat? Nothing, I would answer. Population would be all that would be needful, for with it, resources would be afforded for the accomplishment of any enterprise. As to the proposition, that the Provinces of Mexico would have to be overrun, there is nothing in this; for you may rely upon the fact, that the Mexicans only require kind and humane masters to make them a happy people, and secure them against the savage hordes who harass them constantly, and bear their women and children into bondage. Secure them from these calamities, and they would bless any power that would grant them such a boon.

The Rocky Mountains interposing between Missouri and Oregon will very naturally separate them from the United States, when they see the advantages arising from a connection with another nation of the same language and habits with themselves. The line of Texas running with the Arkansas, and extending to the great desert, would mark a natural boundary between Texas, or a new and vast Republic to the South west. If this ever take place, you may rely upon one thing, which is this, that a nation embracing the advantages of the extent of seventeen degrees on the Pacific, and so extensive a front on the Atlantic as Texas does, will not be less than a rival power to any of the nations now in existence.

You need not estimate the population, which is said or reputed, to occupy the vast Territory embraced between the 29th and 46th degrees of latitude on the Pacific. They will, like the Indian race, yield to the advance of the North American population. The amalgamation, under the guidance of statesmen, cannot fail to produce the result, in creating a united Government, formed of, and embracing the limits suggested.

It may be urged, that these matters are remote. Be it so. Statesmen are intended by their forecast to regulate and arrange matters in such sort as will give direction to events by which the future is to be benefited or prejudiced.

You may freely rely, my friend, that future ages will profit by these facts, while we will only contemplate them in perspective. They must come. It is impossible to look upon the map of North America, and not perceive the rationale of the project. Men may laugh at these suggestions; but when we are withdrawn from all the petty influences which now exist, these matters are of the most grave and solemn national import.

I do not care to be in any way identified with them. They are the results of destiny, over which I have no control.

If the Treaty is not ratified, I will require all future negotiations to be transferred to Texas.

and enable him to withdraw from the turbulent scenes of political life, and enjoy the repose of retirement, after his long and ceaseless labors. He favored it, because it would bind the people of Texas firmly to the great Federal Family of Washington, and link their fortunes to the American Republic. He favored it, because like all the true and all the patriotic of his country, he felt an earnest longing to return to the family hearth-stone, where the Patriarchs of the Revolution had first gathered, and unite with twenty millions of his brethren in burning incense to the Genius of Liberty around her holy altars. He favored it, because he saw that it would narrow the field of many petty ambitious men, whose struggles for power might disturb the tranquillity of Texas, and impede her advancement. He favored it, because he felt he had himself achieved his work on the field and in the Cabinet, and although he was beloved by the people, and could always have been, in one form or another, their Leader, yet he had no more ambition to gratify. He believed, too, that his beloved country would find under our broad shield, the same repose from her alarms and troubles, that he himself looked forward to in the quiet of his Prairie Home. And yet his dispatches show that he was prepared for any result. He had his eyes fixed on the future, and if American statesmen were resolved Texas never should mingle her fortunes with us, he also was determined to watch over and guide her to a nobler destiny.

Up to the very moment the decision was made by the American Senate, he held the question of annexation in the hollow of his hand. And when, at the eleventh hour, we grudgingly opened the doors to let the light of the Lone Star shine into our Temple, there is not a shadow of doubt, that if Houston had resented the tardy offer, it would have been proudly and scornfully hurled back by the people of Texas. He was not then President, actually—but in or out of office he was still their Leader, the Counsellor of his country. His last term expired just before annexation was passed, and the Constitution would not allow him to be President again. But his own confidential friend,—his Secretary of State, his adviser and his supporter—was chosen to succeed him, and it was everywhere understood that Houston's policy was still followed—his feelings still consulted—and his voice still heard.

Great apprehensions were felt by the friends of Texas in this country, about the course Houston would finally pursue—for it was believed that he would carry the people of that Republic with him in his decision. The time at last came—Houston gave his support to Annexation, and by an overwhelming majority Texas became one of the Sovereign States of the American Republic.

Henceforth, for weal or woe, her fortunes were to be mingled with the fortunes of the United States. Whether she was to regret it, was yet to be seen. She most certainly would have repented the day she ever sought refuge under our protection, unless she had been allowed to occupy a high and honorable place in our Confederacy. She was no outlaw—no menial—

nor was she to be treated as either. With the richest soil and vast natural resources—with a wide territory which stretches from the sea, where it blushes under a tropical sun, to the North where it whitens with the eternal snows of her mountains—with a climate as balmy as the lands which are bathed by the blue waters of the Mediterranean—and, above all, with an ingenious, enterprising, and heroic people, she must become the garden of the New World. It became the pride of every man, who could say, 'I am an American Citizen,' to extend towards Texas and the Texans his generous greeting. They were long misrepresented and traduced; but the odium was lifted from their name, and a brave and a magnanimous people we were proud to greet by the firesides of our northern homes, or in the courts of foreign princes, and call them brothers. Their reception showed to them, and the world, that the children of sires who bled at Bunker Hill and Yorktown, know how to prize the heroic men who rang out the Anglo-Saxon battle-cry over the bloody field of San Jacinto.

Houston's Policy towards the Indians.—His predecessor had made war upon the Indians, and carried desolation to their peaceful wigwams. In their forest homes were heard the wailings of women whose chiefs had fallen by the hands of the white man; and the young Indian boy was sad because his chieftain father led him out no more on the path of the forest game. Houston had seen injustice perpetrated upon the Red men; and when his last term began, he at once sent the wampum among the forest tribes, and soon after went himself, in the Indian dress, to the distant woods, and smoked the pipe of peace in the chieftains' dwellings. He made treaties with twenty-four different chiefs, and they regarded these treaties sacredly. Among them he felt safe—he wrapped his blanket about him, and laid himself down to sleep by the fires of ferocious savages, near whom other white men did not dare to venture. 'We have nothing to fear from an Indian,' he used to say, 'if we only treat him with justice, and he believes us his friends.' Peace was again restored along the frontiers, and the green corn was again growing luxuriantly by the side of the primeval forests, where the savage stealthily lurked for his game.

Houston had paid off a large amount of debt incurred by his predecessor, due to other Governments, arising from prodigality of administration. He created no new debt—administered the Government on the basis of the revenues, and left the Exchequer Bills issued at the beginning of his term, at par, with a considerable surplus in the Treasury.

He left the country at peace with all the Indian tribes on the frontiers—the Navy was laid up in port, for there was no use for it—the State was blessed with tranquillity at home, the nation was prosperous—emigrants of the better class were rapidly pouring in from the North and from Europe; and the people were happy. The prisoners in Mexico were all restored to their homes—inland trade with Mexico was brisk and lucrative;—Texas was respected by all nations, and Annexation was near its consummation. Thus

had his second term been closed, and thus could Texas come with unsullied garments into the fold of our Union.

Houston in his home.—His last term expired. He could never be President again; and it was with no little sadness that the people saw him lay down his office, and take leave of them, to return to private life. He was received back with joy by his family, they then thought that he would part from them no more. His home was on a rolling elevation in the midst of a green prairie, interspersed with islands of trees, and silver lakes, gleaming in the sun. His labors, his sorrows, and his struggles were over, and in the bosom of an affectionate family he expected to spend the last peaceful years of his stormy life in the noble pursuits of the husbandman.

Houston's Private Character.—His youth had been wild and impetuous; but it was spotted by no crime, it was not even soiled by indulgence. His early manhood was filled with earnestness and daring, but it was deformed by no act which lost for him the confidence of the virtuous, or the doting love of his mother. We know, too, that just as he was stepping upon the theatre of high and brilliant fame, a cloud came over the sky, and wrapped his heart and his home in sadness and gloom.

There is a sorrow which even the bravest of men cannot bear. The storms of life may beat against the frail dwelling of man as wildly as they will, and the proud and generous heart may still withstand the blast. But when the poisoned shaft of disappointment strikes the bosom where *all* we love and live for is treasured, the fruit of this world turns to ashes, and the charm of life is broken. Then it is that too often reason and bliss take their flight together.¹

¹ His course in Congress won for him the universal respect and confidence of the people of Tennessee, and in 1827 he was elected Governor of that State by a majority of over 12,000. His personal popularity was unlimited, and his accession to office found him without an opponent in the Legislature.

In January, 1829, he had married a young lady of respectable family, and of gentle character. Owing to circumstances, about which far more was conjectured than known by the world, the union seems to have been as unhappy as it was short. In less than three months a separation took place, which filled society with the deepest excitement. Various reports flew through the State, all of them unfounded, and some of them begotten by the sheerest malignity, which divided the people of the State into two hostile parties, and inflamed popular feeling to the last point of excitement. As usual on such occasions, those who were most busy in the affair, were the very ones who knew least about the merits of the case, and had the least right to interfere. But unfortunately for the peace of society, there is everywhere a class of impertinent busy-bodies, who make it their special business to superintend and pry into the domestic affairs of their neighbors; and as curiosity must be gratified at any expense to private character, and such persons always like to believe in

the worst, the secrets of no family are exempt from their malignant intrusions. These are the disturbers of the peace of society whom the law seldom punishes, although they perpetrate more crimes than highway-men and assassins—burglars of the domestic tranquillity of families—robbers of others' good names—assassins of the characters of the innocent.

Thinking, most probably, that they were doing her a kindness, the friends of the lady loaded the name of Houston with odium. He was charged with every species of crime man ever committed. The very ignorance of the community about the affair, by increasing the mystery which hung over it, only made it seem the more terrible. In the meantime, Houston did not offer a single denial of a single calumny—would neither vindicate himself before the public, nor allow his friends to do it for him. He sat quietly, and let the storm of popular fury rage on. From that day, even among his confidential friends, he always maintained unbroken silence, and whenever he spoke of the lady, it was with great kindness. Not a word ever fell from his lips that cast a shade upon her character, nor did he ever allow an unkind breath against her in his presence. Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, or whatever his friends may have known or conjectured, he had but one reply for them:—“This is a painful, but

When this dark cloud fell over the path of Houston, he buried his sorrows in the flowing bowl. His indulgences began with the wreck of his hopes, and like many noble and generous spirits, he gave himself up to the fatal enchantress. But his excesses were exaggerated by his enemies a hundred-fold. Probably no man can say he ever saw Houston rendered incompetent, by any indulgence, to perform any of the offices of private or public life a single hour.

But the days of his indulgences passed away when the sunlight of domestic happiness again shone through his dwelling, and he was sustained once more by that great conservative principle of a man's life, a happy home, illumined by the smile of an affectionate and devoted wife. Then his good angel came back again, *and till his dying day no man was more exemplary in all the duties and all the virtues of the citizen, the father, and the husband.* From that moment he espoused the great cause of Temperance, with all the earnestness of his nature.

Whenever an opportunity was presented, he spoke eloquently, in public and in private, in favor of that beneficent movement, which has restored many thousands of generous but misguided men to the long-abandoned embraces of weeping families, and to the noble duties of citizenship, and set signal-buoys of warning for every fresh bark that sails out on the voyage of life. And who could better tell the horrors and the woes of the poor inebriate's life than the man who had experienced them? Who could more eloquently and willingly woo back the wanderer to the fold of virtue than he who had just returned to its hallowed enclosure? Blessings on the head of the devoted and beautiful wife, whose tender persuasions proved too strong for the clamors of appetite and the allurements of vice! In winning the stricken

it is a private affair. I do not recognize the right of the public to interfere in it, and I shall treat the public just as though it had never happened. And remember that, whatever may be said by the lady or her friends, it is no part of the conduct of a gallant or a generous man to take up arms against a woman. If my character cannot stand the shock, let me lose it. The storm will soon sweep by, and time will be my vindicator.'

He had been elected to every office he had held in the State by acclamation, and he determined instantly to resign his office of Governor, and forego all his brilliant prospects of distinction, and exile himself from the habitations of civilized men—a resolution more likely to have been begotten by philosophy than by crime.

I have no apology to offer for this singular event.

If Houston acted culpably, it could not be expected he would become his own accuser. If he were the injured party, and chose to bear in silence his wrong and the odium that fell on him, he certainly betrayed no meanness of spirit, for he never asked the sympathy of the world. But notwithstanding his unbroken silence about the affair, and the sacrifice of all his hopes, he was denounced by the journals of the day, and hunted down with untiring malignity by those who had the meanness to pursue a generous man in misfortune. After his determination to leave the country was known,

they threatened him with personal violence. But in this he bearded and defied them.

But his friends did not desert him while the sun of his fortune was passing this deep eclipse. They gathered around him, and the streets of Nashville would have flowed with blood, if Houston's enemies had touched a hair of his head. But such ruffians never execute their vows, when they have brave men to deal with, and Houston resigned his office, and taking leave of his friends he quietly left the city of Nashville. He now turned his back upon the haunts of white men, and there was no refuge left for him but the forests. There he had a *home*, of which the reader has yet heard nothing; it was far away from civilized life.

While he was roving in his youth among the Cherokees, he had found a friend in their chief, who adopted him as his son, and gave him a corner in his wigwam. In the meantime, the chief with his tribe had removed from the Hi-Wassee country to Arkansas, and become king of the Cherokees, resident there. During their long separation, which had now lasted more than eleven years, they had never ceased to interchange tokens of their kind recollections. When, therefore, he embarked on the Cumberland, he thought of his adopted father, and he turned his face to his wigwam-home, knowing that he would be greeted there with the old chief's blessing.

wanderer back to the pure charities of home, she saved the State one of its noblest citizens ; and so benign was the influence of his wonderful example, and so calm, and so holy a light beamed so ceaselessly around the altars of that distant Prairie Home, that his children, with the nation he saved, rose up and called him blessed.

And thus he found himself standing on the meridian of life, with an erect, well-made form, of perfect health and gigantic strength. His hair had been turned gray by his great labors, but his eye was still soft and clear, and beamed with a smile which no man's can wear whose heart does not overflow with love of country and philanthropy to his race. His countenance was flushed with the glow of health and cheerfulness, which seldom lingers after the morning of life is passed. And but for occasional days of suffering from the wound he received in his right shoulder from two rifle-balls at To-ho-pe-ka, forty years before, he knew no physical ailment. Sometimes those sufferings were intense, and he was never to be free from them while he lived, for no surgical skill had ever been able to close up that wound. It had discharged every day for more than forty years. In a manner almost miraculous, he entirely recovered from the wound in his ankle received at the battle of San Jacinto.¹

General Houston still retained the chairs which he owned while President of the Republic. These chairs had turned posts, and were bottomed with cow-hides tanned with the hair on. Everything about his home indicated frugality ; for he devoted more time and attention to the salvation and prosperity of his country than to the acquisition of wealth. Holding the position twice, as President of the Republic of Texas, had he been less honest, he could have

¹ It is refreshing, in the midst of modern political competition, to hear such a tribute to unostentatious virtue and patriotism as Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in 1836, not long after the battle of San Jacinto, uttered on Houston in his place in the United States Senate. Said Mr. Benton :—

‘Of the individuals who have purchased lasting renown in this young war, it would be impossible, in this place, to speak in detail, and invidious to discriminate. But there is one among them, whose position forms an exception, and whose early association with myself justifies and claims the tribute of a particular notice. I speak of him whose romantic victory has given to the Jacinto* that immortality in grave and serious history, which the disks of Apollo had given to it in the fabulous pages of the heathen mythology. General Houston was born in the State of Virginia, County of Rockbridge ; he was appointed an ensign in the army of the United States, during the late war with Great Britain, and served in the Creek campaign under the banners of Jackson. I was the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment to which he belonged, and the first field officer to whom he reported. I then marked in him the same soldierly and gentlemanly qualities which have since distinguished his eventful career : frank, generous, brave ; ready to do, or to suffer, whatever the obligations of civil or military duty imposed ; and always prompt to answer the call of honor, patriotism, and friendship. Sincerely do I rejoice in his victory. It is a victory without alloy, and without parallel except at New Orleans. It is a victory which the civilization of the age, and the honor of the human race, required him to gain : for the nineteenth century is not an age in

which a repetition of the Goliad matins could be endured. Nobly has he answered the requisition ; fresh and luxuriant are the laurels which adorn his brow.

‘It is not within the scope of my present purpose to speak of military events, and to celebrate the exploits of that vanguard of the Anglo-Saxons who are now on the confines of the ancient empire of Montezuma ; but that combat of San Jacinto ! it must forever remain in the catalogue of military miracles. Seven hundred and fifty citizens, miscellaneous armed with rifles, muskets, belt pistols, and knives, under a leader who had never seen service, except as a subaltern, march to attack near double their numbers—march in open day across a clear prairie, to attack upwards of twelve hundred veterans, the *élite* of an invading army of seven thousand, posted in a wood, their flanks secured, front entrenched ; and commanded by a general trained in civil wars ; victorious in numberless battles ; and chief of an empire of which no man becomes chief except as conqueror. In twenty minutes the position is forced. The combat becomes a carnage. The flowery prairie is stained with blood ; the hyacinth is no longer blue, but scarlet. Six hundred Mexicans are dead ; six hundred more are prisoners, half wounded, the President General himself is a prisoner ; the camp and baggage all taken ; and the loss of the victors, six killed and twenty wounded. Such are the results, and which no European can believe, but those who saw Jackson at New Orleans. Houston is the pupil of Jackson : and he is the first self-made general, since the time of Mark Antony, and the King Antigonus, who has taken the general of the army and the head of the government captive in battle. Different from Antony, he has spared the life of his captive though forfeited by every law, human and divine.’”

* Hyacinth ; hyacinthus ; huakinthus ; water-flower.

amassed boundless wealth ; for he could have gathered into his hands extensive domains of land, which at the time fell into the possession of others, who had rendered few or no services to the State. Had he been disposed to profit by the station he held, he could have been the owner of hundreds of thousands of dollars of Texas liabilities, which soon enriched those who held them. But he never speculated to the extent of a dollar in soldiers' lands or Texas stocks—and yet, in the opinion of men, he might have done it without any imputation of dishonor. But Houston was always governed by a higher code of honor than most men.

In his private relations, his honesty, or his punctuality, or truth, was never arraigned. Hence, after forty-five years in public life, he was still a man of moderate fortune : not rich, for he never cared for more than a competency for himself and a young family, to whom he left a spotless reputation.

And when he had retired from the Senate, to his distant home on the far-off frontier—full of honors, and surrounded by the halo of victory—he added a new lustre to his private character, by uniting himself with the Christian Church, as a humble communicant in the great body of worshipping believers, who confide all they have to hope for, here and hereafter, to the Saviour of the world.

Such a record as this ought not to invade the privacy of that sanctuary where man holds communication with God. But there are millions of our countrymen who will join with us in the honest congratulation that such a man as this, who never was awed in the presence of human power, should sit in penitent reverence at the feet of Him who was baptized by the Prophet of the Desert before He went forth to redeem mankind.

Thus I close this brief narrative. Would that some better pen had performed the task ! But I could not forbear to make this offering, however unworthy it may be, to history, to heroism, to virtue, and to truth.

And if it be an honor to human nature to repent, and abandon errors of opinion and frailties of conduct, why may not the biographer rejoice to weave the woof of such a history as Houston's, and throw it before the world, that whatever wrong a great man may have inflicted by the splendor of his talents—in stooping to waste his time as Charles James Fox did, in garnishing vice by his genius and ornamenting it by its elevation—may be at last atoned for by the reformation of the admired individual transgressor ? 'Greater is he that ruleth his own spirit than he that taketh a city.' General Houston was for many years the father of a family ; and no man better illustrated the virtues that belong to that relation. A soldier in many wars, and a hero in the achievement of the liberties of two Republics—an enemy of all sections and factions, and a champion of the country in which he was born—superior to party—greater than all *isms*—A NATIONAL MAN, who being in the midst of slavery never held a brother man in bondage, who fought and bled and lived for the great North American Republic—such a man presents one of the most captivating subjects of all history for the pen of the biographer.

His life closed peacefully in his own house at Huntsville, July 25, 1863, without a doubt of the final triumph of the Republic, or of his eternal salvation, to disturb the serenity of his spirit.

Houston's Career in the Senate.—General Houston went into the Senate of the United States after the annexation, and remained there during twelve years. This period witnessed the last great struggle in Congress for the preservation of the Union. It was then that the waves of fanaticism broke harmlessly at the feet of the fathers of the Senate. Clay, Webster, Dickinson, and the noblest men of all parties made their last stand, and finally enacted the Compromise Measures, which postponed for another decade the outbreak of the spirit of disunion. It was but an armistice, it was true, and only postponed the inevitable crisis. But it left an interval of calm, if not of solid peace; and during that interval most of the eminent statesmen of the last age passed to their final rest. Coming, as Houston did, from the southwestern border of the country, it was feared in some quarters that he might unite with the secession party. But when the day of trial came he stood by the flag, determining beyond all question his strong attachment to the Union. The Compromise Measures of 1850 were under consideration. Houston said: ‘Mr. President,—Twenty-seven years ago I had the honor to occupy a seat in the House of Representatives from the State of Tennessee. I recollect that in the discussion of the Tariff Act of 1824, for the first time in my life I heard the idea suggested that there might be secession, disunion, or resistance to the constitutional authorities of the land. It produced deep and intense meditation on my part. I did believe then that an example ought to be made of it; but there was no way to touch it. I have heard principles of disunion boldly avowed in this hall, and have heard Senators avow what was treason, not technically, but which was not stripped of one particle of the moral turpitude of treason. *Disunion* has been proclaimed in this hall. What a delightful commentary on the freedom of our institutions, and the forbearance of the public mind, when a man is permitted to go unscathed and unscourged, who, in a deliberative body like this, has made such a declaration! Sir, no higher assurance can be given of the freedom of our institutions, and of the forbearance of the American people, and their reliance upon the reason and the intelligence of the community. The intelligent mind is left free to combat error. Such sentiments, with their authors, will descend to the obscurity and oblivion of the tomb. I have only to say, in conclusion, that those who proclaim disunion,—no matter of what name, politically—that those who, for the sake of disunion, conspire against the Union and the Constitution, are very beautifully described in Holy Writ:—They are “raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever.”’

Houston the Friend of the Indian.—In another field of debate Houston displayed his life-long philanthropy in his defence of the rights of the In

dians. On this subject he had had more personal experience than any other member of Congress. He had early lived among the Indians; and during his administration of the government of Texas his personal influence alone had saved the people of that country from utter annihilation by the Comanches and other fierce savages who had been provoked to unrelenting vengeance by outrages and oppressions. On many occasions he had pled their cause in Texas, and in the Senate of the United States; and the noblest efforts that have ever been made on this continent from the time of the Puritan Fathers, and William Penn, for securing justice and civilization to the aborigines were made by General Houston. One of the ablest and best of these was in the Senate during the last day of 1854. We have no space for that speech, but if the day ever comes when a policy of justice to the Indian shall prevail in our public councils, that speech will be rescued from oblivion, and be committed to memory by the boys of America. His closing words were:—

‘I have been accused of catering to a morbid, sickly sentimentality. Sir, I never yielded anything of my own conscientious convictions to consult the opinions of others. I never stooped to solicit office; but I have received and accepted it to my own disadvantage. I might have hated the Indians, if I had a soul no bigger than a shell-bark.

‘In my boyish days, before manhood had hardened my thews and muscles, I received balls and arrows in this body, in defence of suffering humanity, particularly women and children, against the Indians; and I aided in reclaiming the brightest spot of the South—Alabama. When I remember that in those early days I assisted in rescuing females and children from the relentless tomahawk and scalping-knife, it seems to me that the charge that I have stooped to court favor by the expression of my sentiments on this question, is one which falls harmless at my feet.’

Houston at Home.—In retiring from public life to spend his last days in the peace of his prairie home, we cast one glance at his closing days. Texas still clamored for him to leave his retirement, and he was elected Governor in 1861. When the same wave of madness which swept the South to her destruction carried Texas into rebellion, General Houston opposed the act with all his enthusiasm and power. For the first time an appeal of his to the reason or patriotism of his countrymen was not heeded. They demanded that he should take the oath to support the Confederacy. But the tortures of a thousand Inquisitions could not have dragged such treasonable words from his lips. Secession was voted over his head. He resigned his office. He defied the wild clamor of his State, whose population had now risen to 650,000. He retired to his prairie home! and planting upon his log cabin a single four-pounder, he told his State to ‘go to ruin if she pleased; but she should not drag him along with her.’ He had made and saved her, and if she would be unmade, it should be her work—not his.¹

¹ So greatly was the secession feeling predominant even his dearly beloved son Sam was a Secessionist, in Texas that he was unable to direct his own family— and coming into the governor’s office one day just be

SECTION EIGHTH.

MANIFEST DESTINY—THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

Manifest Destiny.—This word has been bandied about in a battledoor and shuttlecock style long enough, and because we have used it somewhat flip-pantly ourselves, European critics of American Democracy, have lost no fair chance of throwing it back in our faces. They seem to have taken offence at our presumption; and this was quite natural, for the continent was all around us, and our people thought that, in a very natural way, it would one day all belong to us. With the records of the past to back us, this feeling could be easily accounted for, since from our first beginnings on the Atlantic coast, and on our steady march towards the West, even schoolboys concluded that we should go on till we reached the Pacific Ocean, which nature had drawn as our continental boundary. This guiding thought shines through our whole history, as threads of gold woven into drapery flash out indications of the design of the artist all through his work.

Europeans do not readily understand us, and they should not be blamed for it. In measuring our social life, they involuntarily compare it with their own, without thinking how widely our circumstances differ. The boundaries of their states have long been pretty clearly defined. The range of the Pyrenees left little room for the ambition of either Spain or France to cross those eternal barriers. France scarcely dreamed of extending her territory beyond the Rhine, until her recent and unchastened enthusiasm beguiled her too far. Italy attempted no aggression beyond the Tyrol or the maritime Alps; while isolated England found it impossible to maintain the conquests she had made on the continent. True, Spain in her delirium of empire, once indulged in the thought of subjugating all Europe, and for a while the dream seemed working itself into a reality.¹ Long before, Rome

fore his resignation, wearing a secession rosette on his breast, the governor asked him:

'What is that, Sam, on the lappel of your coat?'

'It is a secession rosette, father,' answered young Sam.

'Why, Sammy, haven't you got it in the wrong place?' said the governor.

'Where should I wear it father,' asked Sam, 'if not over my heart?'

'I think, Sammy, it would be more appropriate for you to wear it pinned to the inside of your coat-tail!' answered the governor.—*History of Texas*, J. M. Morphis, pp. 452-53.

¹ The same consequence with the advance of imperialism may be seen in Spain. The record of her imperial dominion under Philip II. is told in the proud story of the chronicler of that day: 'He held in Europe the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, those of Sicily, and Naples, Sardinia, Milan, Roussillon, the Low Countries, the Balearic Islands, and Franche-Comté; on the western coast of Africa he held the Canaries, Cape Verde, Oran, Bujiya, and Tunis; in Asia he held the Philippines and a part of the Moluccas; in the new world, the vast kingdoms of Peru, Mexico, Chili, and the provinces conquered in the last years of Charles V., with Cuba, Hispaniola, and other islands. But this enumeration of so vast an apparent material power is the preface to disaster, and the beginning in Spain of centuries of humiliation. There is a more re-

had extended her sway over territories too vast to be held even by that stupendous empire, the Emperors of Germany found they could not hold foreign dominions ; and even England was obliged to surrender her conquests in France. Although the great Napoleon subjugated nearly all Europe, yet the cords of his empire snapped asunder long before his downfall. He at tempted impossibilities.

There are reasons for the loss of such conquests, and the dismemberment of such empires. Physical barriers, which geographers have called the natural boundaries of nations—diversities of languages, habits, blood, and associations—the absence of means of inter-communication, with old rivalries and jealousies, made it impossible for such conquests to remain permanent, or such enforced unions to end in homogeneous blendings. And these reasons are likely, in the future, to postpone a common brotherhood, or at least a common nationality, among the nations of Europe. In North America everything was different. Causes, already indicated, tended to make one nation here ; and such has been the tendency ever since. On our soil for the first time in history, ‘kindred drops mingled into one ;’ and we saw a proof in the social and political world of the same principle which gravitation determines in physics, where small globules of moisture in the upper clouds mingle, and send down heavy showers upon the earth—as a thousand separate rivulets find their way to make up great rivers. In this manner, Thirteen separate Colonies formed a Union. By the same law, communities beyond the limits of the first Confederation gravitated towards a common centre : and thus the number of States increased from thirteen to forty ; and thus they are likely to swell their numbers, until the continent itself is absorbed. This has been the tendency, and it is likely to remain so. All prophecies about the danger of breaking to pieces, because we extended so far, and all threats and attempts at disunion, have proved miserable failures.

In going over this argument with Europeans, many of their statesmen seem as incapable of understanding this to be a law of society and government, as does the stolid peasant. Only now and then, men like De Tocqueville, Count Cavour, or Lamartine, or, above all, Lafayette, could ever understand it. Even M. Guizot, while he was Prime Minister of France, made the same mistake. I told him France could make no conquest in the Western Hemisphere which she could hold ; that she never could do anything with Texas or Mexico, no more than the moon could attract some new asteroid into her orbit ; that the Union of the United States had grown up by the same law in government which had determined the formation and

cent illustration of the same tendency in imperialism in Austria. In the long roll of soldiers whom Francis Joseph saluted on the field of Sadowa, as his faithful children, there was the German, the Italian, the Magyar, the Croat, the Slovak, the Pole, the Roman ; but in this multitudinous mass there was no organic unity. They

were the representatives on the field of only a vast aggregate of peoples and states, and the bond which held them was formal, and whether that bond be in a confederate compact or an imperial edict, it can have no unific force.—*The Nation*, E. Mulford, pp. 344-348

orbits of all celestial bodies. Nor was this law any more likely to be interfered with in the political than in the stellar world. 'It is an ingenious theory,' replied the French Minister, 'but you leave no room for statesmanship to determine the destinies of nations.' 'There is,' I replied, 'but one statesman that determines these questions, and that statesman is *manifest destiny*; and he who does not take this view of American politics will be found reckoning without his host.'¹

Preparing for the War with Mexico.—The colonization of Texas, the pressure of Santa Anna's dictatorship, which forced upon them independence; the recognition of the 'Lone Star' by the United States, and the leading powers of Europe; all followed by the war with Mexico, which she brought upon herself against the will of her own people, the people of Texas, the people of the United States, and the establishment of our Republic on the shores of the Pacific, will hereafter offer to the historian one of the most attractive themes this continent has yet unfolded. Poets and artists will here find subjects worthy of their pens, pencils, and chisels. In spite of human purposes, and apparently with the feeblest, and sometimes the most contemptible agencies, this grand drama has gone on. It is no proof that it was not a work worthy of an heroic age, because to our immediate observation it looks home-made and commonplace, any more than some of the filibustering expeditions of former ages, on the plains of Asia, which launched resistless tribes over Europe, whether they wished, as tribes or nations, to get larger space and more bread and meat—as mountain torrents from Alpine snows rush on to inundate low lands by a law which they infallibly obey. I am merely hinting at the migrations of populations over the globe under the irresistible influence of physical or social laws. Buckle clearly intimated that the laws which govern societies of men—could they only be well defined—are as invariable as the laws which govern the purely material world. Herbert Spencer is engaged in a great but difficult work—attempting to prove and illustrate this hitherto unsolved problem. He is struggling like Laocoon in the folds of the serpent, because he has not facts enough to prove what he feels to be true. But he has begun a giant work—God help him with pro-

¹ I have no desire to lay claim to any prophetic wisdom; nor does it seem to me that any man need pride himself on superior judgment who held these views long ago. Gradually, from the first settlement of this nation, this inspiration, or intuition—call it what you may—has manifested itself in our history. No party has ignored this without being defeated at the ballot-box: no matter how imposing the array of talent or prophecy may have been. Even the transcendent genius of Henry Clay and his great influence proved powerless when he tried to stem the tide which was sweeping Texas into the Union. He lost the battle, too, for the presidency, against a combatant who in no

other respect had a tithe of his gifts or graces; only that rival became the mouthpiece of the national sentiment, and for the time being served as the instrument of the popular will.

If what I have been saying be true, it concerns the spirit of the Republic; and therefore I think the time has about come when men should speak of the manifest destiny of America somewhat more reverently. The mighty sanction of history comes to impart significance to those words, *manifest destiny*. The fact is, it is too big a theme for small thinkers to deal with. It is in this light that we should look on the war with Mexico, of which something must be said.

longed life, and undiminished vigor, and he will go far towards demonstrating his theory. But he ought to be satisfied if, ere his earthly work be finished, he shall have opened the doors to a new science, and gained its recognition. There is no danger but what his disciples will carry on his work: It is enough for one man to lead the way to the discovery of a new world, whether it be in geography on the earth, or in the heaven of a better social system. When Leverrier had demonstrated that there was a place for a new planet in our solar system, some hundreds of millions of miles beyond the orbit of Uranus, the discovery of Neptune had just as good as taken place—although his distant beams may not have flashed for the first time through Leverrier's lenses. I think that Isaiah must not be robbed of the glory of his prophecy of Emmanuel's coming, because he happened, in the prescience of inspiration, to foresee 'the man of sorrows,' and to have written his biography seven hundred years before the babe of Bethlehem was born.

The War with Mexico.—But for the restless ambition of Santa Anna to assail our Republic, the result has proved beyond all doubt that the people of Mexico had no desire to make war on the United States for any reason; least of all because Texas had been admitted to the Union of the American family of States. But that lacerated people, who knew so little of the science and practice of free government, had submitted, somewhat meekly 'tis true, but none too willingly, to the despotic reign of Santa Anna, who, gifted with wonderful ability for intrigue, and fired by a martial spirit altogether transcending his rivals, but clothed with the prestige of good work in the emancipation of his country from the oppression of her old Spanish tyrants, seemed to have a prescriptive right to be a dictator in a Republic whose people were unequal to the task of governing themselves.

Therefore we may consider that Mexico could have no participation in the counsels that were determined by a personal dictator; that the will of her people would not be considered in making up the case of grievances or causes for war; and hence it would appear that this dictator, having the power to make war, did it,—and he only took counsel of himself when he rushed into the miserable attempt to punish the United States, because Texas—whose independence he had acknowledged after the defeat of San Jacinto, where he had given his solemnest oath that he would procure her recognition so soon as he, then a helpless prisoner, should be allowed to return to his country—desired to secure her future prosperity.

The government of the United States had no more to do in provoking the war with Mexico, than the Thirteen Colonies had to do in provoking the war of the Revolution—nor half so much: for in the latter case, it had been a matter of debate for long years; and a strong party, embracing some of the greatest statesmen in England, had stood by the Colonies in their right to rebel. But in the case of Mexico there was nothing but a shallow pretence for a war. This was very much the feeling of her people; and we shall see that, 'although the Mexican army fought with valor, and all the pride of

loyalty against the United States troops, whom they were taught to look on as invaders, yet throughout that sharp and decisive campaign there was on the part of the Mexican *people* a very evident sentiment of fraternity, rather than hostility towards us.'

General Scott's View of the Mexican War.—'It was plain enough at every step we took,' said General Scott to me years afterwards, 'that we were not regarded as enemies: we were rather looked upon as liberators and friends. And,' he continued, 'if I may judge from what military experience I have had in former wars, or from the results of my readings of history, and conversations with the chief military men of my time, I think it safe to say that there have been very few instances in which an invading army has encountered so little enmity, and received so many tokens of friendly feeling.' He added, 'I have had nothing to do with any campaign in which I found so few elements of hatred and personal dislike mixed up with the feeling on either side. I do not think our soldiers even took the trouble to hate the Mexicans; and as fast as our social intercourse could be established with the enemy, I did not find any reason to change this opinion. Between the Mexicans and the Americans in that campaign, there was a most remarkable absence of those personal animosities which usually attend such military expeditions. When we reached the City of Mexico—although I was very careful to see that the extremest care was observed in the protection of property, and all proper regard shown for personal rights, and even national feelings and prejudices—I was amazed to find how soon quiet was restored after our army had entered the capital. Every sign seemed to indicate that we had bivouacked in a friendly, and not in a hostile region. They were rejoiced, and well might be—for it was, with only a few unavoidable infractions of military law and order—much fewer than I had any reason to expect, that our victory was made good.'

'In calling together my first council of war in the city, the reports all went to show that the entry to the capital had been signalized by a remarkable absence of those scenes which so commonly attend such conquests. There were on all sides, demonstrations of regard and confidence; and I may add, that we had come, and seemed to be really looked upon as friendly visitors. Every effort was made to treat us as guests. In fact,' said the old hero—lifting himself to his full height—'I assure you, sir, that it really did seem as though we were the guests, and not the conquerors of Mexico.'

¹ As I am now writing with great care, and transcribing with accuracy what I took from the lips of General Scott in his own house in New York, I wish to give special prominence to this record, which now comes up for final use, and which will always serve as my guide, in whatever I write of the conqueror of Mexico—the patriot general—the statesman—Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott—the man I loved.

'You will tell me, General, whether the rumor be true that you were requested to accept the government of Mexico, and remain in that country to take charge of its affairs?'

'That is a question of statesmanship—a civil and not a military question. And, although at different periods of my life, I have been called upon to act in the double capacity of a diplomatist and soldier at the

What Mexico was, and had been.—I think I can better tell the history of the war with Mexico, by sketching the lives of its two great heroes, after a glance at the geography and history of the wonderful country which was the scene of this least lamentable war we ever engaged in, for all other invaders had gone there only for pillage, subjugation, and ruin. The result has shown that from the hour that our flag floated over her capitol, Mexico began a new life.

Mexico was the Italy of the New World. From the first invasion of the bandit Cortez, she had, like her fair Italian sister, been the prey of a long succession of spoilers. Both had 'the fatal gift of beauty,' and both suffered from the fatal embraces of wanton strangers. The most careless reader of the annals of the Italian Peninsula knows, that for a thousand years it had been the Poland of the South. Not a foreign army has crossed her frontier without bringing desolation. Not a foreign ally or conqueror had set foot on her soil without stealing her jewels. She had successively been pillaged and oppressed by Spain, Austria, France, Russia, and England. They never came down from the Alps, nor crossed the Po, nor landed on her coasts without unfurling the flag of liberty, and they always left her in chains. Even Napoleon—her own child, who knew her history and hated her tyrants—who was greeted at Montenotte and Marengo and Lodi as her deliverer—who might have made her glad and free—he swept away the thrones of her despots

same time, I have been careful not to mix those duties together. I found in General Washington a faultless model for imitation, in this respect as in all others, and I have never departed from this precedent which he left.'

'But, General, would it not have been better, when Mr. Trist was negotiating, without full authority, the treaty of Hidalgo Guadalupe, if some further clause should have been admitted contemplating a measure which would have ultimately led to the annexation of Mexico?'

'No, sir, by no means. I did not at the time, nor have I ever since, desired to see Mexico admitted to the American Union. The time had not come; it would have been altogether premature. That the time may, and will come, when Mexico will be absorbed into this Republic, I have very little doubt. But it will be best to have it come *in its own way*. I recall as appropriate to the case, the French maxim *laissez faire*. When the pear is ripe it will drop into our lap. If the tree is shaken violently the fruit will rot at our feet. America is going fast enough, Heaven knows! This flame needs no fanning. It will be all accomplished in spite of the opposition of men. I have been more desirous to see what work we have undertaken to do, well done. No, sir, the time for the annexation of Mexico had not then come, nor do I think it will come during

my generation. You younger men can afford to wait.'

When the war of the Rebellion had commenced, and the old chieftain was going through the great trial of his life—a trial which he said to me cost him more than all the troubles he had ever had, or dreamed of, and before he retired—the subject of Mexico once more came up in our conversation. 'The Quixotic attempt of France to export an emperor to America, where loyalty is an exotic in the cold climate of this hemisphere,' he was sure would come to a bad end. I asked him what he would do with the French expedition.

'Do? I would do nothing. That thing will do itself. To try to transplant the tree of imperialism to American soil, will be attended with humiliation and trouble, and end in failure and disgrace. I think we shall have very little trouble growing out of that question. The *people* of Mexico, in whom I have great faith, will take care of themselves.'

This was among the last conversations I had with this primitive—this very great man. And I am always glad that I had so good a chance to love him so long and so well. He seemed, when I touched his hand, to bind me closer to the heroes of the past age—the age of patriotism and glory, when men lived only for their country.

only to make room for those of his own family. He carried away her sons to fight strangers in distant lands. They followed his eagles to Spain to die in the passes of the Pyrenees, or freeze on the ice plains of Russia. Italy poured her gold into his coffers as freely as if it had been water. She stripped her galleries and cabinets and churches of the choicest works of her great masters, and she enriched the sacrifice by the blood of an hundred thousand of her brave sons. But all this could not buy her ransom. Napoleon found her a beautiful slave; he ravished her, and abandoned her to her fate. For a thousand years the tyrants of Europe had been feeding on the dead eagle of Rome. But another Napoleon—strange contradiction—was to atone for the crimes of his uncle, by helping Italy to her union and independence, while he was sending an expedition to America to reduce a Republic which had won its freedom, back to a hated European despotism.

‘When first discovered, Mexico was more thickly peopled than any other portion of the Continent. Cortez found an empire, cities, palaces, pyramids, like those of Egypt; temples, ruins, hieroglyphical inscriptions, and all the traces of an ancient and idolatrous civilization. Gigantic and magnificent monumental remains told of a former race, and of their achievements in architecture and art. The Aztec Dynasty is traced for about three hundred years, culminating in the empire of the Montezumas, which fell in 1520, in the Spanish invasion and conquest by Cortez.’¹

With what atrocities these early invasions were attended we can now hardly conceive. ‘The early history of South America must forever stand out pre-eminent with records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the NEW WORLD is the great romance of history, its conquest and settlement form one of its deepest tragedies; for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe, by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the multiplying villainies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the transatlantic empire of Spain, have from the day when she first planted her foot in the NEW WORLD to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of His creatures, and the power of man to counteract them.’²

Such had been the grandeur, and such the overthrow of an early American civilization. And how fair a land was Mexico, the grandest of all the occidental nations! It stretched to the north from the 15th to the 32d degree of latitude, and from the 86th to the 117th of west longitude—or eleven hundred miles in breadth, by two thousand in length. This vast area of plains, table lands, and mountain ranges embraces all the climates and productions of the tropics and the temperate zones. If there be one spot on the earth's surface

¹ *Mexico and the United States.* By Gorham D. Abbott, LL.D. G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1869.

² *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1860.

where nature lavished all her treasures to make a grand garden for the human race, it would seem to us, as it did to the enchanted eye of Humboldt, eighty years ago, to be that lovely region which, small as it may appear to us, is just about as large as our twenty-five States East of the Mississippi.¹

The War with Mexico forced upon us.—I shall attempt only the slightest outline of this war, as the results which followed it will of necessity claim more attention. It did not seem to ordinary observers, to be the right thing for a powerful and united Republic to engage in hostilities with a small one, especially when it was being torn to pieces by hostile factions, and had become the prey of rival chieftains. Moreover, the world had not forgotten that the first inspirations of liberty and independence in the Spanish colonies had been breathed from our own example—that only one generation before, Mexico had lit her fires at our own altars. It was reasonable enough to expect that France and England, both of whom had long looked with jealousy upon the extension of our Republic in any direction, would interpose such obstacles as they could by diplomatic intrigue, in attempting to sway the opinions of mankind to our disadvantage. It was not the first time, nor by any means the last, when such jealousies existed; and most sedulous and persistent efforts were made to inflame against us feelings of unfriendliness, even where a sentiment of hostility could not be excited. But we were laboring under embarrassments far more serious at home. The party which had opposed the annexation of Texas, opposed the war which, in the opinion of everybody else, had become inevitable. The most specious of all their prettexts being that the independence of Texas and her annexation, had sprung from the single motive of strengthening the institution of slavery, by extending its area and controlling the legislation of Congress. That this was the motive of some of the most powerful advocates of annexation could not be denied. It was equally plain that the anti-slavery sentiment, which had within a few years been rapidly growing up in all the free States, had become equally earnest, if not so bitter, in opposition to any further extension of slavery over free soil. The great body of the Whig party was so well united in their opposition, that they risked their last darling hope of the election of their beloved leader upon the issue; and so evenly was the country divided, that Mr. Clay's defeat turned upon the independent vote of only five thousand of the Liberty party of New York, under the leadership of Judge Birney, their candidate for the

¹ It is a territory ten times larger than Great Britain, and nearly equal in extent to all France, Spain, Austria, Lombardy, and the British Isles combined.

The area of Mexico is divided by nature into three clearly defined and separate regions; the highlands, or mountain districts; the table lands, or temperate regions; and the low lands and basins, having the varied characteristics of the torrid zone. Above them all, appear the volcanic summits, and peaks of perpetual snow. The mountain ranges arrest the moisture wafted by aerial currents from the Atlantic and the Gulf; the lofty crests congeal it in eternal snows; the mountain

breasts condense it in fertilizing rains; and the low lands receive the descending streams that enrich a soil of inexhaustible fertility.

Of this immense region, more than three-fifths enjoy rather a temperate, than a torrid climate. The proximity of the oceans, the peculiar conformation of the land, its elevation above the level of the sea, and the sweep of the mild aerial currents from the waters, temper the severities of both cold and heat, and make for large sections of the territory, one of the most balmy and delightful climates in the world.—*Mexico and the United States*, Gorham D. Abbott, LL. D.

presidency. It was a period of intense excitement; and so violently was the conflict carried on that very few candid appeals to the judgment of the country had any effect. It required no great political sagacity to foresee that in the future, as in the past, every party opposed to the extension of the Republic was doomed to inevitable defeat. It was a pitiful claim to set up—but then it always had been, and it was likely always to be—that statesmanship was dictating a policy in favor of liberty. The simple truth is, and history has proved it, that up to the time of Lincoln's Proclamation of 1863, there had not been one gleam of statesmanship exhibited in the United States in the treatment of slavery. No statesman had proposed, least of all carried through, a measure which had any more influence in deciding that question, than an eddy in the Mississippi determines the course of its current. The event proved that slavery was not to be controlled by statesmanship nor by legislation. It was too mighty a power for political genius or sagacity to grapple with.

The war with Mexico was not caused by politicians or statesmen. That war was inevitable. It would have happened had no such thing as slavery existed on the globe. It would have happened even if Texas never had won her independence, or gained admission to our Union. The causes of the war with Mexico, lay far behind all this. The simple historic fact is, that from the establishment of a free constitution in Mexico in 1824, she had been a bad neighbor; treating us on all occasions with the grossest injustice, and inflicting upon us injuries never to have been borne, had we not felt for her republican sympathies in her struggles for liberty. Distracted and impoverished by heartless usurpers, and a degraded population, who were powerless in the hands of an ignorant priesthood, who in their turn were subject to every successful usurper,—piratical depredations were for many years made upon our commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, and large sums extorted from our citizens doing business in that country. This had been going on till it could be tolerated no longer; and in 1831 a treaty was entered into, by which redress was promised for the past, and exemption from similar outrages in the future. Not a single pledge thus made was ever redeemed. But through a desire to see order, liberty, and law permanently established in Mexico, nothing further was done by us till 1840, when Mexico was again called to an account. Her depredations and exactions had then reached the sum of six million dollars, definitely ascertained. But again another period was allowed to elapse without redress; and yet during this whole time not one unfriendly act of our government could be fairly alleged against Mexico; while on any or all grounds, we should have been fully justified in enforcing our claims. Nor would the popular sentiment of this country have any longer allowed its postponement. But with the single exception of General Herrera, none of the prominent men of Mexico counselled just or peaceful measures towards us. A convenient pretext had been offered by the annexation of Texas, to get rid of fulfilling treaty obligations, and giving us the indemnity

which had been pledged. No sooner was General Herrera's desire for peace made known, than he was ejected from office, and General Paredes, a bitter advocate of war, succeeded him, when the most extensive preparations which could be made were set on foot to invade the State of Texas, and carry on a merciless campaign against her people. When positive information to this effect reached the government at Washington, measures of defence were at once adopted. General Zachary Taylor, then in command of our troops in the South-west, was ordered to march to the neighborhood of the Rio Grande, and hold his 'Army of Occupation' in readiness for repelling invasion. At the same time Commodore Connor was despatched to the Gulf with an efficient squadron to protect our commerce, and co-operate, if necessary, with General Taylor, near the Rio Grande. These efficient measures somewhat retarded Mexican movements, and it was hoped by the friends of peace, on both sides, that hostilities would be prevented. But in the spring of 1846 General Ampudia was despatched by Paredes to Matamoras, with orders to drive the Americans beyond the Nueces. Reaching the neighborhood on the 11th of April, he sent the following day a letter to General Taylor demanding his withdrawal within twenty-four hours. The demand was instantly and peremptorily refused, and Taylor went on vigorously strengthening his camp. Although Ampudia had much the larger force, he hesitated; and Arista, who had command of the northern division of the Mexican army, was ordered to march at once with all his force, and taking supreme command of the two armies, engaged General Taylor, whose little force of fifteen hundred seemed likely to fall an instant prey to a vastly superior body. Strong parties of Mexicans had already got between Taylor and his supplies at Point Isabel—a detachment of Arista had pushed across the Rio Grande, and landing on Texan soil, had surprised, and killed or captured a small reconnoitring force under Captain Thornton. This was the first act of hostility—the invasion of American territory had been made—the first blood had been shed, and war existed by the act of Mexico between the two republics. From that moment Mexico lay at our mercy.

We were fortunate at that time in having so brave, discreet, and firm a general at that post. It was utterly out of the power of General Taylor to do a rash, indiscreet, or ill-advised act. He assumed no imposing affectations of martial valor or splendor. Supreme common-sense regulated all his movements; he had no conception of surrender or defeat; and although he found he was placed in very close quarters, where chivalry became as necessary as plain hard fighting, yet he extricated himself so brilliantly,—struggling as he was against such dreadful odds,—that within the next ten days he was to win a reputation which captivated the heart of America, and opened his way to the Presidency against all comers. His first move was to march with the main body of his forces to the relief of Point Isabel.

Captain Walker, the celebrated Texas ranger, had escaped with half a dozen of his men, and reached Taylor's camp, bringing news that a large

Mexican force had collected in his rear. One day's march brought Taylor to Point Isabel ; but his sudden movement had filled Matamoras with joy, since it was regarded as a cowardly retreat. Leaving Major Brown in charge of the fortification named in his honor, but giving orders that heavy signal guns should be fired from the fort if the little garrison could hold out no longer, Taylor pressed on to the Rio Grande. Here, enforced by Texan volunteers, and marines from the American fleet, he came up on the 8th of May, with a complete Mexican army of full six thousand men under Arista, drawn up on a portion of a prairie flanked by small sheets of water, and dotted by clusters of trees, which gave to the field the name of Palo Alto. After halting half an hour for his army to refresh themselves, and having surveyed the field, desperate as the chances would have appeared to most commanders, Taylor brought on the battle, which lasted till twilight, when Arista's superior force broke from the centre to both wings, and took to flight. It had been a day of torrid heat ; but it was a splendidly fought battle. Nothing but superior skill and indomitable valor turned the tide against such fearful numbers. There, for the first time in the history of warfare, had an example been given by the brave Major Ringgold, of the power of flying artillery. He had been mortally wounded : but before he was laid out on the field for his wounds to be dressed, he knew that the fight had been won ; and he lived four days afterwards to hear of the second great victory on the field of Resaca de la Palma, where twenty hours after the engagement of Palo Alto, a shorter but bloodier conflict witnessed the utter defeat of the Mexican forces. The disparity in the number of troops killed and wounded, on the two sides, was all but incredible. The Americans lost in death and disabled, fifty-three the first day ; the Mexicans six hundred. On the second, our loss was one hundred and ten ; that of the Mexicans at least one thousand. General Le Vega, eight cannon, three standards, a heavy quantity of military stores, with a large number of prisoners were captured. The Mexican army was broken up. Its commander-in-chief saved himself, only by solitary flight across the Rio Grande. Fort Brown was relieved, and from all quarters the Mexicans were trembling in terror at ' the invincible Americans.'

War Proclaimed by Congress.—On the 11th of May, the news of the invasion of the Mexicans, and the shedding of the blood of American soldiers on their own soil, reached Washington. The last hope of peace had died out, even with its most earnest advocates ; and although the news of the victories of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, had not been received, yet Congress declared, ' by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States ; and the President is authorized to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and ten millions of dollars are appropriated towards carrying on the contest.'

Scott plans the Campaign.—Within forty-eight hours, General Scott and

the Secretary of War had settled on one of the most extensive campaigns in the territorial sweep of its operations ever undertaken. A fleet was to be despatched at once around Cape Horn to the Pacific coast of Mexico—a force was to be gathered at Fort Leavenworth, to be known as the 'Army of the West,' to march on New Mexico, and co-operate with the fleet on the Pacific. The 'Army of the Centre' was to march to the heart of Texas and invade Mexico on the north. There was no longer any talk against the war; events had proved too mighty for party or politics. When the news of General Taylor's victory reached the United States, such scenes of exultation and joy as had not been witnessed since the battle of New Orleans, flashed over the nation. From the capital of every State to its farthest border, and from its farthest border to every State capital, bonfires, illuminations and cannon responded to each other's echoes. Long before any fresh orders could be received from Washington, Taylor had crossed the Rio Grande, and on the 18th of May had taken possession of Matamoras. He had sent on General Worth to Monterey, and following him with six thousand men, on the 19th of September the whole army encamped within three miles of the city, which was defended by General Ampudia, with a force of nearly ten thousand men. That old and strangely fortified town, standing at the foot of the Sierra Madre, could be carried only by storm or siege. On the 21st September, the siege began, and for four days it was a struggle made up of desperate fighting on both sides, with frightful carnage, ending in the surrender of the town and garrison on the fourth day.

The Volunteers.—The veteran General Wool¹ was commissioned to mus-

¹ WOOL, JOHN ELLIS, an American general, born in Newburg, N. Y., in 1789. He received but a scanty education, and before he had reached the age of manhood became proprietor of a book-store in Troy. His property being consumed by fire, he turned his attention to the law, but his studies were interrupted by the war with Great Britain in 1812, when, through the friendship of Governor De Witt Clinton, he obtained a commission as captain in the 13th infantry. His first active service was at the storming of Queenstown heights, Oct. 13, where he was shot through both thighs, and was promoted to be major in the 29th infantry. He was in the battles of Plattsburg, September 6-11, 1814, and for his gallantry in the action at Beekmantown, was brevetted lieutenant-colonel. On the reduction of the army at the end of the war he was retained in the 6th infantry; in 1816 was appointed inspector-general of the northern division; in 1818 lieutenant-colonel; in 1821 inspector-general of the whole army; and in 1826, brevet brigadier-general for 10 years' faithful service. In 1832 the government sent him to Europe to examine the military systems of some of the principal nations. He was received with marked civility in France, especially by the king and minister of war, Marshal Soult, and thence went to Belgium, where he was the guest of the king, and was present at the siege of Antwerp. For a year or two after his return he was employed in inspecting all the coast defences from Maine to the delta of the Mississippi; in 1836 he was charged with removing the Cherokee Indians to Arkansas; and in 1838, during the Canadian difficulties, he made a reconnaissance through the wilds of northern Maine, with a view to the defence of the frontier. He obtained the full rank of brigadier-general, June 25, 1841. At the commencement of the Mexican war he was ordered to the West to organize the volunteers (May 30, 1846) and in less than 6 weeks had dispatched to the seat of war 12,000 troops fully armed and equipped. He then collected

3,000 troops at San Antonio de Bexar under his personal command, crossed the Rio Grande October 8, and reached Saltillo after a march of 900 miles, having lost hardly a man, and preserving such admirable discipline in his army as to gain the general good-will of the inhabitants. He selected the ground on which was fought the battle of Buena Vista (February 23, 1847), made the preliminary dispositions, and commanded in the early part of the action until the arrival of General Taylor, who, in his official report of the victory, attributes a large share of the success to Gen. Wool's 'vigilance and arduous services before the action, and his gallantry and activity on the field.' For his conduct on this occasion Gen. Wool was brevetted a major-general in 1848. He remained in command at Saltillo, until Nov. 25, 1847, when, on the return of Gen. Taylor to the United States, he succeeded to the command of the army of occupation, and retained it until the conclusion of the war, his head-quarters being at Monterey. In this capacity the civil as well as the military authorities throughout the States of New Leon, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas devolved upon him. He cleared the country of robbers and guerillas, and in Monterey, according to an eye-witness, enforced more perfect order than was to be found in any city of the United States. After his return home in July, 1848, he commanded the eastern military division, with his head-quarters at Troy, until the reorganization of the commands in October, 1853, when he was placed at the head of the Department of the East, with his head-quarters at Baltimore. In January, 1854, he received the thanks of Congress and the presentation of a sword for his services in Mexico. In the same month he was transferred to the department of the Pacific, with instructions from the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, to 'use all proper means to detect the fitting out of armed expeditions against countries with which the United State are at peace,' and to co-operate with the civil au-

ter the volunteers, and despatch them to their posts of service. General Taylor had nine thousand men sent to him on the Rio Grar de. Wool marched up that river with the remaining three thousand, reaching Monclova, seventy miles north-west of Monterey; and advancing into the fertile regions of Coahuila, he found abundant supplies for his own corps and the main body of Taylor's forces. Meantime, news having arrived that Santa Anna was gathering a large force at San Luis Potosi, Taylor marched to reinforce General Worth,¹ who had been joined by Wool's division at Saltillo, when he pressed on and took possession of Victoria, on the 29th of December.

General Scott at Vera Cruz, January, 1847.—The plan of the campaign, whose conduct, after General Scott entered the field, devolved upon him as commander-in-chief, now disturbed Taylor's movements; and his winter campaign, which promised to be so brilliant, was broken up by a positive order to despatch a large portion of his best troops to Vera Cruz, leaving him to act, as he was ordered to do peremptorily, only on the defensive. It was a mortifying and disheartening order, and was issued by General Scott more in compliance with his imperative determination to make everything bend to the

authorities 'in maintaining the neutrality laws.' Executing these orders literally, Gen. Wool incurred the displeasure of the secretary, who prevented his further compliance with his instructions by removing the headquarters of the department from San Francisco to the inland town of Benicia. The correspondence between the General and Secretary Davis was published by order of Congress in 1858. In 1856 Gen. Wool put an end to the Indian disturbances in Washington and Oregon territories, in a campaign of three months. At the close of President Pierce's administration he was recalled to the department of the East, with his headquarters at Troy. When civil war was imminent toward the close of 1860, he hastened to offer his services to the government, and after the attack upon Fort Sumter, went to New York to organize, equip, and send on to Washington the first regiments of volunteers. He took the responsibility of re-enforcing Col. Dimick at Fortress Monroe, thus saving that important post from danger of seizure by the Confederates. About May 1, he was ordered to return to Troy. In August he was sent to Fortress Monroe as commander of the department of Virginia, and from that post led an expedition which occupied Norfolk, May 10, 1862. On June 2 he was transferred to the command of the middle department, with his headquarters at Baltimore. He was promoted to be full major-general in the regular army, May 16, 1862.—*New American Cyclopædia*, pp. 548, 549.

¹ WORTH, WILLIAM JENKINS, an American general, born in Hudson, Columbia Co., N. Y., March 1, 1794, died in San Antonio, Texas, May 7, 1849. He received an ordinary education, and became a trader's clerk at Hudson, but when the war of 1812 broke out, enlisted as a private soldier. He was appointed a 2d lieutenant in the 23d infantry, March 19, 1813, he was aide-de-camp to Gen. Scott in March, 1814. He was brevetted as a captain for gallant conduct at the battle of Chippewa, July 5, 1814, and on July 25, won the brevet rank of major in the same manner at Lundy's Lane, where he was severely wounded. On the reorganization of the army in 1815, he was made a captain in the 2d infantry, and from March, 1820, to December, 1828, he was instructor in infantry tactics and commander of cadets at West Point. On May 30, 1832, he was appointed a major of ordnance, and on July 7, he became colonel of the 8th infantry. In 1840 he was sent to serve in the war against the Florida Indians, and in 1841, on the retirement of Gen. Armistead, took the chief command. He was successful in repeated and

severe conflicts with the savages, whereby the war was brought to a close, and in August, 1842, was brevetted a brigadier-general for gallantry and distinguished services. On the approach of the war with Mexico he joined Gen. Taylor at Corpus Christi, and remained with him for some time, when he went to Washington, intending to resign, on account of a misunderstanding with Taylor. The outbreak of actual war induced him to change his determination. He returned to the army, and in the battle of Monterey, September 23, 1846, bore a very important part. He commanded that division of the army which had been ordered to carry the heights on the Saltillo road, while Gen. Taylor, with the other division, advanced along the Seralvo road. As it was impossible to communicate with the commander-in-chief, Worth was obliged to act independently throughout the battle. He carried the forts commanding his line of approach, stormed the bishop's palace, and had fought his way through the streets nearly to the great plaza when the town capitulated to Taylor, approaching from the other side. For these achievements Worth was brevetted a major-general, and received from Congress a sword 'in testimony of the high sense entertained by Congress of his gallantry and good conduct in storming Monterey.' Having been withdrawn from the army of Gen. Taylor prior to the battle of Buena Vista, he commanded a division in that of Gen. Scott, at the capture of Vera Cruz. He was also distinguished at Cerro Gordo, and at the capture of Puebla, and of the bridgehead at Churubusco, and at Molino del Rey, September 8, 1846, he led the assault upon the almost impregnable defences of the Mexicans, which he carried with the loss of nearly one-fourth of his command. He also distinguished himself in storming the San Cosme gate of Mexico on September 13, and received there the message of the municipal authorities, proposing to surrender the city. After the conclusion of the war Gen. Worth was placed in command of the department of the South-West, which he held till his death. Besides the sword presented to him by Congress, he received others from the States of New York (1838) and Louisiana (1848), and from his native county, and in 1842, a vote of thanks from the Legislature of Florida, for having closed the Seminole War. A monument has been erected to his memory by the city of New York, at the junction of Broadway and Fifth avenue, fronting Madison square, beneath which his remains are interred.—*New American Cyclopædia*, pp. 561, 562.

campaign he had settled upon, than with any full knowledge of the importance of Taylor's movements, or the hazardous position in which he would be left. But Taylor was too true a soldier to disobey any order from his superior. He and Wool were left with hardly five thousand men,—of whom only five hundred were regulars,—in front of Santa Anna's army of twenty thousand. After a council of war, Taylor and Wool agreed that to act on the defensive was more likely to end in destruction, than to choose the field and determine the moment of engaging so formidable an enemy. Some ten miles from Saltillo, in a narrow mountain defile, on a plantation called Buena Vista, near Angostura, Taylor drew up his little army and prepared for battle. The next day was, of all others, perhaps, the one which Heaven could have chosen to give inspiration to the American army. It was the 22d of February, and the name of Washington was that morning on the lips of every American soldier.

The Battle of Buena Vista.—Confident of victory, the Mexican General halted within two miles of Taylor's army, and sent the following despatch to him under a flag of truce :

‘CAMP AT EUTACADA, *February 22, 1847.*

‘GOD AND LIBERTY ! You are surrounded by twenty thousand men, and cannot, in any human probability, avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces with your troops ; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from such a catastrophe, and for that purpose give you this notice, in order that you may surrender at discretion, under the assurance that you will be treated with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character ; to which end you will be granted an hour's time to make up your mind, to commence from the moment that my flag of truce arrives in your camp. With this view, I assure of my particular consideration.

‘ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA.

‘*To General Z. Taylor, Commanding the Forces of the U. S.*’

The only reply was, ‘General Taylor never surrenders.’ Both armies prepared for battle. Some skirmishing took place in the afternoon—the battle-cry of our troops being, ‘The memory of Washington.’

As the dawn began to streak the east the next morning, this memorable and sanguinary contest opened along the whole line. At successive points, one after another, charges of overwhelming numbers were made on the thin ranks of Taylor's army ; but there was no sign of wavering, while well-managed field-pieces, and unerring rifles, and close sabre-work thinned the Mexican ranks. The Mexican bugles sounded a temporary retreat. Ranks were closed up, and by a masterly disposition of the strongest corps in his army, Santa Anna—after having resorted to the despicable trick of displaying a white flag, in token either of an armistice or a surrender—led his solid column in a desperate assault upon the Americans, commanded by General Taylor in person. As this all but irresistible charge was being made, Sherman, Washington and Bragg played their artillery skilfully upon the advancing

columns. At the right moment Taylor gave the order to charge. His ranks had stood firm as a line of rocky sea-cliff, leaning back with strained muscles, fixed eyes, and waiting ears, for the order of assault to be made. The battle is described in few words. The Americans swept the field, and rolled the Mexican army back in one retreating, broken wave of blood and slaughter. Over the dying and the dead the victors swept their triumphant way. The army of Santa Anna was put to flight, and the Stars and Stripes floated over all the northern provinces of Mexico.¹

¹ Probably the day will come—no matter how far off in the dim future—when the Battle of BUENA VISTA will be remembered only in the eternal lyric of WHITTIER: so much farther does the lyre of the true poet echo through the aisles of time than the notes of the conqueror's clarion.

¹ A LETTER-WRITER from Mexico states that at the terrible battle of BUENA VISTA, Mexican women were seen hovering near the field of death, for the purpose of giving aid and succor to the wounded. One poor woman was found surrounded by the maimed and suffering of both armies, ministering to the wants of AMERICANS as well as MEXICANS, with impartial tenderness.

I find these lines at the head of the following touching lyric of WHITTIER.

THE ANGELS OF BUENA VISTA.

SPEAK and tell us, our Ximena, looking northward far away,
O'er the camp of the invaders, o'er the Mexican array,
Who is losing? who is winning? are they far or come they near?
Look abroad, and tell us, sister, whither rolls the storm we hear.

"Down the hills of Angostura still the storm of battle rolls;
Blood is flowing, men are dying; God have mercy on their souls!"
Who is losing? who is winning?—"Over hill and over plain,
I see but smoke of cannon clouding through the mountain rain."

Holy Mother! keep our brothers! Look, Ximena, look once more.
"Still I see the fearful whirlwind rolling darkly as before,
Hearing on, in strange confusion, friend and foeman, foot and horse,
Like some wild and troubled torrent sweeping down its mountain course."

Look forth once more, Ximena! "Ah! the smoke has rolled away;
And I see the Northern rifles gleaming down the ranks of gray.
Hark! that sudden blast of bugles! there the troop of Minion wheels;
There the Northern horses thunder, with the cannon at their heels.

"Jesu, pity! how it thickens! now retreat and now advance!
Right against the blazing cannon shivers Puebla's charging lance!
Down they go, the brave young riders; horse and foot together fall;
Like a ploughshare in the fallow, through them ploughs the Northern ball."

Nearer came the storm and nearer, rolling fast and frightful on:
Speak, Ximena, speak and tell us, who has lost, and who has won?
"Alas! alas! I know not; friend and foe together fall,
O'er the dying rush the living: pray, my sisters, for them all!"

"Lo! the wind the smoke is lifting: Blessed Mother, save my brain!
I can see the wounded crawling slowly out from heaps of slain.
Now they stagger, blind and bleeding; now they fall, and strive to rise;
Hasten, sisters, haste and save them, lest they die before our eyes!"

"O my heart's love! O my dear one! lay thy poor head on my knee:
Dost thou know the lips that kiss thee? Canst thou hear me? canst thou see?
O my husband, brave and gentle! O my Bernal, look once more
On the blessed cross before thee! Mercy! mercy! all is o'er!"

Dry thy tears, my poor Ximena; lay thy dear one down to rest:
Let his hands be meekly folded, lay the cross upon his breast:
Let his dirge be sung hereafter, and his funeral masses said:
To-day, thou poor bereaved one, the living ask thy aid.

Close beside her, faintly moaning, fair and young, a soldier lay,
Torn with shot and pierced with lances, bleeding slow his life away:
But, as tenderly before him, the lorn Ximena knelt,
She saw the Northern eagle shining on his pistol-belt.

With a stifled cry of horror straight she turned away her head,
With a sad and bitter feeling looked she back upon her head:
But she heard the youth's low moaning, and his struggling breath of pain,
And she raised the cooking water to his parching lips again.

Whispered low the dying soldier, pressed her hand and faintly smiled:
Was that pitying face his mother's? did she watch beside her child?
All his stranger words with meaning her woman's heart supplied:
With her kiss upon his forehead, "Mother!" murmured he, and died!

"A bitter curse upon them, poor boy, who led thee forth,
From some gentle, sad-eyed mother, weeping, lonely, in the North!"
Spake the mournful Mexic woman, as she laid him with her dead,
And turned to soothe the living, and bind the wounds which bled.

The Army of the West.—Its command was given to General Kearney, and he was ordered to conquer New Mexico and California. Leaving Fort Leavenworth in June, he marched nine hundred miles over the Great Plains, and among the mountain ranges, till he reached Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, on the 18th August. He took peaceable possession, and started for California; but on his way he was met by an express from Commodore Stockton and Lieutenant Colonel Fremont, with the news that California had already been conquered. In a sketch of Fremont, which soon follows, I have given some account of the wonderful achievements which this chivalrous soldier and scientific explorer accomplished during that terrible period.

General Scott's Invasion of Mexico.—In the fall of 1846, our government had seen that all hope of resisting our army on the part of Mexico would be futile, and that humanity required that overtures for peace should be made. They were made; but they were scornfully rejected. It was then the universal opinion, not only of the Administration at Washington, but of the great body of the American people, that nothing remained but to move the army forward and dictate terms of peace at the capital.

On the 9th March, 1847, General Scott landed an army of thirteen thousand men from the powerful fleet of Commodore Connor, in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, and five days later invested the city. Being prepared for the attack, on the 18th March he summoned the town and fortress for a final surrender. A definite refusal being returned, signals were set for opening a general cannonade and bombardment from the batteries he had planted on the land and from the fleet in front of the fortress. The plan had been devised in the strictest compliance with the conditions of success, and it was carried out with such faultless art and supreme military genius, that a failure was an utter impossibility. The siege lasted eight days, when the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, with its enormous armament of five hundred pieces of artillery and five thousand prisoners were surrendered to the Americans. It had been a bloody siege for the Mexicans, for it cost them at least one thousand killed, and probably a much larger number wounded.

His Conquering March.—On the 8th of April, ten days after the surrender of Vera Cruz, the commander-in-chief sent Twiggs forward into the interior by way of Jalapa with an advance column, following close on his

Look forth once more, Ximena ! "Like a cloud before the wind	But the noble Mexic women still their holy task pursued,
Rolls the battle down the mountains, leaving blood and death behind :	Through that long, dark night of sorrow, worn and faint and lacking food.
Ah ! they plead in vain for mercy ; in the dust the wounded strive ;	Over weak and suffering brothers, with a tender care they hung,
Hide your faces, holy angels ! oh thou Christ of God, forgive ! "	And the dying foeman blessed them in a strange and Northern tongue.
Sink, O Night, among thy mountains ; let the cool, gray shadows fall :	Not wholly lost, O Father ! is this evil world of ours :
Dying brothers, fighting demons, drop thy curtain over all !	Upward, through its blood and ashes, spring afresh the Eden flowers ;
Through the thickening winter twilight, wide apart the battle rolled,	From its smoking hell of battle, Love and Pity send their prayer,
In its sheath the sabre rested, and the cannon's lips grew cold.	And still the white-winged angels hover dimly in our air !

rear with the main body of his army. Santa Anna, who had made his escape from the north after his terrible defeat at Buena Vista, had collected an army of twelve thousand at Cerro Gordo, a rugged mountain pass at the base of the eastern chain of the Cordilleras. Here he was protected by strong natural defences, munitioned by heavy artillery. After a careful survey of his position, General Scott gave him battle on the 18th April. It was a fierce fight, ending in the utter rout of Santa Anna, who left upwards of a thousand men wounded or dead, and three thousand prisoners of war. From this point the road was open to the capital, although Jalapa and the old walled city of Puebla were supposed to offer serious obstructions. When our victorious army entered Puebla on the 15th May, 1847, they could afford to take some rest after a series of such rapid and brilliant victories. Within eight weeks, with a little body of ten thousand, they had taken several of the strongest fortresses in America, ten thousand prisoners, several hundred pieces of artillery, ten thousand stands of arms, and thirty thousand shells and cannon, and were safely encamped in the heart of the enemy's country, with the only prestige of invincibility or humanity ever gained by an army of invasion which had trod the soil of Mexico from the days of Cortez.

Scott remained at Puebla until August, for he was unwilling to advance as a conqueror, and the government at Washington was unwilling to have him, until the last effort to negotiate a peace with Mexico had proved unavailing. The egotism which pervaded every despatch, and the boasted patriotism, power and valor displayed by the Mexican commanders, blotted out the last hope of peaceful negotiations, and it became necessary to terminate the war by conquest.

The March to the Capital.—It presented alternate scenes of holiday journeyings through a well-watered region, loaded with tropical verdure up to the base of the Cordilleras, with scenes of conflict which closed the eyes of pity over fields of carnage.

At last the summit of those mountain ranges had been scaled, and from their sublime heights, where Cortez, three hundred years before, had looked down upon that ravishing scene of the great valley of Mexico which had been the seat of the Aztec empire, the Americans opened their eyes for the first time.¹

General Scott had already settled his reputation as one of the first soldiers of his age, and he seemed inspired only by the single sentiment of showing to the world how a nation should act, which claimed to occupy a front place in the advancing columns of civilization. He showed an example of the manner of conducting a great and successful war, munitioned by all the means

¹ According to the faint glimmerings of ancient Mexican history which have come down to us, the Aztecs, who occupied that country when it first became known to Europeans, came from the north, and were more refined than any other tribes, which from time to time had held possession of the country. They built a city within the borders of Lake Texcoco, and named it Mexico, in honor of *Mexitli*, their god of war.

Where the present great cathedral stands, they had erected an immense temple, dedicated to the sun, and there offered human sacrifices. It is related, that at its consecration, almost sixty thousand human beings were sacrificed. The temple was built about the year 1480, by the predecessor of Montezuma, the emperor found by Cortez.—*Lossing's History of the United States*, p. 493.

of conquest, but tempered by the generous spirit of a large humanity. The advance guard of the army was sent forward under General Twiggs, and on the 11th August they encamped at St. Augustine, on the Acapulco road, about three miles south of the city of Mexico. Between him stood the fortress of St. Antonio, while on his right the embattled walls of Churubusco, bristling with cannon, guarded the only pass, and it was through a winding causeway in the neighborhood, General Valencia held the strong camp of Contreras, with six thousand Mexican soldiers, while in the rear Santa Anna was posted with another army of twelve thousand men. With such a disposition of the troops, and holding such a strongly fortified position, the capture of the capital would seem to have depended more upon the military genius of the invader, than even upon the valor of its troops.

Battle of Contreras, August 20th, 1847.—At sunrise General Persifer F. Smith, of Louisiana, attacked the enemy's camp, while other detachments of our army, chiefly under General Shields, held at bay Santa Anna's powerful reserves. A sharp but desperate battle gave one more victory to the Americans. Eighty officers and three thousand soldiers became prisoners after the slaughter, handing over with the surrender thirty-three pieces of artillery.

Battle of Churubusco.—The last hope of the capital hung upon General Santa Anna and his well-appointed army of twelve thousand men. But he lay at the mercy of a greater general. The broad field which stretched between the Americans and the Mexican capital, was as well known to General Scott as the geography of any of the scenes of his hitherto successful conflicts. He determined the movements of every corps, division, and detachment of his army with absolute precision and certainty. Churubusco was doomed to fall in that dreadful engagement. The Mexican loss in killed and wounded was more than five thousand, besides three thousand prisoners taken in one day.

At this hour of triumph, when General Scott could have entered the capital without striking a further blow, he halted at Tacubaya, August 21, only three miles from the city, expecting some proposal of armistice or surrender. From his headquarters at the palace of the Archbishop, he waited the return of Mr. Trist, our commissioner, to treat for peace. Once more the treachery of that infamous traitor to his country and humanity—Santa Anna,—showed himself unworthy to be trusted; for during these negotiations he had only been using the time for strengthening the defences of the city under such shallow disguise, and Scott had been trifled with long enough. On the 7th September, he prepared to carry the city by storm. Santa Anna had concentrated his forces, now numbering fourteen thousand, near the lofty and strongly fortified hill of Chapultepec, which had been chosen as the last defence on the outskirts of the city. Two tragedies were now to be enacted in quick succession. Four thousand Americans were all that could be spared for the battle on the Plain; and although the charge of this small force was at first

repelled with terrible loss, yet after a momentary retreat, they were again quickly massed into compact columns, and returning to the attack within the next sixty minutes, they routed the whole Mexican host, although it cost the victors nearly one quarter of their number. But the Mexicans had left a thousand dead men on the field. The whole American army saw that the next inevitable step was to carry the Castle of Chapultepec, whatever the sacrifice might cost.

Storming Chapultepec.—On the morning of September 12th, a heavy bombardment was opened by Scott's artillery, which shattered the walls of the castle and carried death to its garrison. On the following day, the order was given along the American lines to close up and carry the castle by storm. It was a desperate struggle. If valor could have saved the fortunes of the day, that splendid army of Santa Anna would have saved it; but to withstand such a charge by such an army, so completely equipped, so superbly managed everywhere, from divisions to brigades, and from brigades to regiments, and from regiments to companies, and from companies to platoons, and from the last platoon to the last soldier,—for the rank and file were transported by the spirit of conquest—to resist such a charge, was a simple impossibility. Perhaps in the history of warfare it would be difficult to find a parallel. So far as the whole infernal system of human destruction had then been carried, few instances could be found to match this, in the horrible enginery with which a great commander, surrounded by every element of power in subordinates and munitions, went into battle.

The Mexican War Ended.—The American flag floated over the shattered castle. General Quitman pursued the flying enemy up to the gates of Mexico. Under the cover of darkness, that night Santa Anna, with his army and political adherents, fled from the capital; and at daylight next morning—September 14th—a delegation from the authorities of the city appeared at General Scott's camp to beg that the town might be spared. 'Your city is safe,' said General Scott, 'if you make no opposition to our occupation.' Worth and Quitman were ordered to enter the capital and plant the American flag on the National Palace. It was done; and order was at once restored. Christian civilization, with its emblems of peace and power, had, for the first time, been established in the history of that rich and gorgeous metropolis.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.—Some futile attempts were afterwards made by Santa Anna to prevent the complete triumph of the Americans. But before the 1st November he had become a fugitive from his country. Stripped of all authority and making the best of his way to the Gulf of Mexico, he became an exile from the land of his birth.¹

¹ Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna is a native of Mexico, and first came into public life in 1821, during the excitements of revolution. He had been one of the chief revolutionists in that unhappy country. He was chosen President of the Republic in 1833. After an

exciting career as a commanding general, he was again elected president in 1841, but was hurled from power in 1845. After the capture of the city of Mexico by the Americans under General Scott, he retired to the West Indies, and finally to Carthagena, where he resided

The President of the Mexican Congress now assumed provisional authority, and on the 2d February, 1848, that body concluded a treaty of peace with the United States. It was ratified at Washington, and on the 4th of the following July, it was officially proclaimed by President Polk. By its terms the evacuation of the American army within three months was stipulated. The territory which had been acquired by conquest was exempted from the legitimate claims we had to its permanent possession, and as the government of Mexico was utterly impoverished, fifteen millions of dollars were granted to her,—three millions in hand, and twelve millions in four annual instalments. The debts due to American citizens, amounting to three millions and a half, were assumed by the United States; in consideration of all which, the title to New Mexico and California was transferred. This was an instance of such moderation as had seldom been displayed after any such a conquest. It filled the world with amazement. But the result proved not only the magnanimity which was shown to a subjugated nation, but the wisdom and foresight which prevailed in our counsels.

Thus we find ourselves at the close of the military and political record, which properly belongs to our THIRD PERIOD. But before we enter upon the next, it is necessary to indicate some of the signs of progress we had made in civilization—in the arts of peace—in the establishment of institutions of learning and humanity—in those inventions and improvements which startled mankind, and opened new chapters in the history of the race. We must also sketch, if it be done only in rude outlines, some of the characters which embellished the period we are now illustrating.

Several figures stand out in broad relief. They indicate the transition we were making from our Atlantic or eastern, to our Pacific or continental life.

General Zachary Taylor.—*Eleventh President of the United States. Born in Orange County, Virginia, A. D. 1784. Died in Washington, August 9th, 1849.*—It is no disparagement to the other States of the Union to say that Virginia has been the mother of the Gracchi of the Republic. The chivalry of her founders seems to have passed into the soil, and electrified her sons. From her generous bosom they have drank heroism and love of country. She has moulded the South, as New England has moulded the North and the West—whilst the mingling of the descendants of the Cavaliers and the Pilgrims has shaped the character of the men who are now laying the foundations of our great empire on the Pacific.

The youth of a nation is its heroic age. With us, that period has hardly passed. The State which had produced Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Marshall,

until 1853, when he returned to Mexico, and was elected president again. In the summer of 1854, he was accused of a design to assume imperial power, and violent insurrections were the consequence. These resulted in his being again deprived of power, and he has never been able to regain it. Much of the time since he was driven from public life, he has lived in exile in Cuba,

and in 1866 he was a resident of the United States. He went to Mexico during the earlier period of 1867, when he was arrested and thrown into prison. Few men have experienced greater vicissitudes than Santa Anna.—*Lossing's History of the United States*, p 514.

Lee, Madison, Monroe, and, above all, the greatest and the best of men, whose name embodies so much of the glory of the nation and the hope of mankind, was a fit place to give existence and inspiration to another citizen who was to wear the mantle of Washington.

His ancestors left England two centuries ago, and settled in Virginia. Richard Taylor, his father, was a Colonel in the Continental Army, and fought by the side of Washington in the battle of Trenton. Daniel Boone—the Romulus of the West—had explored the wilds of Kentucky, and Col. Taylor soon afterwards traversed ‘the Dark and Bloody Ground,’ in search of a new home. He penetrated on foot and without a companion, as far as New Orleans, and returned to Virginia by sea. In 1790, he emigrated with his family to Kentucky, taking with him a boy of six years, who was to be one of the chief standard bearers, and a president of the Republic. The family home was in the midst of hostile tribes, where men never slept without looking at the priming of their rifles. He was familiar from his infancy with the gleam of the tomahawk and the yell of the savage. An earnest military passion lurking in his character, was nurtured by the romance of frontier life, and inflamed by household legends of the Revolution. His education was plain and substantial. It fitted him for the business of life. Thoughtfulness, judgment, shrewdness and stability, with a magnanimous heart, made up his character.

The firing of a single shot from the Leopard into the frigate Chesapeake, stirred the heart of the American people, and made a second war with the parent country inevitable. Young Taylor heard it, and he applied to Jefferson for a commission, and entered the army in 1807, as 1st Lieutenant in the 7th regiment of infantry. The young Republic was unprepared for war. Along an unprotected frontier, which stretched from the forests of Maine up the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi, a cloud of ten thousand confederated savages, armed with British rifles, had gathered under their great chief Tecumseh, to burn our dwellings and slaughter our people. The first brilliant scene in the military life of Taylor opened at Fort Harrison, a small and weak stockade on the Wabash, in the heart of the Indian country. With fifty soldiers, Lieutenant Taylor was commissioned to defend the place. Repulsed in every attack, and foiled in every stratagem, the savages fired the fort at midnight. The screams of women and children, the blood-curdling howl of three hundred red men, and the desolating fire flashing against a thick forest and a black sky, developed the cool intrepidity of his character. He extinguished the flames, and held the fort till the shout of Col. Russell's mounted rangers was heard through the forests coming to his relief. This gallant achievement took place the 4th of September, 1812. President Madison sent him a commission of Brevet-Major, dated the same day.

In 1832, he was raised to the rank of Colonel, and sent to Florida. The

25th December, 1837, with five hundred men, and under the clear range of seven hundred Indian rifles, he gained the victory of Okee-cho-hee. It was the Montenotte of his fame. His commission of Brigadier-General bore the date of this sanguinary battle. In May, 1838, he received the supreme command in Florida—a concentration of difficulty and peril—and soon brought the Seminole war to a close.

Hitherto his movements had influenced the fate of districts; now they began to affect the fortunes of States. From the time he was dispatched to the south-western frontier, in command of the Army of Observation, his conduct attracted the attention of the country, and his achievements became a portion of our history. We have only to inscribe *his Victories*: PALO ALTO, May 8, 1846; RESACA DE LA PALMA, May 9, 1846; MONTEREY, September 12, 1846; BUENA VISTA, February 22, 1847.

If so many and such brilliant victories had been achieved by a Greek general, he would have been crowned with laurel, and national games instituted in his honor. If he had borne the eagles of the Roman Legions so gallantly and so far, the Senate would have decreed him a triumph. But the Olympiads are forgotten, and Rome has no more victories to celebrate. Gratitude, however, is still a National sentiment, and the honors of our Olympiad are greater than those of Greece. There was but one way in which the nation could show its gratitude for the services of its patriot soldier. In the next national election, the people of the United States conferred upon him the supreme honors of the Republic, and by acclamation he was raised to the Presidency.

He was inaugurated the 4th of March, 1849. From the gate of the Capitol, he announced his intention of conducting his Administration on the principles of the early Presidents—that he would be the President of the Nation and not of a party. The pledge was received with exultation by every lover of the country. Over his acts, posterity will pronounce its judgment, and the impartial hand of History will say, that during the brief period he held the presidential office he acted the part of a patriotic and noble citizen.

General Winfield Scott.—Born in Virginia, June 13th, A. D. 1786. Died at West Point, May 29, 1866. Some men's names are associated with objects which are enduring. Scott's military history opens with his night-victory on the heights of Niagara, where the thunder of his cannon mingled with the everlasting roar of the cataract. His latest and most glorious achievements were performed at the other extremity of the continent, within sight of the blue cone of Popocatepetl. His early victories on the Northern frontier, won for him at the age of twenty-eight the rank of major-general; and they remind us of the youth of Washington, without the gloom or glory of Braddock's defeat. But in his march to the Capital of Mexico, there was a splendor of military achievement, and romantic adventure, which darkens the hitherto undimmed lustre of Cortez on the same victorious path.

Winfield Scott was descended from a Scotch ancestry. His grandfather—whose brother was slain on the field of Culloden—being involved in the rebellion of 1745, migrated to Virginia, bringing with him little but a liberal education. A respectable marriage, and eminence at the bar, however, soon restored his fortunes. He died at an early age, but the germ he planted flourished in that generous soil. His son William married Ann Mason, a gifted and noble woman, and their youngest child is the subject of this sketch. The death of his father, during the infancy of Winfield, devolved the education of the family on Mrs. Scott, who discharged her trust with Christian fidelity. She died in 1803, leaving Scott in his seventeenth year. After various and successful studies under the best masters, and at the College of William and Mary, he was admitted to the bar in 1806, and began the practice of law. He resided with Benjamin Watkins Leigh, and enjoyed at the time, and long afterwards, the eminent advantages of that great man's counsel, direction and friendship. It is singular that our two greatest generals of that period were brought into the army by the same event—the attack on the Chesapeake—and at the same time. In May, 1808, Scott received his commission as a Captain of Light Artillery, and in 1809 was transferred to the camp at New Orleans. A free expression of opinion on the conduct of his late general cost him a suspension from the army for a year, which he spent in the house of his friend, Mr. Leigh, engaged in the study of international law and the science of war. He came forth from this transient eclipse—which had been regarded as no dishonor—fully prepared for the approaching conflict. The second war of Independence was declared against England, June 18, 1812. The following month, Scott received a Lieutenant-Colonel's commission, and was ordered to Niagara, where the main force of the coming tempest would first expend itself. The disastrous surrender of Gen. Hull had covered the army with shame, and the nation with gloom. The appearance of Scott on the frontier, at this dark period, was like the presence of Godfrey at the head of the disheartened Crusaders. The battle of Queens-town Heights, although a defeat, gave to America the prestige of a victory. In 1813, an exchange of prisoners restored Scott to his country. He again hastened to the frontier, and May 27th, captured Fort George. The brilliant victory of Chippewa, wrested by superior skill and science on a fair field, and from the best troops of England, excited the admiration of the veteran generals of the old world. Scarcely twenty days after, was gained the decisive victory of Niagara, which paralyzed the strength of the British army. The victorious general was carried from the field to the surgeons. After several weeks, he could bear the motion of a litter, and, on the shoulders of the gentlemen of the country, he was carried to the Atlantic coast, amidst the acclamations of his grateful countrymen. Restored, at last, from his wounds, he was offered, on the peace, the office of Secretary of War, which he modestly declined. He was then sent to Europe for the restoration of his health, and to perfect himself in the science of war. In Paris he found letters of introduction from Kosciusko, to Carnot, and the principal marshals of

the French Empire. The battle of Waterloo had been fought, and Napoleon was on his way to his island prison. But he had taught Europe the art of war. Gladly did his scarred heroes grasp the hand of their young brother from the West.

He saw the chieftains of Europe, he visited their great battle-fields, surveyed their fortifications, studied their system, and came home to teach it to the American army. Scott has been our scientific teacher. He did for us what Hannibal did for Carthage, what Napoleon did for France. From the closet he sent forth books which became standard authorities in Europe, and in the field he educated our generals. In 1832 he took the direction of the Black Hawk war, and soon brought it to a close. His unshaken firmness, his humane magnanimity, and his personal sacrifices during the appalling ravages of the cholera in his camp, were above all praise. He visited the sick, buried the dead, and sustained the flagging spirit of his brave men.

His next scene of duty opened in South Carolina, where he was sent to guard, and if necessary, to vindicate the integrity of the Union. His firmness, discretion and patriotism, averted the calamity, and restored tranquility to the Republic. In 1835 he suppressed a rebellion of the Seminoles; and in 1838, subdued the Creeks. He was confided with the delicate and difficult mission of preserving the public faith and honor during the troubles with Canada. That frontier witnessed one of his civic triumphs; and in coming ages his fame will rest more on the wars he averted, than on the battles he won. He was despatched to the Southern border of the Republic to remove the Cherokees beyond the Mississippi. The torch of savage war had been lighted. Other generals would have extinguished it in blood—he did it by persuasive negotiations; and that entire nation voluntarily abandoned the lands and the graves of their fathers. Again he was hurried away to the North-Eastern Boundary, where his efficient military arrangements, diplomatic tact, and supreme discretion, saved the two Anglo-Saxon nations from a sanguinary conflict. In 1841 he became commander of the army, and remained at his post in Washington, till his instructions carried him beyond the limits of the Republic, to end the war with Mexico. He was compelled to organize and discipline the army he was to lead to victory. March 25, 1847, he took the Castle and City of Vera Cruz. He fought the battle of Cerro Gordo the 18th of the following month, and, in September, entered the Capital of Mexico.

To attempt to portray the life and character of such a man, in a few paragraphs, seems a mockery of history. But we must be content—for these sketches have to be compressed into the limits of monumental inscriptions. In the case of General Scott, it gives pain to be so brief; but it is at best—only a selfish feeling, for his history is interwoven with the annals of the nation; it must endure as long as the records of the Republic.

John Charles Fremont. — Born in South Carolina, January, A. D.



A REAL AMERICAN RIFLEMAN.'

(From "*An Impartial History of the War in America*," 1780.)



1813.—The feet of three men have pressed the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, whose names are associated forever with those vast ranges: Humboldt, the Nestor of scientific travellers; Audubon, the interpreter of Nature; and Fremont, the pathfinder of empire. Each did much to illustrate the Natural History of North America, and to develop its illimitable resources. The youngest of all promised to become as illustrious as either, for fortune linked his name with a scene in the history of the Republic, almost as startling to the world, as the first announcement of its existence. To his hands was committed the task of opening the golden gates to the Pacific.

His father was an emigrant gentleman from France, and his mother a lady of Virginia. Although his death left his son an orphan in his fourth year, he was thoroughly educated; and when at the age of seventeen, he was graduated at Charleston College, he contributed to the support of his mother and her younger children. From teaching mathematics, he turned his attention to civil engineering, in which he displayed so much talent, he was recommended by Mr. Poinsett, Secretary of War, to Nicollet as his assistant, in the survey of the basin of the Upper Mississippi. Two years he was with that learned man in the field of his labors, and he won his applause and friendship.

On his return to Washington, he continued his services to the geographer for two years longer, in drawing up from his field-book the great map which unfolded to science the vast tract they had explored. Thirsting for adventure, he now planned the first of those distant and perilous expeditions which have given lustre to his name. Having received a Lieutenant's commission in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, he proposed to the Secretary of War to penetrate the Rocky Mountains. His plan was approved, and in 1842, with a handful of men gathered on the Missouri frontier, he reached and explored the South Pass. He achieved more than his instructions required. He not only fixed the locality and character of that great Pass, through which myriads afterwards went pressing to California—he defined the astronomy, geography, botany, geology and meteorology of the country, and designated the route since followed, and the points from which the flag of the Union is now flying from a chain of wilderness fortresses. His Report was printed by the Senate, and translated into foreign languages, and the scientific world looked on Fremont as one of its benefactors.

Impatient, however, for broader and more hazardous fields, he planned a new expedition to the distant territory of Oregon. His first had carried him to the summits of the Rocky Mountains. Wilkes had surveyed the tide-water regions of the Columbia river. Between the two explorers lay a tract of a thousand miles which was a blank in geography. In May, 1843, he left the frontier of Missouri, and in November he stood on Fort Vancouver, with the calm waters of the Pacific at his feet. He had approached the mountains by a new line; scaled their summits south of the South Pass; deflected to the Great Salt Lake, and pushed examinations right and left along his entire

course. He joined his survey to Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, and his orders were fulfilled.

Having opened one route to the Columbia, he wished to find another. There was a vast region south of his line, invested with a fabulous interest, and he longed to apply to it the test of exact science. It was the beginning of winter. Without resources, adequate supplies, or even a guide; and with only twenty-five companions, he turned his face once more towards the Rocky Mountains. Then began that wonderful expedition, filled with romance, achievement, daring and suffering, in which he was lost from the world nine months, traversing 3,500 miles in sight of eternal snows; in which he explored and revealed the grand features of Alta California, its great basin, the Sierra Nevada, the Valleys of San Joaquin and Sacramento, explored the fabulous Buena Ventura, revealed the real El Dorado, and established the geography of the Western part of our continent. In August, 1844, he was again in Washington, after an absence of sixteen months. His Report put the seal to the fame of the young explorer.

He was planning a third expedition while writing a history of the second; and before its publication, in 1845, he was again on his way to the Pacific, collecting his mountain comrades, to examine in detail the Asiatic slope of the North American continent, which resulted in giving a volume of new science to the world, and California to the United States. We cannot trace his achievements during the war with Mexico, nor will future times inquire how many, nor how great battles he fought. After the conquest of California, Fremont was made the victim of a quarrel between two American commanders. Like Columbus, he was brought home a prisoner over the vast territory he had explored; stripped by a court-martial of his commission as Lieut.-Colonel of Mounted Riflemen, and reinstated by the President. Fremont needed justice, not mercy, and he returned his commission. His defence was worthy a man of honor, genius, and learning. During the ninety days of his trial, his nights were given to science.

Thus ended his services to the government—but not to mankind. He was now a private citizen, and a poor man. Charleston offered him a lucrative office, which he refused. He had been brought a criminal from California, where he had been explorer, conqueror, peacemaker, governor. He determined to retrieve his honor on the field where he had been robbed of it. One line more would complete his surveys—the route for a great road from the Mississippi to San Francisco. Again he appeared on the far West. His old mountaineers flocked around him, and with thirty-three men and one hundred and thirty mules, perfectly equipped, he started for the Pacific. On the Sierra San Juan all his mules and a third of his men perished in a more than Russian cold; and Fremont arrived on foot at Santa Fé, stripped of every thing but life. It was a moment for the last pang of despair which breaks the heart, or the moral heroism which conquers fate itself. The men of the

wilderness knew Fremont: they refitted his expedition: he started again: pierced the country of the fierce and remorseless Apaches: met, awed, or defeated savage tribes; and in a hundred days from Santa Fé, he stood on the glittering banks of the Sacramento. The men of California reversed the judgment of the court-martial; and Fremont was made the first Senator of the golden State. It was a noble tribute to science and heroism.

His name is identified forever with some of the proudest and most grateful passages in American history. His 20,000 miles of wilderness explorations, in the midst of the inclemencies of nature, and the ferocities of jealous and merciless tribes; his powers of endurance in a slender form; his intrepid coolness in the most appalling dangers; his magnetic sway over enlightened and savage men; his vast contributions to science; his controlling energy in the extension of our empire; his magnanimity, humanity, genius, sufferings, and heroism, endeared him to all lovers of progress, learning, and virtue. Those who cared most for his fame were glad that in stooping from his great elevation to mix up his fortunes in party politics, he met with utter defeat. He should never have abandoned the fields of science, where he had made so sure of the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

Contributions to Literature and Science.—Some allusions to them should not be omitted.

William Hickling Prescott.—Born in Salem, Massachusetts, May 4th, A. D. 1796.—Died in Boston January 28, 1859.—He was the son of William Prescott, one of the ablest lawyers and wisest and best men New England has produced; and grandson of William Prescott, who acted so gallantly on Bunker Hill. When he was twelve years old, his family removed to Boston, where he ever after resided, and where his classical training, begun in the place of his birth, was continued with success, under Rev. Dr. Gardiner, a scholar of Dr. Parr, the great English Latinist. In 1811, he entered the Sophomore class in Harvard College, and was graduated there in 1814, with honors appropriate to his favorite studies, and with a purpose to devote himself to the legal profession.

But the misfortune which did more than any other circumstance to give its coloring and direction to Mr. Prescott's life, had already befallen him. Before he was graduated, an accidental blow had completely deprived him of the sight of one eye, and the natural consequence soon followed. The other was weakened, partly by sympathy, and partly by the increased amount of labor thrown upon it; and, after a severe illness which happened some months later, and during which he was entirely blind, he found the sight of this remaining eye impaired so far that he was obliged to abandon his professional studies, and give up all the hopes his young ambition had indulged for success in life as a jurist. The next two years he spent in Europe, seeking health by travelling in England, France and Italy, or an improvement of

his impaired vision through the skill of the oculists of London and Paris. His health was strengthened by his journeyings ; but for the misfortune to his sight he found no relief. Still he was not disheartened. He had been endowed by nature with a spirit eminently cheerful and elastic ; and when he came back from his European excursion, he turned himself at once, and with the most earnest alacrity, to those studies which still lay within his reach.

His plan was a noble one, and he nobly carried it out. He resolved to become, in the best sense of the word, a historian. Ten years he freely and wisely gave to prepare himself for his task, by a course of classical studies such as he had always loved. He then selected his subject. Having done this, he gave ten years more to his *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* :—one of the few important periods in the affairs of modern Europe that seemed still to invite the hand of a master. And thus, in 1838, at the age of forty-two,—in the freshness as well as in the maturity of his genius,—he appeared before the world, as an acknowledged author, by the publication, both in London and in Boston, of his great work on this great subject. Its success was at no time doubtful. On both sides of the Atlantic it was received with unhesitating applause, rare in any case, and most rare where the claims made are from their nature so various and so high ; but which, in the present instance, were only increased and strengthened in proportion as the many editions of the original work published in America, France and England, and its translations into German, Spanish and Italian, spread it more and more throughout the civilized world.

During his labor on this work, Mr. Prescott's vision had become somewhat improved by a diminution of the sensibility which had earlier led to frequent inflammations, and compelled him often to live in a darkened apartment, and to rely entirely on a reader when collecting his materials. His *Conquest of Mexico*, therefore—first printed in 1843—though prepared largely from manuscript documents, was, perhaps, a work of less troublesome toil to him than his first work had been. It was written with a remarkable freedom and spirit—the result both of conscious success, and of the excitement springing from the nature of his romantic and marvellous story—so that the prompt honors it received were even more brilliant than those awarded to his *Ferdinand and Isabella* ; and as this last had opened to him the doors of several of the distinguished academies and learned societies of Europe and America, so now the two together opened to him the French Institute.

His *Conquest of Peru*, written like that of Mexico—very much from the original and unused materials—appeared in 1847, and was marked by the same striking merits that distinguished both of its predecessors. He shortly afterwards engaged on a *History of the Reign of Philip II.*, a vast undertaking, which, with energy less than his, and a temperament less happy, would hardly have accomplished under the discouragements and obstacles he had inevitably to encounter.

Thierry, living in a total eclipse of light, and 'beyond all hope of day, truly said, 'the blind work slow.' Mr. Prescott, it is true, was not blind, and

we rejoice in that he never became entirely so. It was pleasant, too, as we looked on his fine, manly features, to observe that no exterior mark indicated his misfortune to his friends and acquaintances. Still, from the first period to which it dated back, he had at no time been able to prepare his own manuscript, except by means of a machine so constructed that he never looked on what he wrote, and which gave results never examined by himself, till after they had been deciphered and read to him by another. From the same period, too, he was always obliged to rely mainly on a reader, in order to gather by his own judgment, from the many books he must consult, the facts he needed; for in the happiest intervals that were granted to him, he was able to read little to himself, and if he read at all, the pain he suffered admonished him that he must stop, or submit to consequences the most disastrous.

Still, with a spirit so cheerful, so bright, so persevering, he completed his *History of Philip II.*, and would have gone on laboring for his own honor and for the benefit of mankind had not his strength given out. But he had already done for his country what few men have been permitted to do, and quite enough to ensure the permanency of his fame.¹ He slept at last under a native sod which has been wet with tears as tender as have ever been shed over the grave of an American scholar.

John James Audubon, the Ornithologist.—Born May 4, 1780. Died Jan. 27, 1851.—When a copy of *The Birds of America* was first received by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, Baron Cuvier, to whom it was referred, said in his report: 'It can be described only by calling it the most magnificent monument Art has ever raised to Ornithology.'

Audubon was born of French parents, near New Orleans, and died at his beautiful home on the Hudson, just above New York, in his seventy-first year. His father, an enthusiast for liberty, was with Washington at Valley

¹ EDWARD EVERETT — the Athenian Orator of America, who superbly atoned in classic culture, exquisite polish, and perfect taste, for his lack of primitive strength, in pronouncing one of his inimitable addresses before the Massachusetts Historical Society, said of
PRESCOTT:—

'So long as in ages far distant, and not only in countries, now refined and polished, but in those not yet brought into the domain of civilization, the remarkable epoch which he had described shall attract the attention of men; so long as the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy and the expulsion of the Moors, the mighty theme of the discovery of America, the wonderful genius of Columbus, the mail-clad forms of Cortez and Pizarro, and the other grim *conquistadores*, trampling new-found empires under the hoofs of their cavalry, shall be subjects of literary interest; so long as the blood shall curdle at the cruelties of Alva, and the fierce struggles of the Moslem in the East, so long will the writings of our friend be read. With respect to some of them, time, in all human probability, will

add nothing to his materials. [Mr. Everett may have presumed too much here; for the literary treasures, even of Spain, Portugal and Italy have not yet been fully explored, and the records of Mexico and Peru have hardly yet been subjected to the argus-eyed scrutiny of science.]—It was said the other day by our respected associate, President Sparks,—a competent authority—that no historian, ancient or modern, excelled Mr. Prescott in the depth and accuracy of his historical researches. He has driven his Artesian criticism through wretched modern compilations, and the trashy exaggerations of intervening commentators, down to the original contemporary witnesses; and the sparkling waters of truth have gushed up from the living rock. In the details of his narrative further light may be obtained from sources not yet accessible. The first letter of Cortez may be brought to light; the hieroglyphics of Palenque may be deciphered; but the history of the Spanish Empire during the period for which he has treated it, will be read by posterity for general information, not in the ancient Spanish authors, not in black-letter Chronicles, but in the volumes of Prescott.'

Forge ; and the Audubon family still possess the portraits of both, painted in the camp ; that of Washington being the first ever taken of him. At a very early age, Audubon was sent to France, and educated in Art and Science under the best masters, among whom was David. The love of birds, which was the passion of his life, manifested itself in childhood ; and on returning from France he betook himself to his native woods and began a collection of drawings which made the germ of the *Birds of America*. His father gave him a plantation on the rich banks of the Schuylkill, and luxury and fortune offered every blandishment to wean him from the love of adventure. But his heart was in the green woods, and in 1800, with a young wife and infant son, and his unfailing rifle, he embarked in an open skiff on the Ohio to find a new home. The mellow lights and shadows of our Indian Summer had fallen along the shores of that queen of Rivers. At long intervals the axe of the squatter was beginning to disturb the solemn reign of nature. He settled in Kentucky ; and in the central region of that valley, through which the Mississippi rolls on to the sea, he pursued his studies and roamings.

In these few lines we can hardly give an idea of the prairie and forest life he led. He himself found space to do it, but imperfectly, in his five ponderous volumes of ornithological biography. He spent more years in the forest than most men live. Among the great Lakes of the North, he sees, beyond the reach of his rifle, a strange gigantic bird, sweeping over the waters. He hunts for that bird ten years, and finds it again three thousand miles from the spot where he saw it first. In the meanwhile he has been chilled with eternal frosts, and burned with perpetual heats. He has slept many nights across branches of trees, waked by panther-screams ; and many nights he has passed in cane-brakes where he did not dare to sleep. He has seen the knife of the savage whetted for him—stepped on venomous serpents—started the cougar from his secret lair—swam swollen streams, with gun, ammunition, and drawings lashed on his head—in Polar regions, the water turned to ice as it fell from his benumbed limbs when he struck the bank—his tongue was parched with thirst on deserts, and he has laid himself down, famishing, to wait, like Elijah, till he was fed by the birds of heaven.

This was his history during the life of a generation. And yet, through all this long pilgrimage of peril and suffering, which Cæsar would not have gone through to have heard the tramp of his legions in the three-quarters of the globe, his courage never failed, his love for nature never cooled ; his reverence for God, whose illimitable universe he was exploring, deepened, the longer he wandered and gazed. Nor did he lose a throb of humane feeling for civilized men, from whose habitations he had exiled himself.

And yet, this man had nobler pleasures, as well as nobler hardships, than other men. He had gone with one of his sons, both of whom from boyhood where his forest companions and scholars, accompanied by other young men

of Boston, who afterwards became distinguished in science,—on a voyage to Labrador, for new birds. The cost of the expedition would have built a beautiful villa. One pleasant morning they scared from her nest the Black Pole Warbler! ‘The enormous expense of my voyage,’ he says, ‘was refunded in the sight.’ A prouder triumph was reserved, however, for the day when he at last captured the Washington Sea Eagle. ‘Not even Herschel,’ he writes, ‘when he discovered the planet which bears his name, could have experienced more rapturous feelings. As the New World gave me birth and liberty, the great man who ensured its independence is next to my heart; and therefore I call the noblest of birds after the noblest of men.’

Other ornithologists had painted their birds after they were stuffed: Audubon made accurate drawings of his in the forest, before the plumage had scarcely been ruffled, much less lost its brilliancy, and while the muscles had their natural expression. He exhibited in perfection higher attributes of ornithological painting than had ever before been attempted. He pictured the passions and feelings of birds as tenderly and truthfully as Claude Lorraine painted trees, flowers and skies. And so, after many years, his portfolio was enriched with a thousand finished drawings. His collection was entirely destroyed! ‘The burning heat,’ says he, ‘which ran through my brain when I saw my loss, was so great I slept not for several nights, and my days were oblivion. But I took up my gun, note-book and pencils, and went forth to the woods as gayly as if nothing had happened. I could make better drawings than before; in three years my portfolio was filled.’

Hitherto he had wondered, studied and painted only to gratify his deep and tender love of nature. In 1824, Lucien Bonaparte proposed to buy his drawings. He resolved to publish them himself. It could not be done in America. He landed in England, a stranger. Roscoe, the Liverpool merchant and scholar, received the wanderer woodsman with open arms. His drawings were exhibited in Edinburgh, where he was at once appreciated. Men of rank and taste extended to him unbounded hospitality. He passed the severest scrutiny of art and learning, and stood by the side, and was grasped by the hands of Herschel, Cuvier and Humboldt, as a father of science, and in art a master without a pupil or a rival. With Scott, Brewster, Wilson, Jeffrey, and other great men for companions, he began the publication of his magnificent work. It was completed in London in fourteen years, and his fame was established forever. One hundred and seventy-five subscribers at \$1,000 each—most of them obtained by himself in person, and eighty of whom were his own countrymen—partially remunerated him for his vast undertaking. The learned Societies of Europe proffered him their honors; but he received with more pride than all the crown of the Royal Society of London.

He published a synopsis of his great work at Edinburgh, and finally, in

1839, wearied with honors, he turned his face once more towards his beloved home, bringing with him all his original drawings, which princes, bankers, galleries and museums had in vain tried to possess. 'No,' was his invariable answer; 'they are all of American birds; they were painted in America; I am an American, and they belong to my country. They must go back with me.'

He republished the work in New York, in imperial octavo, in seven volumes; and with Dr. Bachman, the eminent zoölogist, began another work, *The Quadrupeds of North America*, which was completed in 1850, and published with applause and success.

He retired to his lovely home on the Hudson, loaded with honors, where he passed the last years of his life in the midst of an affectionate family, and surrounded by many of the domesticated denizens of the forest, who were his familiar companions.¹

Few men are surer of lasting fame. It is not in the keeping of history alone, from every deep grove the birds of America will sing his name. 'The little wren will pipe it with her matin hymn about our houses; the oriole carol it from the slender grasses of the meadows; the turtle-dove roll it through the secret forests, the many-voiced mocking-bird pour it along the evening air; and the imperial eagle, the bird of Washington, as he sits in his craggy home, far up the blue mountains, will scream it to the tempests and the stars.'²

¹ One of the sweetest memories of my life is of a day I passed on a visit at his home. He had written to me to come up to make the visit. 'We have little satisfaction,' he said, 'in meeting in New York. You must come up here, and we will have a good long talk under my trees, in this fine autumn weather. As I rode up he met me at the gate, with his genial and fatherly greeting. His grand old eagle-face still glowed with all the radiance of health and cheerfulness. His perfectly white hair hung in lustrous, waving clusters around his neck. The fire of enthusiasm beamed in his soft, large eyes, and his cheek looked like a rose in the snow. He let me kiss it twice. We walked through his grounds. His gentle pets gathered around him and followed him—among them, a stately old elk, with its great horns and deep soft purple eyes. He called it up to him while I withdrew a moment; he patted it heartily, and talked with it; and then it licked his hand, and turning to me, his face all aglow, bareheaded, as he stood in all his majesty by the edge of the river, remarked, 'What beloved children of God they all are,' and great, glad tears rolled slowly down his face. The setting sun was shining on him, and the fresh breeze gently lifted his locks; he seemed to me at that moment to be the most beautiful human being I had ever gazed on—he was. I parted with him at the gateway, when he embraced me, kissed me,

and gave me his blessing. It has been with me till this hour, and it will go with me till I meet him once more. I never saw him again.

² I cannot resist the temptation, precious as my space is now growing, to quote the following vivid and picturesque sketch, from an interesting account of Audubon, which appeared in the May number of the *Democratic Review*, 1842, written by Mr. Parke Godwin. Mr. Godwin is one of the least ostentatious of American authors, but his rare accomplishments have through a busy literary life proved a source of instruction and delight to the best literary classes of America and Europe. His writings have always been marked by peculiar excellences—not only by a full comprehension of the subjects he treated with a lucid ratiocination and wealth of illustrations, but with such clearness and force of nomenclature, as to give to his reader the same symmetrical view of his subject that he entertained himself. Early trained in the severe style of higher journalism—which has always characterized the New York *Evening Post*, from the time of Coleman and Leggett, and all through the chief editorship of William Cullen Bryant—he furnishes a striking example, of which we have so few in American journalism, of never allowing his pen to fall into habits of careless writing.

But Mr. Godwin did not confine himself to journal

Nor will I let this fair opportunity pass without some words in memory of one of the best beloved statesmen of this period.

Silas Wright, Born in Amherst, Massachusetts, May 24, A.D. 1795. Died August 27, 1847.—Some men blaze on the eye of the world, and startle mankind by bold, and often fatal achievements. The genius of Vanderlyn has pictured Marius looking on the ruins of Carthage; but philosophical history has portrayed the world weeping ever since, over the extinction of the Republic of Hannibal. In our times, when the calm lustre of civic virtue has been dimmed by the glare of conquest, so serene a life as this great citizen led in the Republic, did not at once fix the attention of his countrymen. But when death fell on him, the unbidden eulogium of the heart of the nation was—how great a citizen has Rome lost. Thus, whatever is purest and greatest is sure to be the most enduring.

Mr. Wright was descended from an ancestry of New England working-men. His father was apprenticed to a tanner, and never was at school a day in his life. At the age of twenty-one, he could neither read nor write.

ism, even in the range where he was gaining so much distinction. At least twenty-five years ago, he gave the fruits of his enthusiastic devotion to German literature, by introducing to American readers some of the choicest productions of modern German authorship. He went beyond, and began the publication of a history of France, which indicated the keenest analysis of the original elements which crystallized into that brilliant nation as she finally took her place among the file leaders of civilization. The world has waited patiently for the appearance of the complete work. It will take its rank with that class of American writings illustrative of European history, in which our scholars have won such peculiar honors—I need hardly mention the names of Prescott, Ticknor, Irving and Motley, each of whom, in his sphere, has performed services for history seldom rendered by foreigners to other nations. But to Mr. Godwin's sketch of the Ornithologist in his forest garb :—

'A few years ago there arrived at the hotel, erected near the Niagara Falls, an odd-looking man, whose appearance and deportment were quite in contrast with the crowds of well-dressed and polished figures which adorned that celebrated resort. He seemed just to have sprung from the woods. His dress, which was made of leather, stood dreadfully in need of repair, apparently not having felt the touch of either laundry or needlewoman for many a long month. A worn-out blanket, that might have served for a bed, was buckled to his shoulders; a large knife hung on one side, balanced by a long rusty tin box on the other; and his beard, uncropped, tangled and coarse, fell down upon his bosom, as if to counterpoise the weight of black thick hair-locks, that supported themselves

upon his back and shoulders. This strange being, to the spectators seemingly half civilized, half-savage, had a quick glancing eye, an elastic firm movement, and a sharp face, that would no doubt cut its way through the cane-brakes, both of the wilderness and of society.

'He pushed his steps into the sitting-room, unstrapped his little burden, quietly looked round for the landlord, and then modestly asked for breakfast. The host at first drew back with evident repugnance at the apparition which thus proposed to intrude its uncouth form among the genteel visitors; but a word whispered in his ear speedily satisfied his doubts. The stranger took his place among the company; some staring, some shrugging, and some even laughing outright. Yet, reader, there was more in that single man than in all the rest of the throng; he was an American woodsman, as he had called himself; he was a true genuine son of nature, yet who had been entertained with distinction at the tables of princes; learned societies, to which the like of Cuvier belonged, had bowed down to welcome his entrance; kings had been complimented when he spoke to them; in short, he was one whose fame will be growing brighter when the fashionables who laughed at him, and many much greater even than they, shall have utterly perished. From every hill-top, and every deep shady grove, the birds, those 'living blossoms of the air,' will sing his name. The little wren will pipe it with her matin hymn about our houses; the oriole carol it from the slender grasses of the meadows; the turtle-dove roll it through the secret forests; the many-voiced mocking-bird pour it along the evening air; and the imperial eagle, the bird of Washington, as he sits in his craggy home, far up the blue mountains, will scream it to the tempests and the stars. He was John James Audubon, the Ornithologist.'

Here the reader will see from whom I borrowed the beautiful imagery which adorns the close of my sketch.

But he married a woman of rare endowments, and under her genial and assiduous teachings he soon atoned for the lack of an early master. Mer prize most what fortune has denied them; and no small portion of the scanty revenue of the tanner and shoemaker, went for the education of his nine children. Hard labor and stern economy gave him the means of purchasing a farm in Vermont, where he removed with his family a few months after the birth of the subject of this sketch. Until his fourteenth year, Silas went to the district school winters, and worked on the farm summers. But being regarded with pride and delight as the chief ornament of his family, he was prepared for college; and in 1811 was entered at Middlebury, where he graduated with distinguished honor. After a thorough course of legal studies, begun with Mr. Martindale, and completed with Mr. Roger Skinner, he was admitted to the bar in 1819. He passed the summer of that year in a long journey on horseback, for the twofold object of restoring his health, impaired by exhausting intellectual labors, and of choosing a favorable scene for the practice of his profession. He settled in Canton, St. Lawrence Co., and opened an office. It was a new forest village, and with such a library as two hundred dollars—the generous gift of his father—could buy, and surrounded by strangers, he began the battle of life. He gained at once the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and from the day he was appointed justice of the peace, and village postmaster, an auspicious and impatient fortune hurried him along in his path of eminence, till the last moment of his life. He soon rose to be surrogate of the county. Three years had gained him the deepest respect of the public. His unwavering integrity, his serene and profound judgment in the practical affairs of life, his lucid perception and tenacious memory, his persuasive eloquence, and the genial and humane spirit of his character, made him the favorite of all parties; and in 1823 he was elected to the Senate of the State. From this new field, where he had won new honors, he was suddenly transferred to the National Congress by the popular vote of his district. He filled his new post with such ability, he was re-elected for a second term. But before it expired he was recalled, in 1829, to fill the important office of Comptroller of New York, in which he displayed consummate financial ability. In elaborating the stupendous policy of Clinton, the State of New York had just achieved a greater public work than was ever attempted by the Romans. Through Mr. Wright's hands vast treasures had passed, and to him was confided once more the great trust. But the following year he was elected to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate; and in 1833, twelve years from the time he was discharging the duties of the humblest public office an American is ever called to fill, he had rushed on in his path of fame, till he represented in the National Senate the greatest State of the Republic. He was still a very young man; but the dignity of his manner belonged to the maturest age and the ripest experience. It was a turbulent political period. The struggle between the colossal power of General Jackson, and a brilliant but hostile Senate, was yet to be decided, and in the young Senator from New York it was known that the President had reposed

his unlimited confidence. This has been a matter of surprise ; but when he had concluded his first great argument, the astonishment was confined to the fact that so noble a mind and so firm and great a character, had not been at once appreciated by all, as they were by that patriotic leader who was laying so broad and deep the foundations of his fame. During his career in the Senate, which terminated in 1844, he had won the respect of all parties, and even by his political antagonists was regarded with complacency. His political life had been a consistent whole. He had never varied from his early principles. He had maintained his integrity : and when he was called from the Senate, in 1844, to become Governor of New York, there was a universal feeling of regret in that body. He had illuminated its councils by his wisdom, and written his name on its records, by the side of its illustrious members.

The elements of his fame resolve themselves into the integrity of his character, the fervor of his patriotism, and the commanding power of his genius. He weighed in the justest balances the cardinal interests of the country ; and he kept them always in view. No man who knew him well, ever suspected him of hesitating at any crisis of his life, to inquire what would be the result of his course upon his own fortunes. His disinterestedness was unsullied, and the sternness of his logic was tempered by the amenity of his character. Rejecting artifices common to the tribune, he reposed on simple truth ; and the depth of his own convictions enforced his arguments. The native modesty of his disposition was never overcome, but by a sense of duty, or a throb of patriotism. At a period earlier in life than was almost ever known, he had passed through the range of offices which lead to the last and highest post in the Republic for the Senator. It cannot be doubted that he would have reached it had he lived. But from the turbulence of the political arena he retired, in 1847, gladly to the culture of his own acres ; and his mind was cheered at his toil by the memory of his fathers. He died suddenly at Canton, stricken down in one of his own fields in the labors of the harvest, of a disease of the heart, the 27th of August, 1847. His course was unfinished, but his fame is complete. His monument is a broken column in the temple of the Republic.

How the great North-West was opened to the Progress of Civilization.—We are so soon to contemplate the 'far West,' that we will halt at the tomb of the statesman who predicted the formation and growth of those great States, and for whom he prepared the way.

Lewis Cass.—*Born in Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9th, A. D. 1782.*—The ancestors of this eminent civilian were among the first men who levelled the forests of New Hampshire. His father, Major Jonathan Cass, joined the patriot army the day after the skirmish at Lexington ; and on the fields of Bunker Hill, Trenton, Princeton, Germantown, Saratoga, and Mor

mouth, he fought for the independence of the struggling Colonies. Feeling, in common with all the men of the Revolution, the importance of educating the generation that was to guide the fortunes of the new Republic, Major Cass spared no pains in preparing his son for the high career of which his youthful genius and ambition furnished such striking auguries. In the Academy of Exeter,—that venerable school where so many great men have received their first literary impulses,—he not only acquired a knowledge of the classical languages, but formed habits of study for life, which rendered him a very ripe and elegant scholar, and a man of liberal learning. After teaching school for some months in Delaware, where his father was stationed under General Wayne, he set out, in his nineteenth year, for the North-West Territory to find a new home. He crossed the Alleghanies on foot, and found himself in the heart of the wilderness, whose solitude had then scarcely been disturbed by the axes of 20,000 settlers.

The boy-adventurer grew up with that Territory ; and in fifty years he saw it covered by five powerful States, and five millions of people. He studied law with the late Governor Meigs, and was admitted to the bar in 1802. His success was rapid and decided ; and in four years he was in the legislature of Ohio, where he soon rose to distinction. The following year he was appointed by Jefferson, marshal of Ohio, which office he filled with great ability till the war with England, when he resigned his commission, and at the head of the 3d regiment of Ohio volunteers marched to the frontier. He was the first armed American to land on the shores of Canada ; and had his early successes been followed up by General Hull, a year of humiliation would have been spared our armies. When ordered by this general to give up his sword to a British officer, he broke it in despair and indignation. But for his gallant services he was appointed a Brigadier-General in the army of the United States.

The brilliant victory of Commodore Perry, having swept the enemy's fleet from Lake Erie, the American army under General Harrison, in the autumn of 1813, landed once more in the enemy's country, determined, before they left it, to wipe out the deep disgrace of Hull's cowardly surrender. Driven from point to point by the victorious columns of Harrison, the British general at last took a strong position on the banks of the Thames, where he concentrated his tried battalions with the bloody Tecumseh and his 2,000 murderous savages. The triumph of our arms was complete—Proctor fled, and Tecumseh was slain. General Cass, who had contributed so much to render the campaign successful, had his full share of the perils, the heroisms, and the glory of the day. In the dispatches of the commanding general, his name was associated with Perry's, who fought with him side by side. The victory of the Thames left General Cass the military guardian of Michigan, of which he became civil governor.

At the close of the war he removed with his family to Detroit, where he

commenced that long series of civic services which won for him the gratitude of the whole West. To his judicious counsels, legal attainments, persuasive eloquence, unwearied exertions, fearless adventures, generous patriotism, and great personal influence, that vast and powerful region owes more than to any other man.

In the year 1820, Mr. Callhoun, who was then Secretary of War, approved of an expedition which was proposed by Gov. Cass, to explore the sources of the Mississippi, and establish friendly intercourse with all the Indian tribes. His negotiations had begun in 1815, and they were continued under seven successive administrations; he was renominated on the legal expiration of his term of service, and each time unanimously confirmed by the Senate, without a single remonstrance from the large Territory over which he presided. During this long period, he negotiated twenty-one treaties with the Indian tribes of the North-west, which secured peace and prosperity to those brave but fading races, and undisturbed progress to their conquerors. In 1834, he was called by Gen. Jackson to the Secretaryship of War. Of all the Cabinet officers of that great man, Cass remained longest in office, and possessed his most perfect confidence. In 1836, he left the War Department only for the mission to France and only at the earnest wish of the President.

He was abundantly qualified for that high station; and in the discharge of its duties, rendered the most signal service to his own country, and gained the respect and admiration of Europe. During this period, the Quintuple Treaty became the question of European Cabinets. This treaty was intended by Great Britain to impart to her assumed naval supremacy the sanction of the great Powers of the continent; thereby making a law for the ocean which would give her the right of searching our vessels at sea. Mr. Cass determined to defeat the project. In 1832, he made a formal protest against the ratification of the treaty by France, and wrote a pamphlet on the 'Right of Search,' which was read by every statesman in Europe. The scheme of the British Ministry was annihilated. During his mission he visited the south of Europe, and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and at those shrines which will forever be sacred to the scholar and the Christian—the city of Romulus and the city of David—he found a few months of grateful repose to imbue his mind more deeply than ever with the associations of the classic ages.

On his return to his native country, he was everywhere greeted with public tokens of regard—from the nation he had represented, from institutions of science and learning he had honored, and from the great West with its advancing millions. When the aged patriot of the Hermitage felt that he was drawing near his end, Gen. Cass visited him at his home, and the parting scene was filled with the tenderness of a final separation. In 1845, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, where he remained, and became one of the brightest ornaments of that illustrious chamber.

During the days of trial which came upon us, he stood firmly by the ark

of the Constitution, with Clay, Webster, Houston, and other magnanimous statesmen who were worthy to have sat with our fathers, around the early council fires of the Republic, since they could not be tempted to give up to party what belongs to mankind. If Heaven always gives us such men the Republic will be perpetual.

I am sure the world would not forgive me if I should pass unnoticed one of the gentlest and most admired names which adorn the annals of eloquence, humanity, and Christian culture :—

William Ellery Channing.—*Born in Newport, Rhode Island, April 7th, A.D. 1780. Died October 2d, 1842.*—Some men are appointed by Providence to transmit the torch of truth from age to age. They come and go with the centuries. At one period, they are called prophets; at another, poets; at another, apostles. But whenever they appear, they fulfil their mission. They inspire deeper respect for man as the child of a Universal Father, and warmer sympathy for his sufferings and progress. But for their efforts, sacrifices and triumphs, science would lack teachers, humanity vindicators, and Christianity apostles. They have achieved for mankind all that has yet been done; and to them we look for all that is to be done in the future. Of these was Channing. His whole life was a pure offering to philosophy, learning, humanity and religion. In his stainless character, we find almost everything we admire in genius, or venerate in virtue. Descended from upright, generous, and well-educated ancestors; his father a learned and eminent jurist; his mother a woman of great tact, energy, integrity and judgment; born on the southern slope of the greenest island on the verge of the Atlantic, existence opened kindly and brightly on the frank, brave, beautiful boy. He was graduated with the honors of Harvard University at the age of eighteen, and spent two years as private tutor in the family of David Mead Randolph, of Virginia, where he often met Marshall, and other great men of the period. Returning to Cambridge, he retired from the world to settle the principles and purposes of his life. His intellectual and moral character was fixed forever. The future brought no change to him but development and progress. In 1803, at the age of twenty-four, he was settled over the Federal Street Church, Boston, and maintained the relation till his death. He visited Europe in 1822, appeared as an author in 1826, went to the West Indies in 1830, died in 1842, in his sixty-third year, and he sleeps among the sacred graves of Mount Auburn.

Such are the records of chronology. But they give no idea of Channing. His history is preserved in the archives of the republic of letters—his achievements are found in the annals of philosophy and truth. There are no events in his history to relate. There are none in the life of Shakspeare, or Plato. Such men can have no biography but their own writings. They live in a world, and breathe an atmosphere unknown to other men. Their struggles are in the deepest solitude; their victories are known only to their own souls; therefore they are unheralded, unrecorded. We must leave, then, the

life of Channing, and contemplate his character. From the beginning he was an earnest seeker for the right, and the true. This brought him to religion, which became the great fact of his life: authorship was only an accident. He believed man capable of infinite elevation, and to this great object he dedicated his life. His genius soon raised him to eminence. He brought with him to the pulpit, few of those facilities on which orators rely. Small in stature, feeble in physical organization, and humble in the estimate of his own powers, he reposed all his hopes of success on simple truth; and he never tried to reach the heart except by appeals to the understanding. In his bland and contemplative philosophy, he became the Plato of the Christian religion. The gentleness of his spirit harmonized with the delicacy of his person. His complexion was clear, his hair soft and dark, his eyes of deep and brilliant blue; every movement was instinct with grace; and his voice went to the heart with the witchery of a spell. With his exquisite sensibility to good, and the brightness and energy of his conceptions of truth, his auditors felt that he had moulded himself to symmetrical goodness; and the directness with which he brought Christianity to bear on every-day life, made religion under his preaching, a more practical and sublime reality. Controversy was repugnant to his nature, for with him religion was a life, and not a creed. He always acted on the belief, that Christ died to influence the mind of man, and not the mind of God. His object in those controversies which he was forced to maintain, was to unfold, diffuse and defend large, catholic views of Christianity. His habits of study were philosophic. Every field of science, and every department of learning, yielded him its tribute. He held with steadiness every subject on his mind, till his opinions were established. His style was clear, graceful, strong. He was transparent in simple earnestness. He roused every hearer's mind to its highest capacity of reflection. By instinct he dreaded, as much as from principle he abhorred, all fetters on free thought. Above all did he claim for the intellect perfect liberty in matters which concern the soul. He applied the highest principles of Christianity to the affairs of individuals, communities, and nations. He illustrated strikingly, what he profoundly believed—that genius is a self-guiding, calm, comprehensive power. He rebuked fearlessly, but justly, the vices and the sins of his age. The hoary crime of war, that disastrous legacy of barbarism: intemperance, that hydra-iniquity: oppression, that concentration of all curses: sectarianism, the worst foe of Christianity: and infidelity, the blight of the soul: one by one they all excited his pity and drew down his rebuke.

No man has lived, who could more truly say with Terence, *Homo Sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*. His heart went out for the forgotten multitude, for he recognized greatness under the lowliest disguises: and probably his lectures to the laboring classes on Self Culture, will be among the last of his writings to perish. He not only thirsted for perfect goodness himself, as the centre and fulness of all that is truly great or beautiful, but his sympathy was wakeful and ceaseless with human nature in its destinies, science in its progress, and freedom and religion in their struggle.

One of his deepest feelings was a consciousness of the progress of the whole universe, and he looked on the future, not on the past. He was lovely in all his domestic relations; and from his presence, emanated sweet sanctions on every scene and character of social life. His very 'good morning' was a welcome to prayer. He had lost his father in his youth, but his mother was long spared to him, and every year only brightened the beauty of his filial affection with new reverence, tenderness and regard. His summer home was on his native island, where among the tranquillizing influences of woodland walks, serene landscapes, and ocean's luxuriant heavings, he wrote most of his works. His life became more and more beautiful to the last. 'As I grow older,' he says, 'I strive to feel more my connection with the universal church; with all good and holy men. I stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light; who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth.'

When this pure and gifted man died, a tribute without parallel was paid to his memory. As the funeral procession moved with his ashes for the grave, in the general dirge was heard the tolling of the great bell from the tower of the Catholic Cathedral. It foretold the coming of that better age, which Channing had lived and labored for, when all distinctions of creed and clime will be forgotten in the universal brotherhood of man.

Over a green mound in Mount Auburn, that beautiful garden of the dead, a chaste monument bears the inscription 'CHANNING.' Those who breathe the atmosphere of the spot, find in it, refreshment and courage for the battle of life.¹

¹ If there had been less asperity displayed in the theological debates of the last generation, I might have spoken with more freedom of the high moral and superb intellectual character of Dr. Channing without the same risk I now incur of being in a measure misunderstood. I think the structure of Dr. Channing's mind and heart affords one of the finest illustrations we are acquainted with of what in our imperfect state we are obliged to define as perfection. His intellect was as pure as Plato's, his construction of sentences more perfect than Addison's. The grasp of his comprehension reminds us sometimes of Bacon, while the delicacy of his fancy is suggestive of the moral blandness of the author of the *Elegy in a Country Church Yard*. There was an indescribable harmony between his person and mind. He is one of the most eminent and beautiful illustrations we know in our race, of the blending of heart and intellect with all the most touching qualities of the one, and all the grandest characteristics of the other. He was as gentle and tender in all his affections; he was as mild and delicate in all his movements; he had as keen a sense of moral and physical beauty, and his voice was as soft and genial as we ever find in the most gifted and affectionate of women. But there was a lion firmness and heroism lying underneath this tranquil and gleaming surface. In a just cause he was the very Hercules of his times, and when he lifted that soft, delicate hand, which he so rarely did in gesture

while he was speaking, although it fell scarcely low enough to touch the velvet of his pulpit, it came with the weight of a thousand thunders. In his delivery he seemed to rely with sublime faith upon the simple power of his own ideas. His conclusions were all but irresistible, and as he very rarely dwelt upon the peculiarities of his own religious creed; preferring to deal in general principles in which the hearts and the judgments of his hearers yielded their most cordial concurrence. He swept every field of the moral universe with the strength of the eagle's wing. I have many times since his death recalled vividly to my recollection so many touching things he said, and so many kind and genial words that fell from his lips that I can hardly now bring him back to my fancy within those narrow physical limits that represented his person. It seems to me now almost miraculous, that so tender and fragile a form should have held a man whose ideas reached from earth to heaven, and agitated the purest intellectual world. There is still one aspect of his charming character that should not be overlooked, even in this brief survey of his general characteristics. With the exception of a single controversy with Lyman Beecher, on the subject of the Trinity, I am not aware that Dr. Channing ever entered into a religious controversy; nor did he even in this discussion, which was forced on him, approach a sectarian spirit in the remotest degree. He is the acknowledged founder of the Unitarian sect

SECTION NINTH.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ARTS OF DESIGN IN THE UNITED STATES.

It must not be supposed that, because I have yet paid no attention to the progress of the fine arts in America they will be unnoticed in this book. With all the rude work which had to be done in this country, we need not be ashamed of our record in painting, portrait, historical and landscape—nor in sculpture, pertrait-busts and portrait-statues—nor even in architecture—in all of which we have accomplished something.¹

in this country, but he always disclaimed during his life a desire to be considered in that light, and he even reiterated his earnest wish, that those who might sympathize with his feelings or coincide with his views, should write no creeds, nor make any ecclesiastical organizations from which honest believers in the Christian faith should under any circumstances be excluded. It were devoutly to be wished, that those who profess his faith should be inspired, under all circumstances, with so broad and comprehensive a spirit of charity.

¹ It has often been said, to our disparagement, by the advocates of monarchy, that the arts of taste and design never can hope for the same florid epoch among us which they have so often attained under the sway of princes. In confirmation of this bold statement, we are pointed to the history of kings, emperors, and popes, who have erected magnificent palaces and temples, and adorned them with the works of illustrious artists. But such writers forget that the chief triumphs of the arts in Greece, were coeval with the existence of her republic—that art began to decline in Rome on the downfall of the old commonwealth, and that the most brilliant achievements of the arts were witnessed in Italy during the existence of the free States of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. And yet, so little has been hitherto done by the general or State governments, or by the people of this country, for the encouragement of the fine arts, we have, to a certain degree, rendered ourselves obnoxious to the charge of insensibility to their claims. It has seemed impossible to get a bill through Congress to erect any monuments to commemorate the events of the Revolution; and we believe the most hoping and patriotic have given up all expectation of seeing the Government erect a monument to the Father of the Republic.

But this was not the most discouraging circumstance. There has, until recently, been little appreciation of art among our men of fortune. Some of the

best projects ever proposed for the good of the arts in America, met with little encouragement, except from those who could least afford to give them aid.

There are certain advantages connected with great collections and galleries which have been felt more deeply, perhaps, by most civilized governments than our own. Very few great artists have flourished in Europe, except those who were commissioned by different governments to execute for them their largest and choicest works. All historians who have written about the Church of Rome and the dominion of the popes, have accorded one high quality to their policy. At no period did the Vatican allow a great artist to exist in Europe without calling his genius into requisition to embellish and adorn the Eternal City. It was so all through the Middle Ages. The munificence and taste of Leo X. contrast strangely and refreshingly, in the florid development of the arts of design, with the most ferocious persecution of the Reformers who suffered under his pontificate. On the same page where we find recorded the attempt to crush Luther and his associates, we read the triumphs of Michael Angelo's chisel, and the miracles of the pencil of Raphael. Indeed, for hundreds of years, hardly a pope filled the chair of St. Peter who did not feel a noble pride in laying a tribute upon the genius of his age to illustrate some portion of Roman or Christian history. In the most brilliant period of the monarchy of France, when kings swayed public affairs without the interference of the multitude, the arts were carried to great perfection; and in the time of the Empire, Napoleon brought into requisition, to embellish his reign, the most gifted artistic genius in Europe. Even in our times, one of the cardinal points of the policy of the kingdom of Prussia has consisted in the education of the great mass of the people in the rudiments of the arts of design. It is regarded in every

The Early Painters of America—Watson, Smybert, West, Peale, Stuart, Trumbull.—Near the south-east corner of the cemetery of the old Episcopal Church in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, sleeps the first American painter of whom we have any knowledge. The following words can be read on his tombstone: 'Here lies interred the body of MR. JOHN WATSON, who departed this life August 22d, 1768, aged 83 years.' This stone does not tell us that he was a painter, nor do any of his works exist in our times. Dunlap says that he was born in Scotland, and came to this country in 1715, to practice his art of portrait painting. 'He lived long in the land of his choice, and died in extreme old age.' After his death they pulled down his house, but left his studio standing. Dunlap saw it when a boy. 'It remained,' says he, 'and attracted admiration by the heads of sages, heroes and kings. The window-shutters were divided into squares, and each square presented the head of some personage in antique costume, with beard, and hemlet, and crown.' The painter's neighbors said he was a miser. Probably the artist's business was a precarious one, and like a wise man he took good care of the

portion of Europe as one of the principal duties of governments to afford to their subjects facilities for the prosecution of artistic studies. There are few countries but England where private individuals are possessed of those colossal fortunes necessary to found galleries without the aid of government; and even there, the Museum, the gallery established by the State compares favorably with the greatest on the Continent. Although England has had no artist who has rivalled the great masters of Italy, yet many of their finest works have gone there; and nearly all those artists of eminence she has had, owe traced the chief development of their genius to the inspiring influence of those few collections she possessed. We are yet to learn that any fair appeal has ever been made in vain to the liberality of the British Parliament for the establishment of galleries and institutions of art, or for their encouragement. Abroad it is felt to be one of the most sacred duties of governments to lend their aid in the establishment of those institutions from which society receives its chief elements of refinement. It is as important that a class of men should be educated in painting, architecture, and sculpture, as it is that a class should be trained for maritime and military defence, or that institutions should be established for the propagation of science.

It is within the means of our government to spend fifty or a hundred millions in the prosecution of a war for exterminating Indians: and so vast are the resources of the nation, it is not to be regretted, perhaps, that any calculable sum should be expended for any useful or honorable purpose; but we have often made a calculation, as far as such a thing can be done, of the vast

and magnificent results that would attend the expenditure of a million dollars, in founding in every State a great institution of learning and art. Not a single generation would go by before the whole nation would be made to feel the refining and elevating influence of such institutions; and thus a foundation for future progress and fame would be laid deeper than can ever be done by the extension of our empire. We are making no war against the spread of our dominion. We have long believed that this entire continent was destined by Providence to be the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race, and we would throw no impediment in the way of such a consummation, even if it were in our power. But we are painfully conscious of the fact so often commented upon by distinguished foreigners, namely, that there is a strange insensibility in our government to the claims of art and literature upon its patronage and encouragement; and it does seem strange that a great republic of upwards of forty million of citizens, whose happiness and the durability of whose institutions depend so entirely upon education and the cultivation of literature and the liberal arts, should have done so little for these beneficent objects.

But a better day is dawning. A taste for art is fast developing itself in every part of the nation. Public men are beginning to feel the duty of founding institutions for the encouragement and development of national genius, while private individuals have atoned munificently for the comparative niggardliness of the State. We shall not end in the endowment of Agricultural Colleges, noble as that broad, primitive work may be. We are fast coming to greater things.

few gold pieces that found their way into his studio—a custom that might be introduced generally among artists without any particular injury. The old painter would not have his house re-roofed, let the rain beat in as it liked. So, when he was old, and deaf, and bed-ridden withal, they began to take advantage of his infirmities. This is the fashion all over the world. His nephew, who had left the British army to go and see his old uncle well buried, and then step into his shoes, improved the opportunity, and set the carpenters at work. An occasional hammer-stroke reached the deaf man's inner ear, and he asked the boy—‘What is the meaning of that pecking and knocking I hear every day?’ The nephew, taken by surprise, answered, ‘Pecking! pecking? oh, ay! it's the woodpeckers; they are in amazing quantities this year—leave the trees and attack the roofs of the houses. There is no driving them off.’ The old painter was satisfied, and turned his face to the wall and died. He had brought with him from Scotland a collection of paintings, said to have been real or imaginary portraits of kings who ruled the British Islands; ‘And this agrees,’ says Dunlap, ‘with the awe-inspiring, inveterate heroes we remember to have seen on his window-shutters.’ The neighborhood seems to have been loyal to the British king in the Revolution; but they happened to be in the minority. ‘Of course the deserted studio was left at the mercy of the undisciplined yeomanry; and the first cabinet of the fine arts founded on the continent was broken up, and its treasures dispersed by those who probably took delight in executing summary justice on the effigies of the Ninrods of the land.’

All this may seem to be a matter of little consequence; and it is, in itself considered. So is the little rill that comes trickling out of the Rocky Mountains. Standing by the grave of ‘Mr. John Watson,’ many an artist has felt his heart beat quicker. The day will come, too, when our painters will hold a jubilee of art around this resting-place of the first American painter. His pictures are lost, but his influence will live for ever. Dunlap was born where Watson lived and died; and he tells us he never should have written his *History of the Arts of Design*, had it not been for the painter, on whose shutters he saw when he was a boy, those mysterious heads of sages, heroes, and kings.

It is strange that some philosophical historian should not long ago have rendered a grand tribute to Berkeley; for few persons that ever landed or lived on these shores, have left impressions so deep upon the continent. This wonderful man was the first, of all the Old World philosophers, to foresee the part America would play in the drama of the world. He had travelled over Europe, and learned its languages, and exhausted its literature. Under the solemn shadows of the Coliseum he had studied the moral of history—he turned his hopeful eye away to the West.

JOHN SMYBERT, who was one of those few names that make up the golden links of all that is bright and useful in our history, had been Berkeley's travel-

ling companion in Italy. In that land of the light and the dark, the sage, prophet and poet used to wander with the young painter among the ruins of 'dead empires,' and speak to him of that hemisphere where the muse should one day sing, 'another golden age.' All educated young Americans love to think of the Coliseum; it stirs the blood when we recall the gladiator so bravely dying as he remembered, 'his young barbarians all at play,' on the banks of the Danube. So, too, of the Roman Forum with its senator in his toga; and the shout of the indignant people who sometimes made their voice heard in the palace of a brutal tyrant. Who has not waked from sleep when dreaming of Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes? But the picture of Berkeley, sitting among the ruins of the Coliseum, talking to the painter about the future glories of America, stirs us deeper than all. We know not when he wrote those prophetic lines; but we can imagine him stopping short in the bright moonlight, as he was walking around Rome, and stretching his hand away to the West, as he repeated his wonderful prophecy to his painter-companion about 'the course of empire.'

'Confiding,' says Verplanck, in his noble tribute to Berkeley, 'in these glorious auguries, and animated by the pure ambition of contributing to hasten forward the 'rise of Empire and of Arts,' he sailed for the West in 1728. The sage took Smybert with him to be the professor of art in the new university. Nor did disappointment turn him back. The painter loved and married a Pilgrim girl. The great Berkeley could not found his university, but he loved learning, and he gave nearly all he had to Yale College. His library, President Clapp, in his *History*, well calls 'the finest collection of books that ever came together at one time in America.' His farm in Rhode Island, he gave too; and when he sent the deed he requested that it might be 'held in trust for the maintenance, during the time between their first and second degrees, of three students, of the college who should be found, on examination, to be most distinguished for their attainments in the Latin and Greek languages; and in default of applicants at any time to the purchase of Latin and Greek books as premiums for Latin composition in the several classes.' The long line of true men who have held that trust, have kept it sacred; and we were told 'this farm produces about one hundred and fifty dollars a year, and the proceeds are regularly applied to the objects designated by the donor.' Many a boy who afterwards made the world brighter and better, has read these precious books—many a poor student who made the world rich has eaten the bread of the good Berkeley's farm, and may poor students eat that bread forever! Berkeley did for our literature and arts, what Dante did for Italy. But, perhaps, the best thing he ever did was to bring Smybert, the painter, to America.

Smybert had already won esteem in Tuscany, as a painter. The Grand Duke had commissioned him to paint two or three Siberian Tartars, presented to him by the Czar of Russia; and when the painter landed at Narraganset Bay, he exclaimed, 'These fellows I have seen and painted before.'

There is now in New Haven a very valuable painting, of which the world

knows little, and cares less—a picture of the Berkeley family, painted by Smybert, and discovered by Dr. Dwight in one of his tours of recreation off in some obscure nook of Massachusetts. Dr. Waterhouse lent his noble aid to the poet-divine in getting it for Yale College. The scene represents Berkeley in a standing attitude, dictating to a secretary his ‘Minute Philosopher’ at Newport, and surrounded by his family; it is a home-scene, completely a New England affair: it makes us think of old Pilgrim days. Dr. Dwight said the sketch was made while painter, philosopher, and family were rocking on the Atlantic.

Smybert married the daughter of Dr. Williams, the Latin schoolmaster, who—honor to the Bostonians then, as now, for their Latin school—taught the tongue of Brutus to the boys who afterwards flung the tea into Boston harbor. Smybert did good in his time, filled nobly his mission, and died in 1751. He left an influence that every artist who ever lives in America will feel till painters paint no longer; and he left a son who was at an early age eclipsing the fame of his father. The venerated Judge Cranch, of Quincy, Mass., in a letter of August 5, 1775, said to the boy: ‘When I consider the ease with which your hand improves the beauty of the fairest form, and adds new charms to the most angelic face, I do not wonder that your riper imagination should fly beyond your pencil, and draw the internal picture of your friend so much fairer than the original.’ Some proof of merit in young Nathaniel Smybert, and we thank the generous judge for giving his sympathies to the boy. The poor fellow’s biography is a brief one. He painted some things sweetly, made everybody love him, and then went to a world where the painter’s colors never fade!

A painter called Williams lived in Philadelphia about this time. He may have painted good or bad, but he did something worth remembering: he lent the works of Fresnoy and Richardson to a boy by the name of Benjamin West, a young Quaker, who afterwards abandoned the good Penn city, with its straight coats and straight streets, and threw away his Quaker coat, and went over the big waters, and lived with a king, and painted ‘Death on the Pale Horse,’ and founded the Royal Academy, and did various other notable things.

Benjamin West.—He is worthy of a better biographer than Cunningham, who dipped his brush a little too deep in the paint-box of fancy; or John Galt, who is a little too puerile; or Dunlap, who is a good deal too dull. A word about this first native American painter, who was the best painter the world had in his times, or had seen for a century, think what his own countrymen may of him now! This man was the pet of a British king, and the toast of a nation, which only a few years ago very soberly asked, ‘What has America yet done for the Arts?’ Founded the first Academy it ever had. He was born in Chester county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1738, just ten years after Smybert landed in America. He came of good stock. An ancestor of

his, Col. James West, did some fighting in the field by the side of John Hampden. When Benjamin was seven years old, he was put to watching a sleeping baby one day; he drew the baby in his cradle with a pen. His sober parents encouraged him, and in no great space of time the Quaker home was filled with works of art, such as they were. Some time after this, a neighbor—General Wayne's father—took a fancy to six chalk heads the boy had made, and gave him six dollars for them. But so far, he had no paints or brushes. Lewis—one of his American biographers—says his colors were charcoal and chalk, mixed with the juice of berries, and he laid them on with the hair of a cat drawn through a goosequill. He got 'from the Mohawk or Delaware Indians red and yellow earths used by them at their toilets. Mrs. West's indigo pot supplied blue, and the urchin thus gained possession of those primitive colors he afterwards knew to be the materials whose combined minglings, in their various gradations, gave all the tints of the rainbow.' Once supplied with colors he 'got on' pretty fast. Little Ben. seems to have been an ambitious fellow, for a Quaker. He went riding one day on horseback, behind a brother Quaker. The two worthies began to discourse very soberly about the mystery of life, and what they should do in the world. 'This,' said his companion, 'is my last ride—to-morrow I shall be apprenticed to a tailor.' 'Well, then,' said the painter-boy—who afterwards chose his companions among kings—'you may ride alone. I don't ride with tailors,' and off he went.

A Mr. Pennington, a merchant of Philadelphia, made a visit to Chester county, where he saw this boy. When he returned, he sent him a present worth more than a kingdom—'a box of paints and brushes, and several pieces of canvas prepared, and six engravings by Greveling.' They were the first works or implements of art the boy had ever seen. He copied the engravings, representing successfully by colors the light and shade of the pictures. Sixty-seven years afterward, one of these copies was hung by the side of 'Christ Rejected.' Two of them are now to be seen in Philadelphia. His patron was so pleased that he took the boy to Philadelphia and gave him a home in his own house. Here he saw the first painting in oil—except his own—that had ever fallen under his eye—a portrait by Williams. There was a gunsmith at Lancaster,—the seer of his neighborhood, and he gave him the subject of his first historical painting — 'Christ Rejected.' 'You must paint me the death of Socrates, Benjamin.' 'Socrates?' was the reply of the big-eyed boy, 'I never heard of the fellow.' So the gunsmith read him the story. West's eye flashed—he took the book home with him—got one of the gunmaker's workmen for his model, and he killed Socrates. This gunsmith's name was Henry —, and we know nothing more of him.

Provost Smith, of the College at Philadelphia, saw West at Lancaster, and prevailed upon his father to send him to town, where the Provost directed his classical and artistic studies. Before the father, however, gave up his boy to 'the worldly occupation of painting,' he felt it to be his duty to make it a subject of prayer. There is not so much to provoke a smile at this business

as some folks may suppose. People that pray over such matters are not always the fools the world in our times takes them to be. The brethren in drab came together for the moving of the spirit. The spirit did move, and they declared the Lord had made Benjamin to be a painter—a decision which the best painters in Europe have for a century confirmed.

Gov. Hamilton had a small gallery of paintings. There was one picture in that collection which had a good deal to do with West's advancement—a Murillo—St. Ignatius—captured in a Spanish prize. At this time his price for a head was \$12.50; a full length, \$25. He now came to New York, where he was better paid; and having, at the end of eleven months' hard work, a little money laid aside, he determined to go to Italy. A ship laden with flour was sailing from Philadelphia for Leghorn, and he went aboard of her. In a few weeks he was worshipping the genius of Raphael, as he stood, awe-struck in the Sistine Chapel. He saw the celebrated blind Cardinal Albani, who, hearing he was a native of the New World, asked if he was a white man. 'Yes.' 'How white?' 'A considerable whiter than yourself.' It was a queer sight to the Italians. An American Quaker had come from the woods of the wild Western Continent to study art in old Rome! When they showed him the Apollo, West exclaimed, 'How like a young Mohawk warrior!'—probably the most beautiful criticism ever passed upon that wonderful statue.

Galt and several English writers have said that West's first painting in Rome was better than anything of Mengs's, who was then the greatest artist there. He stayed in Italy four years, and was regarded as the best painter in that city. He went through all the principal Italian cities, among others, Bologna. In the meantime his money was gone; but while waiting in Florence for a small sum in payment for a picture he had made, he received a note from his bankers, saying they had orders from a company of gentlemen in Philadelphia to give him an unlimited credit! He now returned to Rome, and painted Cimon, Iphigenia, Angelica and Medora; These established his reputation as an historical painter, and obtained him the academical honors of Rome.

After four years of study and success in the land of Raphael, he prepared to cross the Alps, and on the 20th of June, 1763, he reached London. Everything conspired to favor West's advancement all through life. He could not have arrived in London at a more auspicious moment. There was not an historical painter of genius now engaged in his art in Great Britain. Hogarth was dying, Barry had abandoned his easel to battle Rome. Reynolds painted nothing but portraits; Gainsborough and Wilson, only landscapes. Before West could succeed, however, he had to create a new taste in Great Britain; for there was hardly a country in Europe so destitute at the time of a true taste in the arts. The writer of the *Percy Anecdotes* tells a story to the point. When West exhibited his Pylades and Orestes, although crowds came to see it, not a visitor ever asked the price of the picture, or thought of giving the artist a commission. A gentleman of taste spoke one day in terms

of admiration of this beautiful work. 'Why do you not buy it?' said his friend. 'Buy it!' was the reply of the astonished man; 'why, what would the world say if I should have anything in my house but a portrait?' And this was a fair specimen of undeveloped English taste at the time. Leslie says that no Englishman would have *dared* to hang up in his parlor, or even his library, any one of the matchless creations of Hogarth. 'All admired West's picture,' says he, 'but nobody dared to buy it.' But he gained the eye and the hearts of a few men of fortune and taste, and in a short time attracted the attention of George III., who was his friend and patron till he died. This was the triumph of his talent, his honesty and his independent spirit. Intrigues were planned against him—ministers and courtiers, the Prince of Wales, his flatterers and his mistresses, all plotted and counter-plotted against the American painter. But the king was firm in his purpose: he still gave West commissions, still invited him to his palace, and stood by him to the last.

The Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., was called the 'finest gentleman in Europe.'¹ While this gentleman was making some alterations in

¹ Lovers of long sums have added up the millions and millions which in the course of his brilliant existence this single prince consumed. Besides his income of £50,000, £70,000, £100,000, £120,000 a year, we read of three applications to Parliament; debts to the amount of £160,000 of £650,000, besides mysterious foreign loans, whereof he pocketed the proceeds. What did he do for all this money? Why was he to have it? If he had been a manufacturing town or a populous rural district or an army of five thousand men, he would not have cost more. He, one solitary stout man, who did not toil, nor spin, nor fight—what had any mortal done that he should be pampered so?

In 1784, when he was twenty-one years of age, Carlton Palace was given to him, and furnished by the nation with as much luxury as could be devised. His pockets were filled with money: he said it was not enough; he flung it out of the window, he spent £10,000 a year for the coats on his back. The nation gave him more money, and more, and more. The sum is pastcounting. He was a prince most lovely to look on, and christened Prince Florizel, on his first appearance in the world. That he was the handsomest prince was agreed by men, and alas! by many women.—*Thackeray's Four Georges*, pp. 189-190.

I read that Lady Yarmouth—my most religious and gracious king's favorite—sold a bishopric to a clergyman for £5,000. (She betted him £5,000 that he would not be made a bishop, and he lost, and paid her.) Was he the only prelate of his time led up by such hands for consecration? As I peep into George II.'s St. James's, I see a crowd of cassocks rustling up the back stairs of the ladies of the court, stealthy clergy slipping purses into their laps; that godless old king yawning under his canopy in his chapel royal as the chaplain before him is discoursing. Discoursing about what? about righteousness and judgment? While the chaplain is preaching the king is chattering

in German almost as loud as the preacher—so loud that the clergyman—it may be one Dr. Young—he who wrote 'Night Thoughts,' and discoursed on the splendor of the stars, the glories of heaven, and utter vanities of this world—actually burst out crying in his pulpit because the defender of the faith and dispenser of bishoprics would not listen to him! No wonder that the clergy were corrupt and indifferent amid this indifference and corruption. No wonder that skeptics multiplied, and morals degenerated, so far as they depended on the influence of such a king. No wonder that Whitefield cried out in the wilderness—that Wesley quitted the insulted temple to pray on the hill-side. I look with reverence on those men at that time. Which is the sublimer spectacle—the good John Wesley, surrounded by his congregation of miners at the pit's mouth, or the queen's chaplain mumbling through the morning office in the anteroom, under the picture of the great Venus, with the door opened into the adjoining chamber, where the queen is dressing, talking scandal to Lord Hervey, or uttering sneers at Lady Suffolk, who is kneeling with the basin at her mistress's side? I say I am scared as I look round at this society—at this king—at these courtiers—at these politicians—at these bishops—at this flaunting vice and levity. Whereabouts in this court is the honest man? Where is the pure person one may like? The air stifles one with its sickly perfumes.—*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

Which was the most splendid spectacle ever witnessed—the opening feast of Prince George in London, or the resignation of Washington? Which is the noble character for after ages to admire—yon fribble dancing in lace and spangles, or yonder hero who sheathes his sword after a life of spotless honor, a purity unapproached, a courage indomitable, and a consummate victory? Which of these is the true gentleman? What is it to be a gentleman? Is it to have lofty aims, to lead a pure life, to keep your honor virgin, to have the

Windsor Castle, he came to a room filled with old historical paintings, whose subjects were chosen from the history of Edward III. ;—the ‘Surrender of Calais,’ the ‘Battles of Cressy and Poitiers,’ etc. They were the most valuable pictures in England. But what cared he for works of art—or for the history of Edward? He ordered the pictures to be all thrown into a lumber room, to be eaten by rats! Sir Thomas Lawrence told him he could do as he pleased, but no living artist could supply their places. The king thought it might be an evidence of bad taste to throw them away—and they hang there still. An English writer says that Reynolds, the best English painter, never rose above a portrait, while West chose subjects for his pencil among the heroes and heroines of antiquity.

The Society of Incorporated Artists had existed many years, but it had been a strong barrier to the progress of the nation in a true appreciation of high art, and West determined to found a new institution. His plan met the approbation of the king; Reynolds joined with him, and the result was the Royal Academy which is now the pride of Great Britain. To its first exhibition West sent his ‘Departure of Regulus,’ ‘which placed him,’ says Dunlap, with great propriety ‘on the throne of English art.’ Not long after, he painted the ‘Battle of La Hogue.’ When engaged on this noble piece, a British admiral took him to Spithead, and sent a squadron out to sea, and put the ships into action, firing broadsides to give the painter a chance of seeing smoke roll off from a naval engagement.

West did more for high art in Great Britain than any other man that has ever lived. He did what he could, too, for art and artists of his native land. Every young painter from America who applied to him met a warm greeting, and was admitted to his studio. Peale, Stuart, Wright, and Trumbull were among the number, who afterwards arrived at considerable eminence. He has never been properly appreciated by Americans, and the reason is obvious. Few of his pictures have been seen on this side the water, and up to the present time, no American artist of genius has ever been fully appreciated. West was elected President of the Royal Academy on the death of Reynolds. The king offered him the honor of knighthood. ‘Every American,’ says Dunlap, ‘will rejoice that he rejected the nickname. West is all-sufficient for his fame; any addition would be deformity.’ It had been the custom to confer this honor on the most distinguished painter in England. West was the only man who declined the title. Englishmen still call this American ‘*Sir Benjamin West.*’

But West fell on evil times. All he had to rely on was the friendship of the king. When the old sovereign lost his senses, West was ordered to stop his great works. He went over to France. The Louvre, where Napoleon

esteem of your fellow-citizens and the love of your fire- side, to bear good fortune meekly, to suffer evil with constancy, and thro-gh evil or good to maintain truth always? Show me the happy man whose life exhibits these qualities, and him we will salute as gentleman, whatever his rank may be; show me the prince who possesses them, and he may be sure of our love and loyalty.—*Ibid.*, p. 240.

had gathered the chefs-d'œuvre of the world, was then in its glory. An opportunity which never occurred before, and may never again for lovers of art. The best artists, the most exquisite connoisseurs of Europe, were there. The Peace of Amiens had silenced for a time the roar of hostile cannon over Europe, and the world had flocked to Paris. West was received with enthusiasm and regard, and invited to an audience with the First Consul. He had the simple independence to recommend Napoleon to follow the example of Washington. How much he would have saved the world and himself had he regarded this counsel!

But I must not take up any more of my space in talking about this noble pioneer in art. Throughout Europe West was regarded during his life as the best painter of his times, and certainly most that England can boast of in historical painting, she owes mediately or immediately to his pencil, his instructions, or his influence. The best painting of West in this country is his 'Healing the Sick.' He gave it to the Pennsylvania Hospital with a request that it might be used by students and artists. The managers refused to comply with his request. He died in London 11th of March, 1820, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, where his ashes still sleep.

John Singleton Copley.—His fame in Great Britain, as a painter, afterwards laid the foundation of the honors of his family, and brought his son Lord Lyndhurst to the peerage. He was born in Boston, Mass., in 1738. At a very early age, before he had received any instruction, he painted, under the mere impulse of genius, excellent pictures. He established his fame in Great Britain by his 'Death of Lord Chatham.' Before this he had spent some time in Italy. It was his lot to travel with a companion who belonged to a class still extant, a 'captious, cross-grained, self-conceited person,' who amused himself by writing down in his journal all the bad impressions he could receive, or create, during the day. The following is one of his entries—he is speaking of Copley: 'My companion is solacing himself that if they go on in America for a hundred years to come, as they have for a hundred and fifty years past, they shall have an independent government; the woods will be cleared, art will then be encouraged there, and great artists will arise.' Copley snuffed the gale of the Revolution from afar. In less than two years, the Colonies proclaimed themselves free and independent. The hundred years have gone by, and the prophecy about art is being fulfilled.

Bartolozzi engraved the 'Death of Chatham,' and Copley gave him two thousand guineas for the work. The painter sent copies to Washington and Adams. The former said, in reply, 'This work, highly valuable in itself, is rendered more estimable in my eye, when I remember that America gave birth to the artist who produced it.' Such was the home feeling and the pride General Washington felt for everything which honored his own country.

Copley was a better painter of portraits than West, and probably his 'Boy and the Squirrel,' is a sweeter and more lifelike thing than West could have done. In historical pieces he was his inferior. But he won for himself

an honorable fame, and gave no little impulse to art in England. His 'Death of Major Pierson,' engraved by Heath, and his 'Gibraltar,' painted for Guildhall, London, are bold and impressive compositions. Copley died in London, in 1815, leaving one child, who was born in Boston three years before the Revolution, and afterwards became High Chancellor of England.

Charles Wilson Peale.—Was born at Chester, in Maryland, April 16, 1741. When West and Copley were each three years old, he was apprenticed to a saddler in Annapolis, and worked at his trade till he was twenty-one, when he took a wife and set up for himself, sometimes making saddles, then coaches, watches, clocks, etc. A curious incident decided him to become a painter. He went to Norfolk to buy leather. Here he saw some paintings; he was struck with the art, and determined to throw aside the awl, and take up the pencil. He went home and painted his own portrait, which got him employment. He made a visit to Philadelphia, where he procured implements for his art, and a book on painting. Soon after, he sailed round to Boston in a schooner, passage free, where he saw Copley, who generously aided him. On his return to Annapolis, he determined on going to London. A few generous men subscribed a sum of money, and he sailed for England in 1770. West received him with great kindness: and when his money was gone, gave him a home in his own house for several years. Peale occasionally moulded in wax while in London, made spirited miniatures, and engraved in mezzotinto. He returned to America just before the Revolution; and when he heard the first gun of independence, he flung aside his tools and inventions, and became captain of a company of volunteers, who did some service at Trenton and Germantown. He turned statesman, too, and represented Philadelphia in the Legislature, in 1799. But the soldier found time to paint; he was executing a miniature of General Washington, who was sitting on a bed in the artist's studio, when the messenger came in with the news of the surrender of Burgoyne. Peale founded a Museum, and lectured on Natural History after the Revolution, till he lost his front teeth; then he turned dentist, and made ivory teeth, and at last porcelain for his own mouth and others. He tried to found an Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia; but it was too hard work at that time. He next attempted to get up a school for promoting the Arts of Design—opened it in the Hall of the Declaration of Independence; this also failed. But he was not a man to be discouraged by failure. In 1809, he did found 'the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts,' and saw the Seventeenth Annual Exhibition of it. No American ever made so many generous, noble efforts for the promotion of the Arts; there have been few whose labors were in the end, crowned with better success. He was not a genius, but he was an intelligent worker. His name will be better known as the Arts are better cultivated. He died in 1827, aged eighty-five years.

Gilbert Charles Stuart.—Was born in 1754. Here was a man whose like we shall not see again. He filled a link in our chain, which, but for him, would

have been broken. Stuart used to take snuff immoderately; and he excused himself by saying he could not help it, for he was born in a snuff-mill—which was true in part. His father was a Scotchman who went to Narraganset, where the Pequods once lived, to set up a snuff factory. Another Scotchman, it appears, happened to find Stuart when a boy, painting in a rude way, and he enticed him off to Scotland, where the Scot died, leaving the painter in the hands of somebody who treated him pretty roughly. He was put on board a collier, bound for Nova Scotia, and worked his passage home. He again went to painting; and Dr. Waterhouse says that 'he was fully aware of the great importance of the art of drawing with anatomical exactness, and took vast pains to attain it.' The two, who studied together, prevailed on a 'strong-muscled blacksmith' to sit for them in their studio as a model; they gave the Cyclop half a dollar an evening. Stuart loved music and his ease so well, he could paint only by fits and starts. He was a fine musician, and his love for his sister would have honored a young poet wooing the hand of an houri.

Ten days before the battle of Bunker Hill, he escaped from Boston in a vessel for England, where he was determined to go and be a painter, full of poverty, of enthusiasm, and hope—a painter's capital! Poor fellow! He found himself wandering around the solitudes of London one day, without a penny. He went by a church door in Foster Lane, where he heard an organ playing. He went up to the door; the pew-woman told him, in answer to a question what was going on, that the vestry were together, trying the candidates for the post of organist. He went in boldly—asked if he might try too. He was told he could—he did. He succeeded, got the place, and a salary of £30 a year! So much for the musical genius he had cultivated in America, when wise people were telling him he had better leave off serenading girls at night and go to work. It gave him bread now, in the wilderness of London, when he had nothing else.

Dr. Waterhouse, a true man, was in London. So he found lodgings for Stuart, near the house of some Quaker relatives, and the Doctor managed, he says, to keep Stuart 'even with his landlord and washerwoman, which was doing better than he had done.' Stuart was not very thoughtful or provident. His friend had to hunt for him occasionally in the sponging-house. All this time, for some unknown reason, he never once sought the acquaintance of West, but the moment Sully called on the latter—1778—and told him of Stuart's circumstances, he provided him with money, and sent a messenger for him, and set him to work, and gave him a home in his own house.

There are a hundred fine stories told of this eccentric, witty, improvident, but noble Stuart. He was full of genius, but he would not work, or he would have made himself a great master. One day the blunt Dr. Johnson came into West's studio, and addressed something to Stuart. 'Why, you speak very good English, sir,' said the Doctor. 'Where did you learn it?' 'Sir, I can better tell you where I did not learn it. It was not from your dictionary.' Dr. Johnson had too much sense to be offended.

Stuart read men's characters as easily as he read newspapers. Lord Mulgrave employed him to paint his brother, Gen. Phipps, who was going to India. When the picture was done, and the General had sailed, Mulgrave came for the price. 'This picture looks strange, sir. How is this? I see insanity in that face.' 'I painted your brother as I saw him.' The first account Lord Mulgrave had from his brother was, that his insanity—unknown and unapprehended by any of his friends—had driven him to suicide.

Stuart succeeded immediately after setting up for himself. No artists were paid higher for portraits except Reynolds and Gainsborough; and he might easily have amassed a fortune. But his indulgences and improvidence wearied out his friends, and good fortune itself. He was continually involved, and report says that he sometimes had to paint himself out of the debtor's prison. At last he returned to America and ran a brilliant career.

In 1794, he was gratified in the accomplishment of the purpose and the wish of years. Washington was then President, and he sat for his portrait. Stuart was not pleased with his first attempt—he destroyed it, and Washington sat for him again. He tried once more, and made the best portrait ever painted of our hero and father. 'He offered it to the State of Massachusetts,' says Dunlap, 'for one thousand dollars, which they refused to give. Those entrusted with our national government passed by the opportunity of doing honor to themselves during the life of a man they could not honor, and the only portrait of Washington was left neglected in the painter's workshop until the Boston Athenæum purchased it of his widow. It now, together with its companion, the portrait of Mrs. Washington, adorns one of the rooms of that institution.

The head of this celebrated portrait was the only portion finished: but this rather increased its value. All Stuart's Washingtons were copied from it. His full length may be considered the best representative of that great man we have. We have been fortunate in the painter and in the two engravers of it, for Durand's print is worthy both of the hero and the artist; and Marshall's fine engraving of it has rendered any other attempt of its reproduction by the graver unnecessary. Stuart's life is like one of Salvator Rosa's less terrible pieces—filled with the light and the dark.

The last head he painted was John Quincy Adams. He began it as a full length, but he was now old, and the hand of death was laid on him before he completed his work. The head he finished. He was 74 years old, but he never painted as well in the full vigor of life. He died in July, 1828, in his 75th year, and was buried in the cemetery of the Episcopal Church, which he attended during his long residence in Boston.¹

¹ He painted a great number of portraits, and they are scattered over the country. They have stirred the first ambition of many an early painter, and they have been visited by the best artists from a distance, as men go to see the works of Italian masters.

When a British ambassador was leaving England for America, he called on West and asked him to recommend a portrait painter. 'Where are you going?'

'To the United States.' 'There, sir,' said West, 'you will find the best portrait painter in the world, and his name is Gilbert Charles Stuart.'

When Sully was in Boston he requested Allston to accompany him to see a portrait of Mr. Gibbs, by Stuart. 'Well,' says Allston, 'what is your opinion?' The reply was, 'I may commit myself and expose my ignorance; but in my opinion, I never saw a Rem-

John Trumbull.—Born in Lebanon, Connecticut, June 6, 1756. Died in New York, November 10, 1843.—Early historic painters of nations have always ranked with their early historians. Standing at the fountain head of authentic history, they rescue those forms and facts, which, but for their vigilance, would pass into oblivion. We may have had artists who surpassed Trumbull in wealth of original endowments, and he has certainly been eclipsed in some departments of art. West was a broader painter; Stuart and Copley executed finer portraits, judged by purely artistic rules; Allston was a man of exquisite poetic temperament, and moved on a higher intellectual plane. But to no one of them, nor to all of them, does the country owe so much as to Trumbull. His fame is absolutely secure. No one can come after him to dispute his laurels, for the age which he illustrated will not return; and the men, and the scenes he delineated, will be stamped as vividly on the mind of the future, as they were on the memory of the painter's contemporaries.

Trumbull was not only a great, but he was a fortunate man. Born of a noble and illustrious ancestry, and all through life favored with the esteem and companionship of the greatest living men; working with perpetual enthusiasm at his art; all his pictures being preserved with care in public or private galleries; above all commissioned by his government to paint four of the grandest scenes in our history, and those pictures under his own supervision placed in the Rotunda of the national Capitol; enjoying the affectionate esteem of Washington and the Fathers of the Republic; his chief pictures having been multiplied by the best engravers of England, France, Germany, and the United States, by which the truth and spirit of his works were sure to be transmitted to future ages, whatever might happen to the originals; remaining at last almost the only survivor of that illustrious host of scholars, soldiers and statesmen who adorned and blest the Republic they founded—and then having his body laid to rest under a gallery called after his name, with every token of veneration and love from the cultured community who had known him best. Trumbull's life can hardly find its parallel in the history of art.¹

Trumbull had good reason to be proud of his ancestry, for from the begin-

brandt, Rubens, Vandyke, or Titian equal to it. What say you?' 'I say,' replied Allston, 'that all combined could not have equalled it.'

Allston wrote Stuart's obituary notice in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. We have space for only a few lines of this classic and touching eulogium. Speaking of Stuart's portrait of Washington, he says: 'And well is his ambition justified in the sublime head he has left us; a nobler personification of wisdom and goodness, reposing in the majesty of a serene conscience is not to be found on canvas. * * During the last ten years of his life he had to struggle with many infirmities, yet such was the vigor of his mind, that it seemed to triumph over the decays of nature, and to give to some of his last productions all the truth and splendor of his prime. * * He animated his canvas, not with the appearances of mere general life, but with that peculiar distinctive life which separates the humblest individual from his kind. He seemed to dive into the thoughts of men, for they were made to rise and to

speak on the surface. * * In a word, Gilbert Stuart was, in its widest sense, a *philosopher* in his art; he thoroughly understood its principles, as his works bear witness, whether as to the harmony of colors, or of lines, or of light and shadow, showing that exquisite sense of a *whole*, which only a man of genius can realize and embody. * * In the world of art Mr. Stuart has left a void that will not soon be filled. And well may his country say a great man has passed from amongst us. But Gilbert Stuart has bequeathed her what is paramount to power—since no power can command it—the rich inheritance of his fame.'

A higher eulogy never has been pronounced over the grave of an American painter.—*The Artists of America*. By C. Edwards Lester. 1846. pp 131-133.

¹ As regards social advantages, indeed, Trumbull through life was greatly favored. His official relations, as well as his pursuit of art, brought him into intimate contact with the most distinguished of his time. In the flush of youth he was, for a brief period, aide-de-camp to

ning they had rendered eminent services to the colony of Connecticut as scholars and statesmen. Of his mother, Faith Robinson, he says in his autobiography, which is my chief authority for this sketch :

‘My mother, Faith Robinson, daughter of John Robinson, minister of Duxbury, in Massachusetts, was understood to be great granddaughter of John Robinson, the father of the Pilgrims, who led our Puritan ancestors—his parishioners—out of England in the reign of James V., and resided with them some years at Leyden in Holland, until in 1620 they emigrated to Plymouth, in Massachusetts, and there, among other acts of wisdom and piety, laid the foundations of that system of education in town schools which has since been extended so widely over the northern and western parts of the United States, forming the glory and the defence, the *decus atque tutamen* of our country.’ He says of the first development of his taste for art :

‘My taste for drawing began to dawn early. It is common to talk of natural genius ; but I am disposed to doubt the existence of such a principle in the human mind ; at least, in my own case, I can clearly trace it to mere imitation. My two sisters, Faith and Mary, had completed their education at an excellent school in Boston, where they both had been taught embroidery ; and the eldest, Faith, had acquired some knowledge of drawing, and had even painted in oil, two heads and a landscape. These wonders were hung in my mother’s parlor, and were among the first objects that caught my infant eyes. I endeavored to imitate them, and for several years the nicely sanded floors—for carpets were then unknown in Lebanon—were constantly scrawled with my rude attempts at drawing.’

Trumbull painted and studied till his sixteenth year, when he was entered at Harvard—1772—in the junior class. ‘The best educated boy of his age in New England,’ said the Greek professor.

‘My fondness for painting had grown with my growth, and in reading of the arts of antiquity I had become familiar with the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, of Zeuxis and Apelles. These names had come down through a series of more than two thousand years, with a celebrity and applause which accompanied few of those who had been devoted to the more noisy and turbulent scenes of politics or war. The tranquillity of art seemed better suited to me than the more bustling scenes of life.’ Trumbull tried to prevail on his father to let him become a pupil of Copley, but in vain. His superiority of scholarship left him much leisure time, which he wisely improved in learning French from Père Robichaud, a knowledge of which ‘in after-life was of eminent utility.’ ‘In the mean time I searched the library of the College for works relating to the arts, and among a few others of less importance I found the Jesuit’s *Perspective made Easy*, by Brooke Taylor. This I studied carefully, and still possess a book into which I copied most of the

Washington. Fox and his illustrious rival visited him when incarcerated in London. He disputed Jefferson’s atheistical [I am sorry Mr. Tuckerman invoked this epithet] at his own table, and had long conversations with Madame de Staël, Talleyrand, Sheridan, and other celebrities. Sir Joshua criticised and com-

plimented him ; Governor Hancock visited his sick-bed ; Lafayette confided to him the secrets of French politics, and David rescued him from the police of Paris.—Tuckerman’s *Book of the Artists*. G. P. Putnam & Son, New York, 1867—p. 93.

diagrams of the work. I found also, and read with attention, Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty. The library contained, further, a few fine engravings, and a set of Pireneze's prints of Roman ruins; in the philosophical chamber were several of Mr. Copley's finest portraits, and a view of an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, painted in Italy. . . . At the same time I copied the painting of Vesuvius twice: first with water-colors on vellum, small; and afterwards in oil, the size of the original. One of these I presented to Professor Winthrop. Returning to Lebanon, I resumed the pencil, and painted the death of Paulus Emilius at the battle of Cannæ, a passage of Roman history which I had always admired.

'In the summer and autumn of 1774, the angry discussions between Great Britain and her colonies began to assume a very serious tone. As the low growling of distant thunder announces the approach of the natural tempest, so did these discussions give evident notice that a moral storm was at hand, and men began to feel that the decision of these angry questions must ere long be referred to the *ultima ratio*. I caught the growing enthusiasm: the characters of Brutus, of Paulus Emilius, of the Scipios, were fresh in my remembrance, and their devoted patriotism always before my eye; besides, my father was now governor of the colony, and a patriot—of course surrounded by patriots, to whose ardent conversations I listened daily. It would have been strange if all this had failed to produce its natural effect. I sought for military information: acquired what knowledge I could, soon formed a small company from among the young men of the school and the village, taught them, or more properly, we taught each other, to use the musket and to march, and military exercises and studies became the favorite occupation of the day. On the 19th of April, 1775, the blood of our fathers began to flow on the plains of Lexington. Before the 1st of May a regiment of troops started into view as by magic, and were on their march for Bunker's Hill.' Young Trumbull was adjutant of the regiment. He was the best draughtsman in the army, and his drawings of battle-fields, forts and fortifications, brought him to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief, who appointed the young painter his second aide-de-camp. He was afterwards detached from Washington's staff, and made a major of brigade at Roxbury. When General Gates took command of the 'Northern Department,' he offered Trumbull the appointment of adjutant, and he attended him on his northern expedition, where he distinguished himself in the service of the colonies.

On the 22d of February, 1777, terminated Trumbull's 'regular military career.' The cause of his resignation he explained in a letter to the President of Congress. His commission as Deputy Adjutant-General was dated the 12th of September, 1776. He had served in that office since the 28th of June, by the appointment of Major-General Gates, who was authorized to make the appointment by particular instructions from Congress. Trumbull was right in principle; but the manner of his resignation offended Congress. He would not yield a point of honor, and his course was justified by some of the most distinguished officers of the Revolution.

'Thus ended my regular military service, to my deep regret, for my mind was at this time full of lofty military aspirations. I returned to Lebanon, resumed my pencil, and after some time went to Boston, where I thought I could pursue my studies to more advantage. There I hired the room which had been built by Mr. Smybert, the patriarch of painting in America, and found in it several copies by him from celebrated pictures in Europe, which were useful to me, especially a copy from Vandyck's celebrated head of Cardinal Bentivoglio,—one from the Continenence of Scipio, by Nicolo Poussin, and one which I afterwards learned to be from the Madonna della Sedia, by Raphael. Mr. Copley was gone to Europe, and there remained in Boston no artist from whom I could gain oral instruction; but these copies supplied the place, and I made some progress.

'The war was a period little favorable to regular study and deliberate pursuits; mine were often desultory. A deep and settled regret of the military career from which I had been driven, and to which there appeared to be no possibility of an honorable return, preyed upon my spirits, and the sound of a drum frequently called an involuntary tear to my eye.

In the meantime Trumbull had received, through Mr. Temple, information that 'he had seen Lord George Germaine, the British secretary of state—had represented to him my wish to study painting under Mr. West; had explained my connections, my past military pursuits, etc., concealing nothing—and had received for answer, that if I chose to visit London for the purpose of studying the fine arts, no notice would be taken by the government of my past life; but that I must remember that the eye of precaution would be constantly upon me, and I must therefore avoid the smallest indiscretion; but that so long as I avoided all political intervention, and pursued the study of the arts with assiduity, I might rely upon being unmolested.'

He gives a list of sixty-eight pictures, executed before his visit abroad, when he had received no instruction except from the books and works of art he had seen. They exhibit a wide range of fancy, and some of them indicate extraordinary genius for art.

In May, 1780, he sailed from New London for France,¹ in *La Negresse*,

¹ PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 21ST, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR—Mr. John Trumbull, with whom you are acquainted, is engaged in painting a series of pictures of the most important events of the Revolution in this country, from which he proposes to have plates engraved.

I have taken peculiar satisfaction in giving every proper aid in my power, to a subscription here supporting this work, which likewise has been patronized by the principal people in this country.

In the hope of meeting the patronage of the French nation, to whose honor as well as that of America, this plan is directed, Mr. Trumbull informs me that he has ordered a subscription to be opened in Paris; and the object of this letter is to engage you to support the subscription in that city and in other parts of the nation, where it may be offered.

I should not, however, do justice to Mr. Trumbull's

talents and merits, were I not to mention his views and wishes on this occasion. His pieces, so far as they are executed, meet the applause of all who have seen them; the greatness of the design, and the masterly execution of the work, equally interest the man of capacious mind, as the approving eye of the connoisseur. He has spared no pains in obtaining from the life, the likenesses of those characters, French as well as American, who bore a conspicuous part in our Revolution, and the success with which his efforts have been crowned, will form no small part of the value of his pieces.

To you, my dear sir, who know Mr. Trumbull as a man and as an artist, it would perhaps have been hardly necessary to say so much as I have done on this occasion; but I could not in justice say less of him, when I believe that in his profession he will do much honor to the liberal art of painting, as well as to this his native country. . . .

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Marquis De Lafayette.

a French ship of 28 guns—driven on our coast in distress, from Hispaniola. In five weeks he landed in Nantes, and journeyed on to Paris, where he saw Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and the boy J. Q. Adams, who was then busily engaged at school, in stuffing his brain fuller of information than any man's ever was before or since. He left for London, with a letter of introduction from Franklin to West, who was then in his glory. The painter to George III. received Trumbull kindly, and at once offered him his services. His first attempt was a copy of the Madonna della Sedia. When West saw it, he said, 'Mr. Trumbull, I have now no hesitation to say that nature intended you for a painter. You possess the essential qualities; nothing more is necessary but careful and assiduous cultivation.' 'With this stimulant, I devoted myself assiduously to the study of the art, allowing little time to make myself acquainted with the curiosities and amusements of the city.'

A movement was set on foot against Trumbull by some American loyalists, and he was arrested for 'high treason,' and taken off at eleven o'clock at night to a *lock-up house* in Drury Lane. Examined the next morning by three police magistrates, who seemed to desire to know something about the traitor, he thus addressed them: 'You appear to have been much more habituated to the society of highwaymen and pickpockets, than to that of gentlemen. I will put an end to all this insolent folly, by telling you frankly who and what I am. I am an American—my name is Trumbull; I am a son of him whom you call the rebel governor of Connecticut; I have served in the rebel American army; I have had the honor of being an aide-de-camp to him whom you call the rebel General Washington. These two have always in their power a greater number of your friends, prisoners, than you have of theirs. Lord George Germaine knows under what circumstances I came to London, and what has been my conduct here. I am entirely in your power; and, after the hint which I have given you, treat me as you please; always remembering, that as I may be treated, so will your friends in America be treated by mine.'

The painter's commitment was made out for a loathsome prison—the only one the Gordon riots had left standing in London—and the first night the son of the governor of Connecticut slept with a *highwayman*. Lord George Germaine was appealed to, and although he could not 'interrupt the course of justice,' he offered the young rebel a lodging in the Tower where Raleigh and some other distinguished men had lodged centuries before,—or any prison in England. Trumbull had no money to waste, and he declined the Tower, and chose Tithill-fields Bridewell, behind Buckingham House. Here the painter had a parlor on the ground floor, a garden to walk in, and other things which made him 'quite comfortable.'

Death was the only probable or apparently possible termination to this affair. The moment West heard what had befallen his pupil, he 'hurried to Buckingham House, asked an audience of the king, and was admitted.' 'I am sorry for the young man,' said the king, 'but he is in the hands of the law, and must abide the result; I cannot interpose. Do you know whether

his parents are living?' 'I think I have heard him say that he has very lately received news of the death of his mother; I believe his father is living.'

'I pity him from my soul!' He mused a few moments, and then added: 'But, West, go to Mr. Trumbull immediately, and pledge to him my royal promise, that, in the worst possible event of the law, his life shall be safe.' With this kind answer, West hurried away to the prison. 'I had now,' says Trumbull, 'nothing more to apprehend than a tedious confinement, and that might be softened by books and my pencil. I therefore begged Mr. West to permit me to have his beautiful little Correggio and my tools. I proceeded with the copy, which was finished in prison during the winter of 1780-81, and is now deposited in the gallery at New Haven. In the course of the winter, I received kind visits from many distinguished men, among whom were John Lee, lately attorney general, Charles J. Fox, and others. Mr. Fox was very kind; he recommended a direct application to ministers, on the ground of impolicy, and added, 'I would undertake it myself, if I thought I could have any influence with them; but such is the hostility between us, that we are not even on speaking terms. Mr. Burke has not lost all influence—has not thrown away the scabbard, as I have; I will converse with him, and desire him to visit you.' A few days after, Mr. Burke came to see me, and readily and kindly undertook the negotiations, which, after some unavoidable delay, ended in the order of the king in council to admit me to bail, with the condition that I should leave the kingdom in thirty days, and not return until after peace should be restored. Mr. West and Mr. Copley became my sureties, and I was liberated in the beginning of June, after a close confinement of seven months. I remained in London a few days, and then determined to return to America by the shortest route, Amsterdam.'

Trumbull had a long and boisterous passage home, where he remained till the peace of 1783, when he sailed for England once more. He was now 28 years old.

He arrived at London, in January, 1784, and 'went immediately to Mr. West.' His father had written a letter of thanks to Edmund Burke for his 'kindness to his son when in prison.' Burke strongly recommended the painter to study architecture. 'You must be aware,' said he, 'that you belong to a young nation, which will soon want public buildings; these must be erected before the decorations of paintings and sculpture will be required. I would therefore strongly advise you to study architecture thoroughly and scientifically, in order to qualify yourself to superintend the erection of these national buildings; decorate them also, if you will.'

'This,' says Trumbull, 'was wise and kind advice, and I had afterwards sufficient evidence of my own want of wisdom in neglecting to follow it; a few of the hours of evenings, which, with all my fancied industry, were trifled away, would have sufficed for the acquisition of thorough architectural knowledge.'

'Upon my return to town, I resumed my studies with Mr. West, and at

the Academy, with ardor, and now began to meditate seriously the subjects of national history, of events of the Revolution, which have since been the great objects of my professional life. The death of General Warren on the battle of Bunker's Hill, and of General Montgomery in the attack on Quebec, were first decided upon. These were the earliest important events in point of time, and I not only regarded them as highly interesting passages of history, but felt, that in painting them I should be paying a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of eminent men who had given their lives for their country. These pictures—which are now in the gallery at New Haven—were both painted in the room of Mr. West.'

'Mr. West witnessed the progress of these two pictures with great interest, and strongly encouraged me to persevere in the work of the history of the American Revolution which I had thus commenced, and recommended to have the series engraved.' This suggestion Trumbull followed up for a long time, and so far as being a partner in the publication, at a great sacrifice of time, money and tranquillity ; for authors should seldom be their own publishers.

Trumbull returned the second time to the United States in November, 1789. Congress met in New York early in December. "All the world was assembled there, and I obtained many portraits for the Declaration of Independence ; Surrender of Cornwallis ; and also that of General Washington in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Some of the studies were put up in the Hall of the House, and in one of the debates on the subject, Mr. John Randolph was ardently eloquent in his commendation of the work, and insisted that I should be employed to execute the whole. The result was, that a resolution finally passed both houses giving authority to the President to employ me to compose and execute four paintings, commemorative of the most important events of the American Revolution, to be placed when finished in the Capitol of the United States. The choice of the subjects and the size of each picture was left to the President, Mr. Madison. I immediately waited upon the President to receive his orders. The size was first discussed. I proposed that they should be six feet high, by nine long, which would give to the figures half the size of life. The President at once overruled me. 'Consider, sir,' said he, 'the vast size of the apartment in which these works are to be placed—the Rotunda, one hundred feet in diameter, and the same in height—paintings of the size which you propose, will be lost in such a space,—they must be of dimensions to admit the figures to be the size of life.' This was so settled, and when we came to speak of the subjects, the President first mentioned the battle of Bunker's Hill. Observing me to be silent, Mr. Madison asked if I did not approve that. My reply was, 'that if the order had been—as I had hoped—for eight paintings, I should have named that first ; but as there were only four commanded, I thought otherwise. It appeared to me that there were two military subjects paramount to all others. We had, in the course of the Revolution, made prisoners of two armies—a circumstance almost without a parallel, and of course the surrender of Gen-

eral Burgoyne at Saratoga, and that of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, seemed to me indispensable.' 'True,' replied he, 'you are right; and what for the civil subjects?' 'The Declaration of Independence, of course.' 'What would you have the fourth?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I have thought that one of the highest moral lessons ever given to the world, was that presented by the conduct of the Commander-in-chief, in resigning his power and commission as he did, when the army, perhaps, would have been unanimously with him, and few of the people disposed to resist his retaining the power which he had used with such happy success, and such irreproachable moderation. I would recommend, then, the Resignation of Washington.' After a momentary silent reflection, the President said, 'I believe you are right; it was a glorious action.' The business was settled. The work went on without interruption, and was finished in 1824, and to the lasting honor of John Trumbull be it said that the money was scrupulously appropriated to the payment of the debts which had been accumulating during the years of toil which the artist bestowed upon his great and conscientiously executed labors. I copy the items as they stand to John Trumbull's account with the Treasurer of the United States:—

To Declaration of Independence.....	\$8,000
“ Surrender of Lord Cornwallis.....	8,000
“ Surrender of General Burgoyne.....	8,000
“ Resignation of General Washington.....	8,000
	<hr/>
	\$32,000

This looks small, in our days, to the most economical patriot who walks through the Rotunda. But heaven be praised that the United States got the pictures, and that the noble artist got his money. These few words in his autobiography close this record: 'My contract with the Government was thus honorably fulfilled; the paintings were placed in the Capitol, and so far as my skill extended, they were secured from dampness. My debts were paid, but I had the world before me to begin anew. I had passed the term of threescore years and ten, the allotted period of human life. My best friend was removed from me, and I had no child. A sense of loneliness began to creep over my mind, yet my hand was steady and my sight good, and I felt the *vis vitæ* strong within me. Why then sink down into premature imbecility?'

He did not. Other noble designs, well befitting an old man, were yet to be carried out; and this is the way he began: 'Funds began to diminish, and I sold scraps of furniture, fragments of plate, etc. My pictures remained on my hands unsold, and to all appearances unsalable. At length the thought occurred to me, that although the hope of a sale to a nation or to a State became more and more desperate from day to day, yet in an age of speculation it might be possible that some Society might be willing to possess these paintings, on condition of paying me a life annuity. I first thought of Harvard College, my *alma mater*, but she was rich and amply endowed. I

then thought of Yale. Although not my alma, yet she was within my native State, and poor. I hinted this idea to a friend—Mr. Alfred Smith, of Hartford—it took, was followed up, and resulted in a contract.' A gallery was erected by the College, his pictures were hung under his own direction, and the modest annuity of one thousand dollars was settled on him for life. Trumbull made one noble condition in this final disposition of his works, which will always shed lustre upon his name. After his death the entire proceeds of the exhibition of his gallery were to be 'perpetually appropriated towards defraying the expense of educating poor scholars in Yale College.' He says, in closing his charming autobiography: 'Thus I derive present subsistence principally from this source, and have, besides, the happy reflection, that when I shall have gone to my rest these works will remain a source of good to many a poor, perhaps meritorious and excellent man.' Yes, good old man, thy prayer has been answered! Thou hast gone to thy rest, and the world will not forget thee. Thou hast secured the power to do good to many brave spirits that will long eat the bread earned by thy pencil. In time to come they will offer grateful incense to thy memory. I see going forth from that University,—which has been so faithful to the trust of Berkeley and other generous spirits,—a long line of men who will be the teachers, the statesmen, the artists, and the writers of their times. They will hand down the name of their benefactor from age to age, as the poets have the name of the Father of Poets—the blind old man of Scio, who sang before the gates of a hundred cities—who, after denying him bread, fought for the honor of having given him birth.'

John Vanderlyn: Born in Kingston, New York, September, 1776: Died there September 23, 1852.—This painter's artistic career began in a blacksmith's shop, with a word from Aaron Burr, that determined his destiny, which culminated in the Louvre, where Napoleon awarded to him the great medal for his 'Marius among the Ruins of Carthage.' His life witnessed, for the sphere in which he moved, vicissitudes almost as great and strange as those two wonderful men whose names I have mentioned. Being obliged to

¹ This is true wisdom, for it is most wisely ordered that no other means seem to be so sure for winning lasting fame. Fortunes accumulated by sudden speculation, or the toils and savings of a lifetime, are often soon scattered by their inheritors, who care little about perpetuating the names of their benefactors. Fortunes are often squandered on frail and unworthy enterprises which leave no trace on the waste of time. Next to the man who, like PETER COOPER, builds his own monument while living, and sees his money do good every day for long blessed years, is the man who makes a legacy to posterity which ages, only make more valuable as they flow on—for such benefactions educate grateful eulogists.

Even a sketch so brief as this should say something of Trumbull's agency in the establishment of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York, which was finally superseded by the National Academy of Design, which, being under the exclusive control of artists, grew into favor and has flourished for half a century.

An association had been early formed in New York for promoting the Fine Arts, and Chancellor Livingston elected president. For a considerable period the institution was sustained with some vigor, but it finally

lost its vitality, and in 1816 it had nearly ceased to exist. During that year De Witt Clinton, who was then President of the Association, moved by those lofty motives by which he was always guided, originated and perfected a plan by which the Association was revived under the name of the American Academy of Fine Arts. He felt that delicacy required him to resign the presidency, and at his nomination Trumbull was elected president. Dunlap, who seems to have owed this celebrated painter a very malignant grudge, and who has often gone out of his way to gratify it in his work, would have us believe that the election of Trumbull gave general dissatisfaction to the artists of the country, and was fatal to the Academy itself. But I cannot find in the history of those times, nor from the testimony of living artists, anything to corroborate such an idea. Trumbull was almost universally appreciated, and very generally beloved. He continued to occupy the president's chair, I believe, until the formation of the National Academy of Design, which went into operation in 1825, with Samuel F. B. Morse for president. During this period probably no artist in this country gave instruction to so many scholars, and certainly no one displayed a warmer zeal in the cause of art.

go to work early for his living, young Vanderlyn hired himself out to a blacksmith in his native village. One morning Aaron Burr was riding by the smithy, and stopped to have his horse shod. Nothing escaped Burr's observation; he saw everything at a flash. What with other men was reason, with him was intuition. He noticed a charcoal sketch on a barn-door near the shop. 'Who made that?' was his inquiry of young Vanderlyn. 'I did it, sir.' After a few questions as to what he was about, he mounted his horse, handing to the boy his name and address, and told him if he would like to become an artist, he would try to help him. 'Put a clean shirt in your pocket,' he said, 'and when you come to New York call on me.' Not long after, as Burr was sitting at his breakfast table in his residence known as 'Richmond Hill,' the servant brought to him a brown paper parcel, with the message that the bearer was at the door. The parcel contained a coarse shirt, and the address of Colonel Burr in his own handwriting. From that moment Vanderlyn had a home in Burr's house, and a friend and patron in its master. Burr was doing such things all his life; but in this case, unlike a thousand others, the bread he cast upon the waters was to come back after many days. Long years went by, and Vanderlyn's star was blazing in Paris, while his patron's had suddenly gone into a deep eclipse. An exile from his country, poor, and avoided, if not hated, by millions who knew him only by name, he called at the studio of the blacksmith boy who had found a home at 'Richmond Hill.' Vanderlyn's heart swelled with gratitude and joy that he could now offer to the illustrious exile, shelter, hospitality and protection.

Vanderlyn's first studies began with Stuart, then the greatest portrait painter living; and under his teachings soon developed the genius which was to delight the world. One of his first successes was a copy of Burr's portrait which Stuart had recently painted. He afterwards executed an exquisite portrait of Theodosia, his beautiful, accomplished, and ill-fated daughter. When Vanderlyn had reached a certain stage of progress in art Burr recommended him to go to Paris, and gave him the means to do it. Washington Allston was his chief companion there, and he resided in the French capital for five years. He afterwards spent considerable time in Rome, where he lived in the house once occupied by Salvator Rosa. Unlike men of mere talent who have no power or glow of creative genius—he found in the presence of the master-works of so many ages, only sources of inspiration. He was never paralyzed by those stupendous creations. He studied profoundly, and worked with intensity; but he copied no longer than was necessary to comprehend perfectly what had been done by the chieftains of art. The longer he contemplated them, the more thoroughly he became master of himself.

He was not long in reaching the maturity of his powers, and the production of 'Marius,' and 'Ariadne' established his fame. 'Such are the Marius and Ariadne of Vanderlyn. It would be difficult to imagine two single figures more unlike in the impressions they convey, or indicating greater versatility of genius. The one embodies the Roman character in its grandest phase—

that of endurance ; and suggests its noblest association, that of patriotism. It is a type of manhood in its serious, resisting energy and indomitable courage, triumphant over thwarted ambition,—a stern, heroic figure, self-sustained and calm, seated in meditation amid prostrate columns which symbolize his fallen fortunes, and an outward solitude which reflects the desolation of his exile. The other an ideal of female beauty reposing upon the luxury of its own sensations, lost in a radiant sleep, and yielding with childlike self-abandonment to dreams of love.' Bishop Kip, whose graceful pen delights in artistic sketches, has in his personal reminiscences of Vanderlyn given the following fine description : 'The picture was painted in Rome, during the second year of my stay there,—1807. Rome was well adapted for the painting of such a subject, abounding in classical ruins, of which I endeavored to avail myself, and I think it also furnishes better models and specimens of the human form and character than our own country, or even France or England. And it is much more free from the fashion and frivolities of life than most other places.' 'The reception Marius met in Rome with the artists there from various parts of Europe, was full as flattering to me as the award of the Napoleon gold medal which it received the next year in Paris. It gave me reputation there, and from an impartial source, mostly strangers to me. I had the pleasure of having Washington Allston for a neighbor in Rome,—an excellent friend and companion, whose encouraging counsels I found useful to me, as in all my embarrassments he readily sympathized with me. We were the only American students of art in Rome at that time, and regretted not to have had a few more, as was the case with those from most other countries. In a stroll on the Campagna, between Rome, Albano, and Frascati, in the month of May, in company with a couple of other students, one a Russian, we came upon the old ruins of Roma Vecchia, where a fox was started from its hiding-place ; and this was the cause of my introducing one in the distance in my picture,—too trifling a fact perhaps to be mentioned. The work is intended to represent Marius, when, after his defeat by Sylla, and the desertion of his friends, he had taken refuge in Africa. He had just landed, when an officer came and thus addressed him : 'Marius, I come from the Prætor Sextilius, to tell you that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the Senate's decree, and treat you as the public enemy.' Marius, struck dumb with indignation at hearing this, uttered not a word for some time, but regarded the officer with a menacing aspect. At length, being asked what answer should be carried to the governor, 'Go and tell him,' said he, 'that thou hast seen Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage.' Thus in the happiest manner, he held up the fate of that city, and his own as a warning to the Prætor.'

'He sits, after having delivered this answer, with his toga just falling off his shoulders, and leaning on his short Roman sword. His helmet is at his feet ; the ruins of Rome's old rival are around him ; and at a distance through the arches of the aqueduct, are seen the blue waters of the Mediterranean. Under his left hand is the opening of one of those mighty sewers

which now form the only remains of ancient Carthage, and at his right elbow is an overthrown Phœnician altar, on which we can trace the sculptured ram's head and garlands. In the distance is a temple, with one of its pillars fallen, while a fox is seen among the ruins in front of its portico.

'The figure of Marius was copied by Vanderlyn, in Rome, from one of the Pope's guards, remarkable for his Herculean proportions, and the head was taken from a bust of Marius, bearing his name, which has been dug up in Italy. Any one familiar with the ruins in the south of Europe will at once recognize the composition of the different parts of the picture. The temple in the background is similar to the Parthenon at Athens; the massive remains which tower over the head of Marius are like those of the villa of Hadrian, near Rome; while the ruined aqueduct in the distance is copied from the Claudian aqueduct, which, with its broken arches, sweeps over the desolate Campagna, from the city to the distant Alban Hills.'

When 'the Marius' was exhibited in the Louvre, it became the sensation of the world of art, its reputation at Rome having already preceded it. One day as Napoleon, then in the zenith of his glory, was passing through the Louvre with Baron Denon and his artistic staff, he halted a while before 'the Marius' and scanned it closely without saying anything. After going on some distance he suddenly turned, and walking quickly back to the picture, after one more glance pointed energetically to it, saying, 'That picture deserves the medal.' All Paris agreed with him, as all Rome had agreed with Allston. The Emperor wished to purchase the picture but being in comfortable circumstances, Vanderlyn declined to part with it; and with 'the Ariadne' brought it to Boston. 'I did not wish those pictures to remain in Europe,—no European could have bought them.' When they were exhibited in Boston they were offered to the Athenæum for five hundred dollars each, but stupidly declined. Durand, who had then gained much reputation as an engraver, purchased Ariadne for six hundred dollars to engrave. Twenty years later he sold it to Mr. Harrison of Philadelphia for five thousand dollars; there it is still supposed to be, 'the Marius' having ultimately gone into the possession of Bishop Kip of California.

While Vanderlyn was still in his prime, his ambition, like Trumbull's, was to paint some national works for the government at Washington; and efforts were made by the friends of art throughout the country to obtain for him a commission.

Washington Allston.—Born at Waccamaw, S. C., Nov. 5, 1779. died in Cambridge, Mass., July 9, 1843.—I will put Washington Allston's name close to Vanderlyn's, since they resembled each other so closely in gifts and fate. Among the most distinguished painters we have ever had, two were offered commissions only when they were too old to execute them; Allston and Vanderlyn. As early as 1811, Allston's 'Dead Man raised by Elisha's Bones,' gained from the British Institution, where he entered into competition with the best painters in Europe, a prize of two hundred guineas. He won the palm

from the nation which has conceded to us nothing she could withhold ; and this prize was awarded the very year the most popular and powerful of the British journals were arousing that deep-seated malignity which broke out into the hostilities of the war of 1812. The cultured lovers of art in England cared little for all this. 'Jacob's Dream' went into the gallery of the Earl of Egremont. 'Elijah in the Desert' adorned the library of Mr. Labouchere. 'Uriel in the Sun' was purchased by the Marquis of Stafford ; and I know not how many other beautiful creations of his pencil became the gems of foreign galleries. While he was in the full vigor of youth, Congress seemed to be as unconscious of his merit as of a man yet unborn. But they discovered their mistake, as is often the case with public bodies, when it could not be corrected. He was offered a valuable commission by the government when too late to accept it ; and he declined it, I am told, in an eloquent and affecting letter to the Secretary of State !—a document which will one day be pointed to by the historian as a sarcasm too bitter for any country but our own—a country which produced many great artists at that period, but starved them out of it ; a practice more cruel than the vulture's, for she only devours her young.

Vanderlyn was offered a commission at last, and I heard the bitter regrets of that great man that it had not been offered to him 'before his sight grew dim, and his hand began to tremble.' The picture shows the pencil that painted 'the Ariadne,' and 'Marius among the Ruins of Carthage.' Such a spectacle is more melancholy than was the sight of Walter Scott's mind in ruins. We are told that during the visit he made to Italy in the decline of life, with the hope of recovering from the shock that broke down his constitution, he was invited to preside over a meeting of savans. The spectacle of the Great Wizard of the North, staggering under the dark eclipse that fell on him from the grave, was too sad ; the savans wept, and his friends led him from the room. But is not a sadder spectacle presented in the fate of a great genius, who has been neglected by his country till his keen eye has grown dim ; but who, although he had thrown his cunning pencil aside, to paint no more, takes it up at the tardy call of a repentant country, and tries to rally his strength for a last effort, which may perpetuate his name with the pillars of the capital ; like the old battle-horse of the Black Prince, who heard the trumpet call, and broke out of his stall—to die. We hardly know whether to rejoice over this late justice of our government to Vanderlyn, or to regret it. If the work had been superbly done, it certainly could not be the work he would have made twenty years before ; and it cost too much pain and effort to the brave and beautiful spirit that created it. Vanderlyn felt this keenly to the last ; and only a few days before his death, on a visit to my library, he alluded to it with tears.

When the great Thorwaldsen went home to Copenhagen to die, after his myriad creations of grandeur and beauty, he was received with the thunder of cannon along the coast, and processions and *gala festas* bespoke the gen-

eral enthusiasm. He was greeted back to his country with the honors decreed to a Roman victor, and became the companion of his sovereign. When he died, the king conducted his funeral. He followed him to the grave uncovered, as chief mourner, attended by all his court; and with his own hands he helped lay the great sculptor in his tomb. There were public demonstrations of grief, and the court and the city went into mourning.

As great a genius was Washington Allston; and his works, although not as numerous, display as high an order of talent. He was gifted with a poetical genius, Coleridge once remarked to Campbell, so the latter told me, unsurpassed by any man of his age!

Allston had had but a few friends. They appreciated his genius, however, and showed their sympathy in a more substantial way; these friends, who had not forsaken him while living, gathered around him when he came to die; and their example was followed by a numerous funeral train, as is always the case when it is too late to do any good. And there he lies, for aught I know, without a monument, or the prospect of any worthy of a genius who, when taste is improved, and a love of the Arts developed in our country, will gather thousands to the spot where he lies; and the foreigner who looks for the colossal pile over his dust, will, in its absence, turn to the artists of the nation, as he points to his resting-place, and say—

‘In yonder grave your Druid lies.’

Allston was appreciated by the few; but any one who should have suggested that his death was a national calamity that called for demonstrations of national sorrow, like those exhibited by the Danes of that ice-bound coast to their Thorwaldsen, would have most likely been met with a reply not unlike the following: ‘Why, a body would suppose the President of the United States was dead!’ Ages will roll by, and the wild flower, and, it may be, the wild briar grow over the grave of the great Poet-Painter, and a long succession of Presidents will come, and men enough will be found, without hunting for them, to fill that post; but ages may yet go by before the successor of Allston appears!

But our children will one day build the sepulchres of our prophets, though their fathers killed them.

SECTION TENTH.

WHAT PROVISION THE REPUBLIC HAS MADE FOR THE EDUCATION OF ITS CHILDREN.

We turn now to more cheerful contemplations. If, during the first century of our national life, we extended little encouragement to the Fine Arts, it will never be said that either the government of the United States, or the governments of the different States, forgot the cardinal maxim of their founders:—‘The first duty of the State is to educate all its people.’ Here the

chief glory of America lies. Here we can look for the secret of all our prosperity, and find it. From this source we can trace our marvellous progress.

Our Fourth and last Period will open with more exciting themes—the discovery of gold in California, attended with the fever which burned through the veins of the nation—the hurried tramp of excited multitudes towards the Pacific,—the opening of the route by the Isthmus, with the establishment of lines of steamers on both sides of the continent—the opening of the overland mail route, accompanied by the building of a railway to San Francisco—the sublime but fearful work of the magnetic telegraph, and the era of heated speculation—all culminating in the conflagration of a civil war, unmatched in the prodigal waste of life and treasure, and yet crowned with the glory of triumph for ‘the Union now and forever, one and inseparable.’ Before we enter upon these scenes of blended triumph and suffering, of glory and disgrace, it may be well to see what progress had been made in the education of our people.

Early Provisions for Popular Education—Land Grants.—If, when the Roman matron was asked to display her jewels, she showed her children, educated to become citizens worthy of so great a Republic, so might the mothers of America point to the shining line of their offspring, who from the beginning of our history have done honor to the nation ; for with hardly an exception our best men and women in every sphere of life began their education in the Common Schools. While my readers will never accuse me of not feeling a warm sympathy for the Fine Arts, nor of any insensibility to their claims, I had rather suffer under such an accusation, than that I should not leave in this book some record of my appreciation of what I deem an infinitely more important interest ; for I hold that no ornamentation of the superstructure can ever compare in importance with the solidity of its foundation. We were the first nation in history founded on the bed-rock of civilization—popular education. Our edifice was not built on the sand ; and when the representatives of all nations shall come here next year to see what we have accomplished during our first century, I will undertake within the brief record of this Section, to show them in our system of popular education, something more worthy of their study and admiration than they will find in all the external evidences of our material advancement ; for all these things which have enriched, fortified, and adorned America, have sprung from the little Common School-House ; this has been the beneficent fountain from which all our prosperity has sprung ; here gushes the Pierian spring which has given intellectual life to our people ; here were born all the inventions that make the record of our Patent Office ; all the sources of public and private wealth ; all devices for multiplying human power. Our District School-House, where the intellectual friction of this continent begins, has done for millions of school-boys and school-girls what the fabled lamp never did for Aladdin ; the magic touch of Webster’s spelling book always brought the genie.

The two ordinances for the government of the North-Western Territory, enacted in 1785 and 1787, set apart 'section sixteen of every township,' for maintaining public schools; and as a justification for such an act, by which a nation gave its sovereign title away, and the consideration that would forever hold good in its defence, this memorable declaration was inserted,—*religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.* There is something grander in these title-deeds than I can find in any of the titles which William the Conqueror gave to his favorites and followers when he divided England up amongst them; greater and more sacred than I find in the title-deeds which any other conqueror ever gave to a territory won by his sword.

In the ordinance of 1787, more than Common Schools were provided for. 'Two complete townships of land were to be given perpetually for the purpose of a University;' and in strict compliance with that provision, two townships have been given to every State organized since the commencement of the present century.¹ Ohio was fortunate enough to receive three; one while a Territory, and two on her admission to the Union; while Florida and Wisconsin have each received four. The States which received the sixteenth section, were Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Iowa, Texas, and Wisconsin; while California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, and Nevada not only received the sixteenth section, but the thirty-sixth section.

On the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, the ordinance was renewed, and all the States, down to 1848, received the specified sixteenth section. When Oregon was organized, in 1848, as a territory, a further provision was made by which the thirty-sixth section was also set apart for schools, so that all the States and Territories organized since that date have received two sections instead of one. In addition to these grants to the States on their admission, sixteen States have received 500,000 acres each by the Act of 1841; and by various acts of 1849, 1850, and 1860, fourteen States have received, under the designation of 'Swamp lands,' in all 62,428,413 acres. Much of all this has been devoted to popular education. Of the sixteen States which have received the 500,000 acres each, are Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, and Wisconsin. The fourteen States which have received the 62,000,000 acres are the same, with the exception of Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, and Oregon, with the addition of Indiana and Ohio.

¹ I am glad to make my grateful acknowledgments to two gentlemen for the courtesy and pains they have displayed in furnishing me with the statistics I have embodied in this section, General Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education, and the publishers of the first volume of the American Educational Annual—issued by J. W. Schermerhorn & Co., 14 Bond street, New York—a work worthy of the title they give it, for

it is a Cyclopædia, or reference-book for all matters pertaining to education. It is prepared with great care, and I hope it will prove not only more accurate and full, but necessarily more useful than any other publication of the kind ever attempted. I feel safe in following these authorities, for they are the most recent and reliable that lay within my reach. I have drawn very freely from *The Annual*.

The aggregate of lands thus granted amounts to 140,000,000 acres given to the several States for the support of Common Schools. The Permanent School Fund of the eighteen States that have received, under these various grants, reaches about \$44,000,000,—an average of nearly two and a half millions each; and up to the present time most of the permanent funds of those States is derived from these sources.¹ It was a lamentable oversight that these enormous grants had for a long time been made unconditionally. It was supposed that each State would husband such resources with the most vigilant care, and in some instances this confidence was well founded. But the grants were so prodigally made that, like other rich inheritances, they were somewhat prodigally managed. The State of Ohio, for instance, disposed of her three townships so unwisely, that they are now supposed to contribute only ten thousand dollars for the support of two universities, and the lands are forever tax-free to the fortunate lessees. But in 1862, the Government made an advance in its method of donations. In that year Congress appropriated to each State thirty thousand acres of public land for each senator and representative in Congress, with the condition that the amount accruing from the sale of such land should be invested as a perpetual fund for maintaining one college in each State, where the chief object should be, 'without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the Legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life.' This munificent act was, after the close of the civil war, extended by supplementary legislation, to apply to States which had been in rebellion when the first act was passed. On this basis have been established all those institutions now known as Agricultural Colleges. There has not yet been time for all the States to found these institutions, and in other instances they have only recently gone into operation. But it was a grand thought, and of the beneficence of the final results there can be no doubt. Some of the States put a higher value on these grants than others; they displayed greater wisdom in the management, and they will reap greater fruit. But it is safe, even now, to say that, so far as our knowledge extends, all the governments of the world put together have not, throughout the period of authentic history, given away such treasures for simple education; and there is just as little hazard in predicting unprecedented results. The agricultural grants amount

¹ There seems to have been great unanimity in the legislation of Congress on this matter of appropriations of land for the purpose of education. All our eminent statesmen, from Washington down, have expressed themselves as one man on this subject. A single extract from the Report of a Committee of the House of Representatives, presented February 27, 1806, is a fair sample of the prevailing sentiment of Congress and of the people. That Report says:

'Your Committee are of opinion that it ought to be a primary object with the general Government to en-

courage and promote education in every part of the Union, so far as the same can be done consistent with the general policy of the nation, and so as not to infringe the municipal regulations that are or may be adopted by the respective State authorities on this subject. . . . The National Legislature has, by several of its acts on former occasions, evinced in the strongest manner its disposition to afford the means of establishing and fostering, with a liberal hand, such public institutions.'

to 9,600,000 acres. As far as known, the lands that have been disposed of, have averaged seventy cents per acre, which would give for the entire amount at this rate \$6,720,000. Thirty-five States have located institutions, although their number has reached thirty-nine, since four of these States divided the fund. Up to the close of 1874, thirty-six of these institutions had been opened. The average value of the Congressional endowment is at present somewhat less than \$200,000. Thirty-two of these colleges have farms, averaging three hundred acres each, and twenty-two of them average sixty-five acres in ploughed crops. The latest returns of the value of the farms, reported by the twenty-six institutions, is \$800,000, an average of nearly \$31,000 each.

Twenty-two institutions report the value of their buildings at \$2,037,200, or an average of \$92,600 each; and seven others report \$1,142,000, as the value of the buildings, the use of which they share with other departments of institutions with which they are connected, and which are, to all practical intents and purposes, equivalent to that amount of value appropriated to the use of the so-called Agricultural Colleges. Nineteen institutions possess apparatus valued at \$121,400, or an average of \$6,389.47 each. Three others have apparatus valued at \$29,000, in connection with other departments of institutions associated with them.

‘Twenty-four institutions reported last year, in the agricultural and mechanical departments, an aggregate of two thousand six hundred and four students, with three hundred and twenty-one professors and assistants—an average of one hundred and nine students, and thirteen and three-tenths instructors; while returns made for the same year to the United States Commissioner of Education from two hundred and seventeen of the colleges in the country, show a total of twenty thousand eight hundred and sixty-six collegiate and post-graduate students, with three thousand and eighteen instructors—an average of ninety-six students and thirteen and eight-tenths instructors.

‘Perhaps the most interesting fact connected with the history of the institutions founded on the land-grant of 1862, is the extent to which they have awakened the enthusiasm and called forth the benevolence of individuals and communities in their behalf. It is a favorite theory in some quarters that governmental aid to education, and especially to higher education, tends to check individual effort; but the experience of the national colleges, so far as it goes, points directly to an opposite conclusion. It shows that the aid of Government, wisely bestowed, stimulates and encourages private benevolence, by giving it a central rallying-point, and an adequate guaranty of security.

‘Facts have been collected illustrating this point in the case of fifteen institutions, which have received donations, in addition to the Congressional endowment, either from the State, the county, the town, or from individuals, or from two or more of these sources. Of these, eight have received contributions, or grants, from the State, amounting to \$1,292,550; and fourteen of the number have received gifts from sources other than the State—such as county or town authorities, or private individuals—to the amount of \$3,630,649.86;

making a grand total of \$4,923,199.86. This entire sum, except \$571,545 was given to these institutions solely in consequence of the Congressional land-grant. Besides these enumerated money values, also, one or two old institutions have turned over their grounds and buildings to the State to increase the resources of the new college. Eighteen institutions possess funds and property to the amount of \$8,272,382, not including Cornell University or the Sheffield Scientific School. Bearing in mind that the facts just presented are such as have been collected respecting only fifteen of the institutions referred to, and that the oldest of them has been established only about ten years (the average being considerably less than five years), it is safe to say not merely that this is the most profitable disposition that the United States Government has ever yet made of any equal portion of its public lands, but that no government in the world can point to an educational trust that has been, on the whole, administered with more wisdom and fidelity, or with larger results than this.

‘A feature in the work of these institutions which is worthy of special notice, is that their students belong almost wholly to the great industrial classes, and are the graduates of the public schools. They are furnishing free tuition to many hundred young men, a great portion of whom, especially in the South and West, could never have entered college without the aid that has been rendered by the Congressional grant, directly and by way of promoting other contributions to the same object; and many an aspiring youth has had grateful occasion to bless the wisdom of the Congress of 1862, by whose act he has been enabled to obtain a liberal and practical education, which he could not otherwise have received.

‘These colleges are thus the natural outgrowth and completion of the free common-school system of the country. They are the colleges of the people; and whatever may be said of the wisdom of other grants of public lands made by Congress, there can be no doubt that this one has proved to be, as it was originally intended all should be, ‘for the common benefit.’

‘As to the future policy of the government, it is to be hoped that it will hereafter take a more, rather than less active interest, than it has hitherto done in the promotion of public education. It need not, for this end, depart from the strict sphere of its constitutional functions; it need not depart from our traditional policy of leaving each State to manage its common-school system in its own way; but it should hold an attitude of watchful interest towards this as one of the great objects of its concern; it should extend aid to the common schools, so far as that can be done without unequal discriminations or the too heavy increase of taxation; it should place the national scientific schools upon such a footing as will make them creditable to the people and the Government of the United States; it should see that the Territories, as they become organized, are not only encouraged but required to maintain good public schools, and help them to do it, not forgetting, in this, those forlorn wards of the nation, the Indian tribes.

‘The justifying principle of such a policy may be found in those weighty

words of Washington : *In proportion as the structure of a Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.*'¹

The School Systems of the different States and Territories.—I wish to preserve in the briefest form a record of Popular Education ; and I thought it best, although I may be anticipating the order of events, to embrace it all here as it can be summed up for our first century.

The Thirteen Colonies—Massachusetts.—I have already bestowed considerable attention on this matter, and need not be so minute as in treating of the States and Territories organized in recent periods. In all the New England States, ordinances and laws were enacted for the education of the people from the foundation of the Colonies ; and at the time of the adoption of the Constitution they were all provided with a pretty thorough system of education, from the separate districts, up to academies and colleges. In 1825 the Legislature appointed a commission to prepare a system for liberally educating young men who could not otherwise obtain a classical education. In 1827 the school laws were revised, and regulations were established which served as a model very generally copied by other States. Ten years later a Board of Education was instituted, and school districts were authorized to establish and maintain libraries. In 1842 Normal Schools were organized in Massachusetts, and these institutions were shortly introduced into other States. In 1857 the following amendment to the State Constitution was adopted :

'No person shall have the right to vote or be eligible to office under the Constitution of this Commonwealth, who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language, and write his name, unless prevented by physical disability from complying with the requirement, and unless he already enjoys the right to vote. All moneys raised by taxation in towns and cities for the support of public schools, and all moneys appropriated by the State for the support of common schools, shall never be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance exclusively of its own schools.'

The State Board of Education is intrusted with the school interest of the State. It consists of eight citizens appointed by the Governor for the term of eight years, one retiring each year. The school fund was first permanently provided for from the sale of lands, and the claims of the State Government for military services were wisely appropriated to this purpose. That fund now exceeds \$2,000,000. Education is compulsory, parents and guardians being compelled under penalty to send to school all children in their charge between the ages of eight and fourteen, three months every year, and no distinctions are made on account of race, color, or religion. Cities and towns are required to provide for the education of orphans and the children of drunken parents. A table showing the last ten years' progress of education

¹ *American Educational Annual*, pp. 17-19.

in Massachusetts gives astonishing figures. The amount of the school fund had risen from \$900,000 to upwards of \$1,600,000. The amount of money raised by taxes for the support of Common Schools rose from a million and a quarter, to nearly four million dollars. This State is still leading the way in constant improvements, the latest indicating most significantly what progress has been made. A University of Modern Languages is being established at Newburyport, to afford instruction in the principal modern languages of America, Europe, and Asia; all the foreign professors are to be natives of the countries to which their particular languages belong; and the students acquiring any special tongue, are to be domiciled as boarders with a family speaking it as its native language. It is expected that a large number of foreign pupils now pursuing their studies in various parts of the country, will enter this school, being established on a liberal basis, and the first one of the kind in the country.

Connecticut.—There never was a time when provision for education was not effectively made by this State. In 1650 she had a code of education, which required that in every township of fifty householders, a teacher should be appointed to 'instruct all such children as should resort to him, to read and write.' Every township of one hundred families had to maintain a grammar school. Not long afterwards, grammar schools were organized in each county, and land granted for their support. Connecticut first founded her splendid School Fund from the sale of her land in Ohio, which she acquired through her original charter. The money thus received amounted to \$1,200,000. It had been so judiciously managed that last year the income was \$133,000. But this gives a faint idea of the money actually expended, for the total receipts last year exceeded a million and a quarter of dollars. In 1871, complete as the Common-School System might have been deemed by ordinary observers, yet the laws relating to education were thoroughly revised, and the changes made by the new act showed how vigilant and judicious the reformation had been. Of course, compulsory education was adopted, and a weekly fine of five dollars imposed upon all children not exempted by the act, for non-attendance during thirteen weeks in any one year. Any person employing a child who has not been instructed, is subjected to a penalty of one hundred dollars. The Selectmen of any town can bind children whose parents habitually neglect them, to some suitable charity institution, or some proper master, until they become of age. The police must arrest truants, and they may send habitual truants to a house of reformation.

Rhode Island.—Until recently this State had not felt the necessity of such stringent regulations, for the means of education seemed to exist on every side. Her Permanent School Fund is nearly half a million, and last year a still larger sum was expended. The length of the school year was extended to thirty-five weeks and four days,—the largest average school year in the United States except in New Jersey. Membership to the school board is open alike

to men and women, as in Massachusetts, Illinois, and some other States. Rhode Island has an Institute of Instruction of great excellence and powerful influence, and the meetings of that body are looked upon with attention beyond the narrow limits of the State. It shows what progress Rhode Island has made in the last ten years, to state that the total expenditures for education increased sixfold, from \$100,000 to \$600,000.

Vermont.—Being settled by emigrants from Connecticut and Massachusetts, this State could not help taking care of the education of her children. The original constitution provided that ‘a competent number of schools should be maintained in each town for the instruction of youths, and that one or more grammar Schools should be incorporated and supported in each county.’ From that time she went on step by step, until 1867, when laws were passed authorizing towns to establish central schools, and making appropriations for three Normal Schools, with generous aid to indigent young men and women attending those institutions. In 1869 the Board of Education recommended radical changes. Addressing the Legislature they said: ‘The spirit of progress in matters of education, which has been at work during the past twelve years, has found one of its most formidable obstacles in the old district system. Here are over two thousand little educational republics practically independent of each other, and of all the world; a large number of them remote from intellectual centres, and wedded to practices which were necessitated by sparseness and poverty in early times.’ The following year the Legislature began to remedy these evils, and various changes have been made, resulting in the present School System, which commands admiration.

New Hampshire.—As early as 1642 her Provincial Legislature in an act ordered as follows: ‘Selectmen of towns to have a vigilant eye over their neighbors, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them to read perfectly the English tongue.’ The law of 1647 ordered that every township of fifty householders should appoint ‘one within their town to teach all such children as resorted to him to write, read, and, after ‘y^e Lord had increased y^e^m to y^e number of 100 householders, they set up a grammar school, y^e master thereof being able to instruct youth as far as that they may be fitted for y^e University.’

Steadily on through more than two centuries and a quarter, we trace through her statute books evidences of the vigilance with which the law guarded the sacred right of the people to be instructed. In 1870 a Normal School was established, and compulsory education adopted, which requires that all well children between eight and fourteen years, shall attend school at least twelve weeks every year, and the penalties are heavy enough to secure obedience. Last year the Legislature enlarged the powers of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The past ten years show astonishing progress. In 1864 the value of the school-houses was less than one million. In

1874 it was two millions and a quarter; the State School Fund had risen from a quarter to half a million; the average cost of schooling for each scholar had increased from \$2.90 to \$7.05, and the total expenditures from \$271,000 to \$600,700.

Maine.—When this State began her independent existence, under her first Constitution in 1820, the several towns were to provide, at their own expense, for the maintenance of public schools, seminaries of learning, and colleges. Eight years later, twenty townships of the State were given for a public School Fund. This fund now consists of one quarter of one per cent. tax on all deposits in savings banks, one mill per dollar-tax on all assessed property in the State, and the interest on the Permanent Fund. The total amount of the School Fund for the year ending April 12, 1874, was \$374,606.

Last year the State Superintendent of Common Schools reported: 'The school revenue has been increased one-third by the direct tax on property of the State. The Common School branches have been enlarged by adding book-keeping and physiology. The Free High School System, established two years, is a great stride towards superior education, and takes the place of the Academy System, thus affording free education to all, from the primer to the threshold of the college proper. State uniformity of text-books is settled by the "Bath plan," so called. By this arrangement towns furnish books to the youth free of expense, the same as school-houses and tuition. Legislation and public opinion begin to demand better supervision, which in time will give us some efficient agency intermediate between State Superintendent and Town Committees. Compulsory education passed one branch of the Legislature of 1872-3 unchallenged, and failed in the popular branch by only three votes.' The last ten years show that the number and value of the school-houses, the amount of the School Fund, and the aggregate expenditures, have all nearly doubled.

New York.—Although this State had taken an early and important lead in higher education, and had turned out her full share of men distinguished for scholarship and fame in the sciences, philosophy, and the learned professions, yet the first constitutional provisions that were made for the establishment of a Common School Fund was in the Constitution of 1846. The proceeds of all State lands were set aside for this purpose, and the capital of the local and private educational funds at that time existing, were declared to be forever inviolate. But the legislation of the State had never overlooked the subject of popular education. 'In 1787 the Board of Regents of the University was created, and empowered to incorporate colleges and academies. The powers of this Board have since been enlarged from time to time. In 1795 the first act for the maintenance and encouragement of common schools was passed by the Legislature. It made an annual appropriation of \$50,000 for five years to the respective cities and towns, for instruction in the English branches. The supervisors were required to raise by tax one-half of a like

amount for the same purpose. After four years, however, the Legislature ceased to make the appropriation. In 1805 the School Fund was established. In 1812 a Common-School Law, which had been recommended by an educational commission, was adopted by the Legislature, and immediately went into effect, constituting the groundwork of the Educational System to which the Empire State now justly points with pride. It provided for the division of the several towns of the State into school districts by three Commissioners, elected for that purpose; stipulated that the interest of the School Fund should be distributed on a basis of children from five to fifteen years of age, and expressly declared that each town should annually raise by tax for school purposes, as much money as it received from the School Fund. The whole system was placed under the superintendence of an officer designated by the Council of Appointment. In 1814, District Trustees were authorized to collect from parents and guardians the sums necessary to meet any deficiency in teachers' wages. In 1834 a portion of the revenue from the Literature Fund was set apart to be distributed by the Regents to such academies as should provide for the education of common-school teachers. In 1841 the Legislature authorized County Boards of Supervisors to appoint County Superintendents, who should exercise jurisdiction and supervision over schools. In 1844 the first Normal School in the State was established at Albany. In 1847 the office of County Superintendent was abolished, and the care and supervision of school affairs were intrusted to a single officer in each town. The office of Town Superintendent was in turn abolished in 1857, and District School Commissioners were provided for. Four years prior to this time—1853—what was known as the Union Free School Law was enacted. It enabled cities and villages hitherto divided into districts, to consolidate for the purpose of maintaining free graded schools. In 1864 a bill passed the Legislature revising and consolidating the General Acts relating to Public Instruction. This act was amended in 1865 and 1866, and again in 1867, when the Free School System of the State was fairly inaugurated.¹

In some respects the system of Popular Education in New York may well be commended. At an early period Teachers' Institutes were established, and for seventeen years they have been maintained by State appropriations. Last year County Institutes were held in nearly all the counties of the State, the average attendance of teachers for each county being nearly two hundred. The year before, they were attended by two thousand two hundred and sixty-five male, and six thousand five hundred and ninety-five female teachers. There are eight Normal Schools in the State, which are attended by 2,761 students, besides those in the academic and training departments. One of the prominent features of the educational system has been School Libraries. Chiefly through the exertion of James Wadsworth of Genesee County, an annual appropriation of \$55,000 was secured for District Library purposes from the income of the United States Deposit Fund; and other provisions were made authorizing separate districts, at their discretion, within prescribed

¹ *American Educational Annual*, pp. 113-114.

limits, to increase the amount by local taxation; in 1872 another act allowed a majority of the voters of any city, town, or village, to assess, as a *per capita* tax, one dollar for the establishment of a Free Library, and fifty cents for its support. This system of District and Free Libraries worked most admirably for a time. The number of volumes in 1853 was nearly a million and three-quarters; but owing to inefficient management, the number in twenty years became reduced to about one-half, when some measures were adopted to remedy the difficulty.

Compulsory Education.—Only last year was such a law enacted, and it is now in process of being carried out. The difficulties attending its execution, increases in large towns, and in so great a city as New York they become formidable; but there was a general determination on the part of the Regents of the University—a body numbering nineteen, and elected for life by joint ballot of the two branches of the Legislature—and of a vast number of Superintendents throughout the State, to enforce most effectually this crowning provision, which contemplates the difficult but necessary work of putting an end to juvenile ignorance in the State. The progress of education during the last decade in New York may be indicated by the following figures. The number of teachers employed at the same time for twenty-eight or more weeks, rose from 15,807 to 18,295—the number of children attending school, from 881,184 to 1,030,779. Total receipts for school purposes, from \$5,069,250 to \$12,088,762—teachers' wages, from \$3,093,460 to \$7,415,181; school-houses, from \$647,301 to \$2,000,000.

New Jersey.—Except for what this State had done for higher education, it had lagged behind its neighbors until 1853, when the State Teachers' Association was organized, and provision made for holding Teachers' Institutes. Five years later, a State Normal School was established. But the most efficient measure—the making of all the schools of the State free, and placing the system upon a firm and reliable foundation—was not adopted till 1868; when the passage of the Free School Act simplified the whole school machinery of the State, and accorded to all its children full and equal benefits. The School Fund amounts to eight hundred thousand dollars; but the State annually makes additional appropriations, and levies a two-mill tax for the support of schools. Where these sources are incomplete, the district makes up the deficit. The amount appropriated by the State in 1864 was less than \$78,000; in 1874 it was over \$1,300,000—the amount raised for rebuilding and repairing school-houses was in 1864, only \$42,000; in 1874 it was \$660,000. The total school revenues from all sources in 1864, scarcely exceeded \$600,000, while ten years later, they had more than quadrupled.

Pennsylvania.—William Penn felt very deeply the necessity of education, and he had incorporated in his Charter a clause which gave the Council and Provincial Governor full authority for providing public schools. This system





worked so satisfactorily, that it remained in force till 1776, when the Provincial Constitution provided for the establishment of a school in each county, and sixty thousand acres of public lands were appropriated for the use of public schools. But it was not till 1819 that a real American school law was passed. This provided for the free education of all children whose parents were unable to pay for their schooling ; but it was as late as 1831 that a law was enacted providing for the general education of all classes. The new Constitution of the State—the most advanced and illuminated constitution now in existence in this country—requires the Legislature to make an annual appropriation to the schools of not less than one million dollars annually. The total cost of popular education had risen from three millions and a quarter in 1864, to nearly eight millions and a half in 1874. But while Pennsylvania has six universities, and thirty-three colleges, with three hundred and forty nine teachers, and sixty-three hundred students, including fifteen hundred females, and many millions have been spent within the last few years in the establishment of schools for scientific and classical learning, it is a most humiliating and lamentable fact, that the latest official returns show that there are nearly 200,000 adults in the State who cannot write their own names ; and yet Philadelphia has always been a focal point of literary and scientific light. But under recent provisions, it is hoped the number of the utterly illiterate will cease to receive accessions, and be ultimately extinguished by death.

Maryland.—Although no provisions were made for popular education in her Constitution of 1776, nor in that of 1851, yet, fifty years before the Declaration of Independence, free schools were established in many of the counties ; and in 1825, an Act was passed ‘to provide for the public instruction of youth in primary schools ;’ and a State Superintendent, County Commissioner, and School Inspectors were appointed. It was, however, only in the Constitution of 1864, that any provision was made for free schools of universal application, when a stringent clause was inserted, decreeing that free schools should be taught at least six months in each year ; and an annual tax on the property of the State was fixed to create a School Fund to be equitably appropriated according to population, between the ages of five and twenty years. Under the sanction of this Constitution, the Legislature with great unanimity established a system of public instruction, embracing provisions for State Normal Schools, and Teachers’ Institutes, which were required to hold sessions once a year in each county, while a beginning was made for School District Libraries. Last year, at the annual meeting of the School Commissioners, an earnest appeal was made to the Legislature to increase the appropriation for the support of Public Schools, and it was doubled. Another bright sign appeared in the increase of the salaries paid to teachers, from \$350,000 to \$890,000.

Delaware.—Her first Constitution had this provision : ‘The Legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for establishing schools

and promoting arts and sciences.' In 1796 an act was passed to create a Fund sufficient to establish schools. This Fund was increased in subsequent years, and in 1829 the Legislature passed a bill to provide for Free Schools. But one proviso vitiated the system: it was resolved 'to put the whole matter of education in the hands of the people.' Of course, very little was done without obligatory central legislation. In 1837 the income of the United States Surplus Revenue Fund was appropriated for the benefit of the school districts. In the matter of education, Delaware has little to boast. The State has made no provision by law for the education of the colored population, and with the exception of some beneficent efforts made by Associations and individuals, particularly in Wilmington, very little has been done.

Virginia.—Her first Constitution of 1776, said nothing about education. Two years later, Jefferson and Wythe made an earnest but unavailing attempt to secure a law for education. But the first General School Law was not enacted till 1796, which, commencing with such a preamble as the following, would seem to have promised something efficient: 'Whereas, it appeareth that the great advantages which civilized and polished nations enjoy beyond the savage and barbarous nations of the world, are principally derived from the invention and use of letters,' etc. In 1818 an act was passed appropriating \$45,000 of the revenue to the promotion of the education of the poor, and \$15,000 a year to endow a separate University, to be known as the 'University of Virginia.' In 1839, Governor Campbell, and in 1843, Governor McDowell called upon the Legislature to make further provision for the education of the people. Governor McDowell said in his message, 'The plan of common education, viz., that based upon the Literary Fund, and the Act of 1818—which reaches only twenty-eight thousand out of the fifty-one thousand poor children, and gives them only sixty days' tuition—is a costly and delusive nullity which ought to be abolished, and another and better one established in its place.' Little or no advance was, however, made, and illiteracy alarmingly increased.

The bill of 1870 was matured after great deliberation by some of the leading educators, and then laid before a joint conference of the Senate and House Committees. Finally, after animated and protracted discussion, the act passed both bodies, was signed by the Governor, and became a law July 11, 'a day which,' says the present Superintendent of Education, 'marks an epoch in the history of Virginia.' 'Popular education then took its proper place among the great public interests, and its machinery became nearly allied to that of the State. The administration centred at the Capital, and was in the hands of special officers. Each county had its executive, and each district its board of control. The State is the administrative unit, counties its grand divisions, and districts its subdivisions.' This is the order: *The State Superintendent* is appointed by the Legislature. *The State Board of Education* consists of the Governor, Superintendent of Instruction, and the Attorney-General of the State. *The County Superintendents*, to the number of

ninety-three, and the District Trustees, are appointed by the Board of Education.

The three sources of revenue for the support of schools are the annual proceeds of the Literary Fund, a capitation tax not exceeding \$1 on every adult male citizen, and an annual tax on property of not less than one, nor more than five mills on the dollar; besides the State taxation, counties and school districts are each allowed to levy a tax on property, and counties may levy a capitation tax of fifty cents for all purposes, which may be applied in whole or part, or not at all, to school purposes. The whole amount of State school funds available for the year 1872-1873 was \$464,740.91.

Teachers' Institutes were held in sixty-seven counties and cities during 1873. Eighty-eight counties and cities reported an improvement in the qualification of teachers. Forty-eight counties and cities report that complete uniformity has been secured in text-books. Fifty-three others have nearly succeeded in securing uniformity. Eighty-one counties and cities report an improvement in school-houses. The records of the district and county school boards were properly kept in sixty-six counties, and not properly kept in thirty-six others.

A new era came when the blighting curse of slavery passed away. The new Constitution of 1867, followed by a new school law three years later, brought to the Old Dominion the dawn of hope for the education of her people. The Superintendent of Instruction says, 'The general financial condition is now more satisfactory than it has ever been. The State tax on property for school purposes is as large as it ought to be at any time. The prosperity of our higher institutions during the past year has exceeded that of any previous year in the history of the State; and now we have the satisfaction of seeing Virginia leading not only her Southern sisters in the work of higher education, but leading the whole thirty-seven States of the Union.' There are no school statistics of Virginia, except those of the last three years, when she inaugurated her new school system. The advance that has been made during this short period transcends every hope which the most sanguine could have entertained. The number of public schools is nearly four thousand; the estimated value of public school property \$550,000.

West Virginia.—When this State, after seceding from the Old Dominion, was admitted into the Union on June 20, 1863, an early act provided for a School Fund to be created out of the State's proportion of the 'Literary Fund' of Virginia, and from other sources, for the support of schools, and enjoined upon the Legislature to provide for a thorough system of free schools, for the election of a State Superintendent, for township taxation, for free schools, for the proper care of the blind, deaf-mutes, and insane, and the organization of such institutions of learning as the best interests of the State demanded. In 1865 the free-school system was established, embracing a State Superintendent, County Superintendents, Township Commissioners, and District Trustees. This system underwent some modifications at the hands of the

Legislature until April, 1873, when it was materially changed for the better. The veins of the new State were now pervaded by the blood of freedom, and we greet the following signs of educational progress extending over a period of only six years. She established five Normal Schools, and organized nine hundred new school districts; the number of her scholars rose from 35,000 to 81,000, and the average daily attendance from 21,000 to 61,000; the School Fund increased from \$172,000 to \$212,000, and the total receipts for school purposes from \$200,000 to \$740,000.

North Carolina.—This State never had done much for the education of her people, and yet she made some good efforts in that way. A fund for the support of Common Schools was appropriated by the General Assembly in the year 1825, consisting of the dividends arising from the stocks then owned by the State in certain banks and works of internal improvement in the State, the tax imposed by law on licenses to retailers of spirituous liquors and auctioneers, the unexpended balance of the agricultural fund, all moneys paid to the State for entries of vacant lands, and for all the vacant and unappropriated swamp lands in the State, together with such sums of money as the Legislature might afterwards appropriate. In 1840 the permanent School Fund had reached two millions, yielding an income of \$129,000 a year, which, with additions from the several counties, gave from two hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually for the feeble support of twenty-five hundred schools for white children three months in the year. But this School Fund was swept away by the war, when public schools were closed till about 1870. Her new Constitution had, two years before, incorporated the following clause, which opened the dawning of a better day:—

‘The proceeds of all lands that have been, or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this State, and not otherwise specially appropriated by the United States or heretofore by this State; all moneys, stocks, bonds, and other property now belonging to any fund for purposes of education; the net proceeds that may accrue to the State from sales of estrays, or from fines, penalties, and forfeitures; the proceeds of all sales of the swamp lands belonging to the State; all money that shall be paid as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, shall be securely invested, and sacredly preserved as an irreducible educational fund, the annual income of which, together with so much of the ordinary revenue of the State as may be necessary, shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and perfecting in this State a system of free public schools, and for no other purposes or uses whatsoever.’

In a visit to North Carolina in February, 1875, I obtained some information which will partly make up for the lack of any later report than of June 30, 1873. The whole number of children in the State between the ages of six and twenty-one, was then 348,603, 146,737 of whom were in the public schools on an average of two and a half months, the number of schools

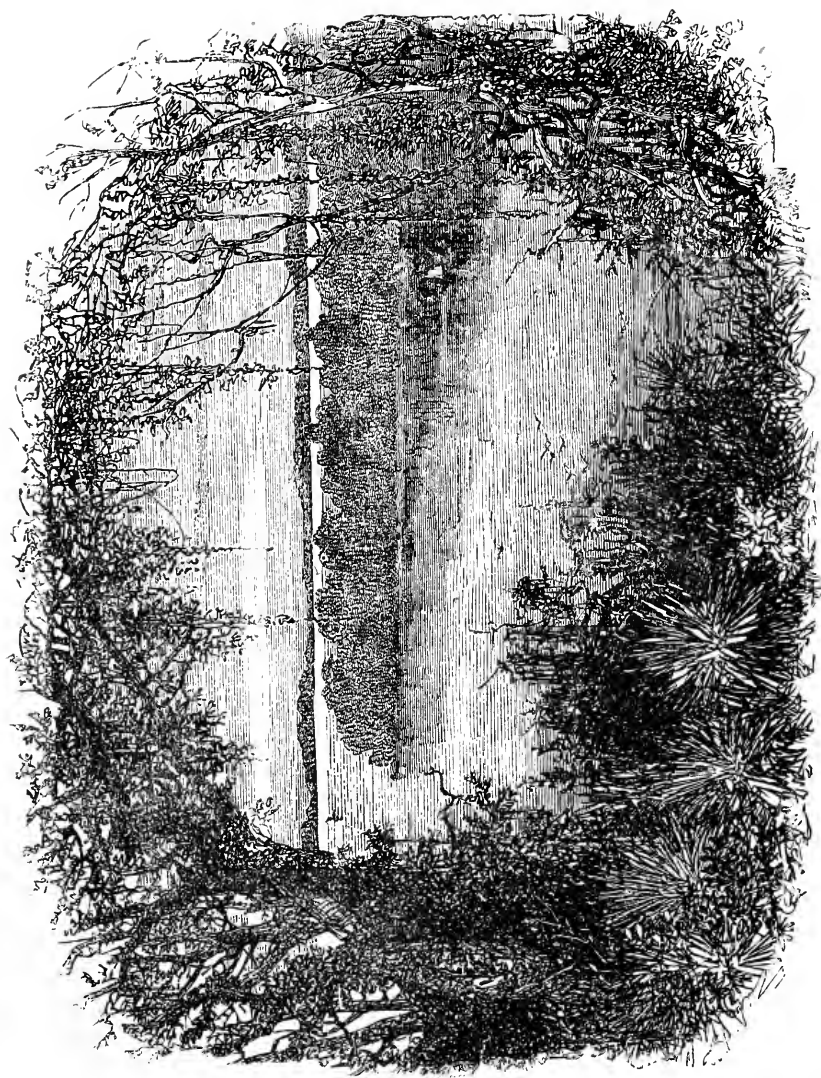
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A VISTA IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

being 3,311. I was glad to learn that, notwithstanding the unfortunate financial condition of the State, the school system had been rapidly advancing under the auspices of the State Educational Association, which was established in July, 1873.

South Carolina.—In her first Constitution—1798—she made no educational provisions, her declared policy being ‘to leave elementary education to parents.’ In 1811 an attempt was made to establish a Free School Fund, with a stipulation that if the provision should prove ‘inadequate for all applicants, preference should be given to the poor.’ This taint of charity deterred the wealthier classes from any participation in the plan, and the poor were too ignorant to avail themselves of its advantages. In 1843 a systematic effort was made to increase the number of schools, and the amount of the appropriations. But little progress was witnessed, till the war broke out and put an end to all educational advancement. In 1868, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Jillson, then State Superintendent, a clause was introduced into the new Constitution, requiring the Legislature ‘to provide for a uniform system of Free Public Schools,’ and the educational department of the State was organized, under the new Act, ‘to establish and maintain a System of free Common Schools,’ on the following basis prescribed by the Constitution:—the division of the State into school districts: compulsory attendance at public or private schools of all children between six and sixteen years of age not physically disabled: levying a tax on property and polls for the support of schools: the establishment of a State Normal School, a State Reform School, a State University, and educational institutions for the deaf, dumb, and blind. All the public schools, colleges, and universities, if supported in whole or part by public funds, are declared free and open to all the children and youth of the State, without regard to race or color. These provisions, I was informed in February, 1875, by intelligent men in Charleston, were being carried out with considerable efficiency, but unfortunately compulsory education had not been embraced in the legislative act. Separate schools had been provided by the Commissioners for colored children, and this seemed to meet the universal approbation of the people. Although the most prominent colored men in Charleston desired to see Mr. Sumner’s original Civil Rights Bill passed, in order that the rights of colored citizens should be placed on the same basis as the whites, yet none of them desired to have, for the present at least, the two races educated together. The latest report I have—that of 1874—gives many encouraging signs for the future, although the finances and business of the State have been thrown into complete confusion in consequence of malfeasance in public office, and the almost hopeless depression of an insulted and outraged people. During 1874 ten Teachers’ Institutes were held; one normal school was in good working order; four hundred and sixty-three school districts were established; one hundred and nine school-houses erected during the year, 85,594 pupils enrolled in the schools, 1,439

males, and 935 female teachers employed; 84,975 white, and 145,127 colored scholars were embraced in the State, and \$450,000 were received for school purposes.

Georgia.—Her original Constitution of 1777 provided that schools should be erected in each county, and supported at the general expense of the State. In 1783 the Legislature gave one thousand acres of land to each county for school purposes. The year following, forty thousand acres of State lands were given for the endowment of a University, and eight years after, five thousand dollars appropriated for the endowment of an academy in every county. During the next fifty years, much legislation favorable to education was had, but the progress made was very slow. The best citizens of the State felt humiliated that so much ignorance should prevail in so rich a commonwealth, and in 1845, and again in 1856, more vigorous efforts were made to remedy the evil, but with not much better results. The obtusest observer found an easy solution for what was generally assumed as something mysterious, that in a community where it was made a crime to teach a vast proportion of its people to read and write, the education of the rest was neglected. Of course, nothing was done till the war was over and slavery was abolished.

A new Constitution, adopted in 1868, provided for the organization of 'a thorough system of education, to be forever free to all the children of the State.' The present school system has grown out of a General School Law subsequently enacted. It is modelled substantially after the school systems which have been established throughout the Union during the present generation, and a start has been made which is not likely hereafter to meet with any serious check. The white and colored races cannot be taught together under these provisions; but the same facilities are required to be provided for both. The scholastic age extends from six to twenty-one. The School Fund consists of the poll-tax, tax on shows and exhibitions, and spirituous and malt liquors, endowments, devises, gifts and bequests made to the State, or State Board of Education; all educational funds and incomes due the State University, one-half the net earnings of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, and such other sums as the State may from time to time raise by a general tax upon the whole property of the State.

The following statistics, furnished to the editor of the *American Educational Annual*, by Commissioner Orr, embrace every county in the State. The number of white schools in the State 1,562; colored schools, 412; white male scholars, 35,792; white females, 28,607; colored males, 10,449; females, 10,337; total number of white and colored scholars, 85,184.

The other States which followed the first Thirteen in the order of their admission to the Union, after the adoption of the Constitution.

Kentucky.—The first general provision for common schools was in 1821, when one-half of the clear revenue of the Bank of the Commonwealth was

set aside as a Literary Fund. In 1830 a bill was passed to establish a uniform system of Public Schools, containing this proviso :—‘ Any widow over twenty-one years of age, residing and owning property subject to taxation for school purposes in any school district, shall have the right to vote either in person or by written proxy ; also infants so situated, may vote by proxy.’ The most just, and the earliest recognition of the right of voting on the basis of taxation that had then been made in the country.’ In 1838 a System of Common Schools was established, with a Board of Education and a Superintendent of Public Instruction. In 1854 a new law provided for the education of one hundred and fifty teachers in the State University at Lexington.

But here, as in other States where slavery was an organic law, such provisions were almost futile. However, in the winter of 1872-3, a modern system of public instruction was fixed, and provisions which had been found necessary in other States were made for carrying out a system which might promise satisfactory results. A School Fund was commenced : Teachers’ Institutes were required to be held annually, and attendance was made imperative. Finally, in 1874, the Legislature established a Uniform System of Common Schools for the colored children of the State, under such provisions as were deemed most advantageous for both races ; and the intent of the law seems to have been to make the provisions effectual, the State Board deciding on the regulations for the government of colored schools not differing materially from those of the other race. The most earnest friends of education organized in the summer of 1874, ‘ a Society for the Advancement of Education in Kentucky,’ its primary object being to obtain and publish annually educational statistics. The State Superintendent had reported, in 1862, that the whole number of children living in the districts in which common schools were taught three months and over, in conformity to the general law, was 158,989, the average number attending being only 43,654. The next year showed the amount in the treasury to the credit of the common schools to be \$341,528. This did not look very encouraging ; but in Superintendent Henderson’s report for last year he says :—‘ It is my gratifying privilege to state that it has been a year of substantial progress in every department of the school system. With but rare exceptions, the reports of the commissioners and correspondence of this office bear to the Superintendent cheering evidence of a great educational revival pervading almost every section of the State.’

Tennessee.—Admitted to the Union in 1796, she did nothing for education till 1823, when certain tracts of land were devoted to ‘ a perpetual fund for the promotion of common schools in every county of the State.’ The next Constitution of 1835, enjoined the Legislature ‘ to cherish literature and science ; knowledge, learning, and virtue being essential to the preservation of Republican institutions,’ and to preserve the School Fund inviolate. In 1858, on the adoption of the Code of Tennessee, the school fund was declared to be \$1,500,000, then consisting of a part of the capital stock of

the Bank of Tennessee. But the interest on this fund was neither wisely nor faithfully administered, and the civil war wiped it out. Attempts were made by the Legislature, in 1867, to revive a system of common schools, but it ended in practical failure. It was only in 1873 that any earnest measure was adopted. Then the lost school fund, with the suspended interest on it, was restored, which made a permanent fund of \$2,512,500, with six per cent. interest, distributed semi-annually among the counties of the State, according to scholastic population. The same law levied a poll-tax of one dollar, and a tax of one mill upon all taxable property in the State; and it was further provided that when money derived from these sources should not be sufficient to maintain a public school for five months in a year, the County Court should levy a tax, or submit the proposition to a vote of the people. This gave a school revenue, exclusive of city school taxation, of \$900,000 the first year. The scholastic population between the ages of six and eighteen, was found, in 1874, to number 313,582 whites; 104,603 colored. Up to September 1st, 1873, 3,470 white, and 589 colored schools were organized; of pupils enrolled 149,577 whites, 23,524 colored: licensed teachers, 4,680; number of teachers employed 3,618, their average wages per month \$32.

The principal cities, Nashville, Knoxville, Memphis, and Chattanooga, have all organized systems of Public Schools. Sixty-one Peabody Schools have been organized, and Teachers' Institutes are being established. These are some of the encouraging signs of education in Tennessee.

Ohio.—She comes next, having been admitted to the Union in 1802,—in reaching her we strike solid ground. A stipulation of Congress for her admission secured for her inhabitants the reservation of each 16th Section of every township for schools; and her first Constitution enjoined that 'schools and the means of instruction be forever encouraged by Legislative provision.' In 1831 the zealous and enlightened promoters of education organized 'a College of Teachers,' which did so noble a work that to it may be traced a moulding influence over the whole educational system of the West; a system which all the States then springing into life, adopted 'ready made' at their hands. It is utterly beyond human power to comprehend the results which sprang from the inauguration of that College of Teachers. While the great North-west was just being opened to an inrolling tide of emigration, and Ohio was herself furnishing the largest impulse to the movement, it had become a matter of infinite importance that her people had been instructed in her own District Schools, or in those of New York or New England, for such men were to a great extent to be the pioneers of the movement towards the Pacific, and by virtue of superior intelligence, the moulders of society in the coming States that were to make that vast wilderness the heart of a mighty Republican empire.

Those pioneers carried with them the souvenirs of the district school-houses of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire,

Vermont, and New York. In the fall of October, 1834, I happened to look on a scene which was full of suggestions concerning this matter. In the convention of the College of Teachers at Cincinnati, I saw the foregleaming of the coming morning of illumination for the great West, and made the record which will be found in the note below.¹ The Legislature, in 1837, made the temporary office of State Superintendent permanent; created a School Fund; laid a county tax of two mills to sustain schools; gave all incorporated towns and cities a Board of Education with large control; and thus Ohio placed herself in the western van of the column which was carrying the spelling-book towards the Pacific.

Only two years ago all her laws and regulations concerning Popular Education were reduced to a Code of universal application, in which the wisdom of sixty years' practical experience is judiciously embraced. Ohio was behind few of the States ten years ago. A few figures will indicate how far she has outstripped most of them in her progress through the last decade. The number of her primary schools increased, from 1864 to 1874, from 11,661 to 14,193; high schools from 149 to 350; her teachers male and female from 20,180 to 21,899; average pay of male teachers in common schools, from \$28.25 per month, to \$40.61; of female from \$24.75 to \$29.45; average expenditures for tuition and incidental expenses, from \$2,420,940 to \$5,535,747; buildings, sites, and repairs, \$317,184 to \$1,437,655; total expenditures for all purposes, from \$2,738,124 to \$7,431,975. The system is subjected to close supervision—two items speaking for themselves: Sixty-two Teachers' Institutes held conventions last year at the expense of the State; and 264 county examiners comprising the following pursuits: 152 professional teachers, 40 lawyers, 23 clergymen, 13 farmers, 6 physicians, 6 merchants, and 20 of other employments.

May not every State and Territory beyond the borders of Ohio be glad that she made such wise and large provisions for the education of their people? Like the crystal waters of her own queen of rivers, which spring from the eastern hills, the tide of intelligence from her common schools has purified, enriched, and beautified them all.

Louisiana.—French in origin, and consequently Catholic in religion, education was mainly in the hands of the clergy, who bestowed their chief attention upon the higher intellectual culture of the few, while upon the masses little

¹ *Lexington, Ky., October, 1834.*—I was deeply impressed while attending the sessions of the College of Teachers—whose convention was held in Cincinnati two weeks ago—with the influence that body is to put forth upon the nation, and more surprised than I can express at the progress education is making at the West. This convention was composed chiefly of Western men who have made teaching a profession, from the Common School up to the University. A good many speeches were made, and papers read from persons little known, which would have done honor to Horace Man, John C. Spencer, or Beriah Green, who are revolutionizing the educational systems at the East. Of course the

great attraction was the elaborate address of Thomas S. Grimke, of South Carolina, the elegant scholar, the magnanimous philanthropist. The day after delivering that glorious address, while on his way to visit his brother, an eminent State judge of Ohio, he was suddenly seized with Asiatic cholera—now fearfully malignant in this region—and taken from the stage coach to die. What a loss to the cause of education! He was a great and good man; a reformer without fanaticism; a revolutionist, without the slightest tendency to anarchy; a Christian without sectarianism; abhorring slavery without hating the slaveholder.—*MY LIFE NOTE-BOOK*, MS.

attention was bestowed beyond the formulas of the church. But, even before her admission to the Union in 1812, some progress had been made in providing for elementary education, and eight hundred dollars were annually appropriated to each of the parishes for this purpose. Other acts were passed, but with what results we may judge from the report of Mr. Gayarre, State Superintendent in 1846. 'I am fully satisfied that, except in some parts of the State, the existing system has not produced the beneficent results which were expected from it; that it is extremely vicious and imperfect, so far as it applies to the county parishes, and that there has been a lavish expenditure of the public money to comparatively little purpose.' The next year a new statute of the legislature was enacted to establish free public schools for all white children between six and sixteen years of age. It provided for the appointment of a State Superintendent and Parish Superintendents; the collection of a one-mill tax, and the establishment of a State School Fund out of a consolidation of all land grants; seven hundred and eighty-six thousand and forty-four acres for Common Schools, and individual donations made for educational purposes. To these revenues was added, in 1855, a capitation tax of \$1 on each free white male inhabitant over twenty-one years old. But the legislation was in advance of the people, and very few satisfactory results followed. The war extinguished these feeble glimmerings of intellectual light.

It was only in 1868 that a Constitution worthy of a free people was adopted, and the following year a Legislative Act provided that a State Superintendent of Public Education should be elected for four years; that all children between six and twenty-one years should be admitted to the public schools or other institutions of learning sustained or established by the State in common, regardless of race, color, or previous condition. Thus did the Modern System of American Popular Education get a start, and in 1870, by further legislation, that system was fully established on a permanent basis, and it had been carried out in an enlightened and persevering spirit, as far as it could be in the disturbed condition which the conflicts of demagogues have brought upon society in that once rich and happy, but now impoverished and unfortunate State. Yet even under such inauspicious circumstances the following facts speak well for what the friends of education have done during the four years of the present school system: increase in the number of enrolled pupils, 44,210; school-houses erected 101 [in 1874 alone], and entire value of all such edifices \$573,510; increase in number of male teachers 753; of female 199. Amount of State School Fund \$1,050,000, the total receipts for school purposes \$679,000.

Indiana.—The Constitution which admitted her to the Union, enjoined the legislature to provide for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University, where tuition should be gratis and open to all; but no school law was passed for five years, and neither it nor any future acts modifying it proved much better than a dead

letter till the disgraceful revelation was made by the census of 1840, that of a population of 988,000 there were 75,000 adults who could neither read nor write. This fact aroused the friends of education to transient efforts, and the new Constitution of 1850 made it the duty of the Legislature to provide for popular education. An educational law was passed in 1855, and her best citizens began to hope that Indiana would cease to be called the Bœotia of the North. The work began, and finally, after much legislation, 1874 saw the superstructure of an American system substantially completed. Her School Fund exceeds eight million six hundred thousand dollars.¹

Indiana has been fast atoning for former delinquencies. She had in 1874, 451,259 enrolled in primary, and 13,895 in high schools; schools were taught in 8,918 districts; there were 9,202 school-houses, of which 465 were built in 1874, at a cost of \$872,900; and ninety-two Teachers' Institutes had been held, a penalty being imposed on all teachers for non-attendance. So perish the name of Bœotia in Indiana.

Mississippi.—She came into the Union in 1817, with this high declaration in her Constitution:—‘Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, the promotion of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.’ But half a century passed away before any code of laws was enacted for the establishment and government of a system of Public Schools. As with other Southern States, where almost the entire mass of their laboring people were held in slavery, legislation was powerless to educate even the free. Outside of cities, school-houses were hardly to be seen:—and what else could be expected from a state which had deliberately repudiated her public debt? But no sooner had slavery’s fetters been melted by the fires of Liberty’s cannon than education followed in the wake of freedom, and one day Mississippi may pay the bonds which George Peabody left to educate her people.

From a paper written for the *American Annual of Education*, by Mr. Cardoza, State Superintendent of Public Education in Mississippi, I gather the following information.² Immediately after the fall of Vicksburg, philan-

¹ The School Funds have been simplified, and are now embraced under the two heads, Common School Fund and Congressional School Fund. The former embraces the various funds mentioned in the Constitution of the State, and set apart by it for educational purposes, such as the surplus Revenue Fund, Saline Fund, Bank Tax Fund, Sinking Fund, and the fund derived from the sale of county seminaries, the last dollar of which has found its way into the fund, and is at the present time productive of interest. This fund embraces also fines, forfeitures, escheats, etc., which continue to augment it from year to year. The Congressional Township Fund includes the proceeds of the sale of the sixteenth sections, as well as the present value of such of those lands as remain unsold. Both of these funds may be summarized as follows:

Non-negotiable bonds.....	\$3,904,783 21
Common School Fund.....	2,341,267 12
Congressional Township Fund.....	2,372,880 94
Total.....	\$8,618,931 27

—*American Education Annual*, p 53.

² T. W. CARDOZA, State Superintendent of Public Education in Mississippi, was born in Charleston, S.

C., December 19, 1838, of a white father belonging to the aristocracy of the State, and a slave mother, who, however, had been liberated previous to his birth. When nineteen years of age, he took his mother to Cleveland, Ohio, and obtained employment for himself in New York State. He entered the Newburg Collegiate Institute as soon as he had saved sufficient funds, expecting to complete his studies at Dartmouth or Harvard. But the war came on, and he was obliged to resort to teaching again. He taught schools at Stapleton, Staten Island, and Flushing, Long Island, being remarkably successful at the latter place. Two weeks after Vicksburg’s fall, he was sent to Charleston, S. C., by the Freedmen’s Society, to organize schools among the colored children. He gathered one thousand children into the schools under his immediate charge within a short time. Desiring a permanent home in the South, he selected Mississippi, where he found a congenial climate and a wide field for his favorite occupation. He took an active part in the organization of the school-work of the State, and in November, 1873, was elected to the position of State Superintendent of Public Education by the largest majority, excepting one, of those on the ticket with him.—*American Annual of Education*, p. 91.

thropic societies of the North extended their field of operations into the State, and nearly every town enjoyed the benefit of the Public Schools. They were opened to all; but very few white children availed themselves of the opportunity. These schools were continued until 1869-70, when the Legislature enacted a code of laws for the inauguration and government of a system of Public Schools. It at first encountered opposition. Its benign influences, however, have overcome prejudices, and now there are very few persons in the State who oppose it. There are now employed about 2,600 teachers, and 150,000 children attend the Public Schools. They were at first looked upon as pauper schools; but now the children of some of the most respectable families in the State attend them, and they are considered the best institutions in the State. Vicksburg, Natchez, Columbus, Jackson, Holly Springs, Greenville, and other cities and towns, have public schools that any city in the Union would be proud of. The studies are those usually pursued in common schools, with German and French in a few of them. The eight High Schools have about one thousand pupils. The number increases every year, and they are growing rapidly in popular favor. The demand for Normal Schools is very great. At present there are only two. They are rapidly supplying a pressing demand for competent teachers. At least three hundred of their pupils are employed teaching during their summer vacation.

In addition to the Common, High, and Normal Schools, there are two Universities, for each of which the State makes an annual appropriation of fifty thousand dollars. The one at Oxford is for white young men, that at Alcorn for the colored. Both of them are in a flourishing condition. The whites, having always had the advantage of the colored in education, are, of course, farther advanced; but the colored young men are making rapid strides, and at every commencement exercise they show decided progress. Oxford University, established for nearly a quarter of a century, and Alcorn University, which has been in existence three years, are provided with fine, commodious buildings, and all the modern improvements in the way of conveniences and furniture.

Each county in the State is required to give a matriculation to each of the Universities, and to each of the Normal Schools a number of students equal to the number of representatives it has in the lower branch of the Legislature. Those entering the Universities receive a fee of one hundred dollars per annum; and those entering the Normal Schools, twenty-five dollars. Public examinations are held for candidates for the institutions, but all of them must come from the Public Schools.

The State tax for teachers' purposes is four mills on the dollar. In addition, the proceeds of the sale of licenses to retail venders of liquor, and all fines and amercements, and the proceeds of the poll-tax, are given to the general Common School Fund. The Constitution and laws of the State require this fund to be invested in United States bonds, and the interest alone to be distributed *pro rata*, throughout the State. The income from these sources is

very large, amounting to about two hundred thousand dollars per annum. The schools also derive support from what are known as the Sixteenth Section, and the Chickasaw funds. The money which accrues through these funds is from large grants of land made to the State for school purposes by the General Government. The total amount of money expended annually for school purposes aggregates about two million six hundred thousand dollars. With the rapidly developing sources from which funds are applied to the support of the public schools; with a large army of competent and active teachers; with an efficient corps of County Superintendents; and with an enlightened public sentiment, Mississippi will soon take the front rank for an effective system of Public Schools.'

Illinois.—Entering the Union in 1818, a general law, five years later, was passed for the establishment of free schools. The preamble said, 'The peculiar duty of a free government like ours, is to encourage and extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole.' Further provisions were made in 1854-5, recognizing the principle of State and Local taxation for a complete school system. That system however, remained in complete till 1874, when a law was passed prohibiting all school officers from excluding, directly or indirectly, any children from schools on account of color, with penalties, in each case, of from five to one hundred dollars. The progress for eight years after 1865 shows an increase in the number of schools from 10,291 to 11,396; in pupils, from 580,304 to 662,049; in teachers, from 17,015 to 20,924; in school-houses, from 9,164 to 11,289 in total amount expended, from \$3,193,636 to \$7,480,889.

Alabama.—Her Constitution of 1819, the date of her admission, declared that 'schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged,' and directed the Legislature 'to conserve the United States land grants for the use of schools within each township, and the seminary lands for a State University for the promotion of the arts, literature, and science.' But no public-school system was adopted till 1854, when the first State Superintendent was appointed, and a direct appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars was made out of the annual State tax for educational purposes. The income of the United States Revenue Fund, and the avails of certain swamp lands were set aside for the same purpose. Thus a new interest had been awakened, which the war of the rebellion arrested. Her Present System grew out of the new Constitution of 1868; but in carrying it out it was discovered that a very large portion of the School Fund had been either squandered or devoted to other purposes; of course, it must be some time before the State can recover from so deadly a blow. Under the financial embarrassments which were caused by the devastations of war, the interruption of labor, and the prostitution of political office, with the evils which have attended this state of affairs, time, the great healer, can alone atone.

Missouri.—Entering the Union in 1820, her first Constitution provided for the security of her School Lands, the Sixteenth Section of each township, 1,199,139 acres, and thirty-six sections, 46,080 acres, for a University; and enjoined the establishment of one or more schools in each township. In 1837 a State School Fund was instituted from the proceeds of the Saline Lands, and the State's proportion of the United States Surplus Revenue. In 1873 this fund was increased to \$2,500,000. But outside of the city of St. Louis little was done till the revised General School Law of 1874, which wheeled the State into the Modern System of Education. On the 31st of March, 1874, a distribution was made through the school districts, *pro rata* to the number of pupils, of the sum of \$410,269. Fines, forfeitures, and penalties are yearly added to the capital of the School Fund. Separate schools are required to be established for colored children whenever their number exceeds fifteen. There are four Normal Schools, the one at Jefferson City being for the education of colored teachers. These schools are all supported by the State. There is no compulsory education law. The report of 1874 shows the number of children between five and twenty-one years to be 485,249, of whom 391,965 are enrolled in the public schools; there are 7,483 school districts, and 7,829 public schools in the State, of which 282 are colored; there are 6,281 males, and 3,395 female teachers; the value of school-houses is \$5,000,000, and the total receipts for school purposes \$2,117,262.

Arkansas.—The Constitution which admitted her to the Union in 1836, required the General Assembly to provide for the school lands, and to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvements. But although the lands for Common Schools embraced 886,460 acres, and 46,080 acres for a University, yet as late as 1854 there were only forty public schools in the State, and the Commissioner might well complain of 'the indifference that pervaded the public mind on the subject of education.' A sad commentary on all this was found in the fact that, in 1870, of her permanent school fund, which should have accumulated to three millions, only \$35,000 could be found.

But better days were coming, new life was to be infused into the paralyzed body. In 1866 the new Constitution made it the duty of the Legislature to establish and maintain Free Schools, to provide for the improvement and preservation of all educational land grants, and to establish a State University with an agricultural department. The same authority required all parents to send their children to school at least three years, or to instruct them at home. A new School System was founded, and school districts had been established in most of the townships, which promised well; but the Superintendent reported in 1873, that the new system had been nearly destroyed by the Legislature, which limited the amount of local school-tax to one-half of one per cent., and in cities and towns to three-quarters of one per cent. on the taxable property of the district. Interest-bearing certificates

were also authorized and made receivable for school taxes. This scrip, like all other irredeemable *promises*, could not support schools, and the System was fast running down. The decline, however, was arrested by the Legislature in 1874, in a law repealing all other educational Acts, and enforcing a *per capita* tax of one dollar on every male inhabitant over twenty-one years of age, in each county, to be paid to the State Treasury for the support of common schools. This, together with receipts from lands granted by the United States, or from devises, fines, and escheats, 'with so much of the ordinary annual revenue of the State as may hereafter be set apart for the maintenance of free common schools,' constitutes the School Fund. But the State Superintendent writes last year, that 'a decision of our Supreme Court, making the district tax payable in scrip, instead of currency, has about destroyed our School System.' The total expenditures throughout the State for all purposes during 1874 was less than a quarter of a million dollars. It is believed that the exertions of the friends of education in the State, and outside of it, will soon put another complexion upon education in Arkansas.

Michigan.—I have already had occasion to draw a contrast between these two States in other matters; the contrast in education will be still more striking. Michigan furnishes one of the most remarkable instances, of which we have so many in recent times, of *Commonwealths commencing their independent political existence with a system of common education so well founded that it would afterwards grow of itself.*

Her Constitution of 1837, when she joined the Union, provided for a State Superintendent of Public Instruction; for township libraries, and for common schools in each school district for at least three months in every year, and consecrated the proceeds of all land grants for educational purposes to such purposes and no other. The framers had, many of them, received the advantages of good schools in the Eastern and Middle States, and appreciated the importance of education. In 1838 a School Journal was started. In 1839 a School Convention was called, which was followed by county teachers' associations. In 1853 the State Teachers' Association was organized. In 1839 a State Normal School was founded. The new Constitution of 1850 adhered to the cardinal educational features of the first Constitution, and stipulated in addition, that the Legislature should provide within five years for the establishment of a system of Primary Schools, without charge for tuition, for at least three months in each year—all instruction to be conducted in the English language.

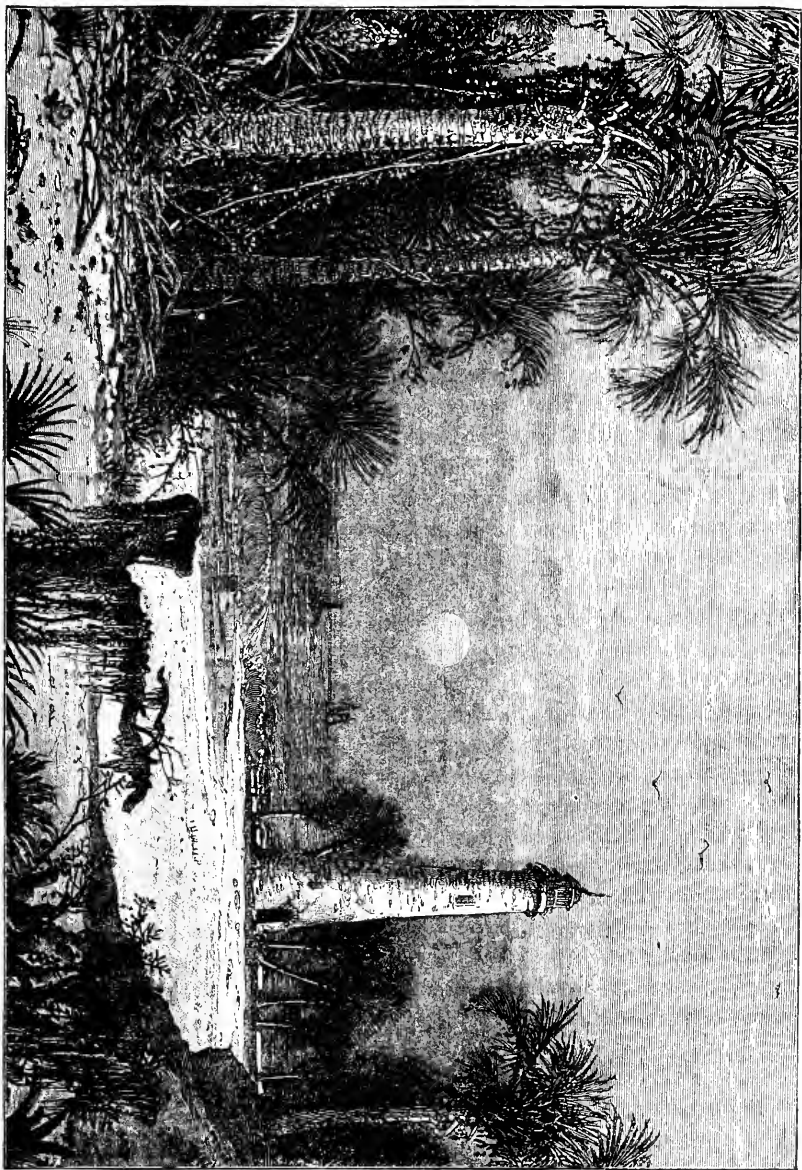
The present School system of Michigan embraces, *First*: Primary Schools so extensive and complete in their organization as to meet the wants of thirty-five hundred rural districts, by allowing of gradation three hundred and eleven villages and cities, to fill up all educational demands below the University; and Special Schools, dispensing with the necessity of Incorporated Academies and College-preparatory Schools. *Second*: The Union and High Schools. *Third*: The State University, with its professional Schools. *Fourth*: The

State Agricultural College at Lansing. *Fifth*: The State Normal School at Ypsilanti. Mr. Briggs, the very able and accomplished Superintendent of Instruction, says: 'The benign influences of the Public School System are well understood and appreciated throughout the Commonwealth. The liberal appropriations which are made for the maintenance of our State educational institutions, and the free expenditure of money in our cities and villages for the erection of costly school buildings, with the unstinted support which the schools receive, are sufficient evidence of the popular sentiment.' *Sixth*. The eight Regents of the University of Michigan, one being elected each year by the people for a term of eight years, have a general supervision, and the direction and control of all expenditures from the University Fund. *Seventh*: The State Board of Education, to whom is committed the general supervision of the State Normal School. *Eighth*: The School Fund, comprising the proceeds of every thirty-sixth section of land, is distributed in proportion to children in districts that had a legal school during the previous year. The whole number of children of school age in the State, as reported by the returns of 1873, is four hundred and twenty-one thousand three hundred and twenty-two, and the number upon which the apportionment was made for this year—1874—is four hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and sixty-four, at fifty cents per child. Michigan has a rigid compulsory law, and the fines for its violation are constantly swelling the educational fund.

The following absolutely reliable figures show how education has advanced in that State during the past ten years. The number of school districts has risen from 4,426, in 1864, to 5,521; the average monthly wages of male teachers from \$34 to \$52; of females from \$16.63 to \$27.13; the number of pupils from 216,000 to 325,000; the average number of months' school, from six to seven; value of school-houses and lots, from two millions to eight; number of graded schools, from 123 to 310; number of qualified teachers employed, from 1,816 to 3,010; of females, 7,000 to 8,940; total salaries of male teachers, from \$210,000 to \$685,720; revenue from two-mill tax, from \$250,000 to \$466,000; total resources for the year, from \$1,000,000 to \$3,743,000.

So much for her superb System of Education. But it is not all in the material completeness, but in the executiveness of its administration; in the high average range of the acquirements of teachers, and the lively appreciation of the advantages of education by the great body of an illuminated people.

Florida.—When this State entered the Union in 1845, she could go back six years to a Constitution which provided that 'lands reserved for the use of schools, and seminaries of learning, should be held inviolate;' and the same was inserted in her renovated Constitution of 1865. But little was done till 1869, when her State and County Superintendents were created. Her people appropriated for educational purposes all money derived from the sale of School Lands; a tax of not less than one mill on a dollar; fines collected on



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penal laws, and one-fourth of the sale of public lands belonging to the State. Of the school lands, 110,000 acres have been sold, leaving a balance of nearly 600,000. Besides, Congress made a grant of 85,000 acres for the support of two Seminaries. The School Law provides for a Uniform System of Education of all residents between the ages of four and twenty-one. Her School System has so recently been organized, that the statistics are few. Last year's report shows the number of school districts to be thirty-nine; number of school-houses erected during the year twenty-four, at an average cost of three hundred dollars; value of all her school-houses, \$250,000; average daily attendance, 18,000; number of school officers, 500; male teachers, 150; average monthly salary, \$35; female teachers 350, average wages same as males: the amount of the State School Fund, \$300,000; white scholars in the Public Schools, 6,000; in private schools, 3,000; colored scholars in Public Schools, 12,000; total receipts for school purposes, \$160,000.

When our people discover that we have in Florida more than an Italy in climate and exuberance of soil, families by the ten thousand, instead of the hundred, will pass their winters there, and then education will receive an electric impulse in the blushing Land of Flowers.

Wisconsin.—From the extreme South, we strike to the far North, where we shall find much the same spirit prevailing as we found in Michigan. By the new Constitution which brought her into the Union in 1848, a State Superintendent of Public Instruction was provided; proceeds of all lands devoted to education should be preserved inviolate; towns and cities were to raise by tax for Free Common Schools, not less than half as much as they received from the income of the School Fund. Her first School Law divided all the territory in organized towns into School Districts; and subsequent legislation made other provisions as fast as they became necessary. No compulsory law has yet been enacted, but it is believed that a stringent one will soon be enforced. The progress she has made may be indicated by these statistics. During ten years from 1864, the number of school districts, not including cities, rose from 3,898 to 5,205; children over four and under twenty years, from 329,906 to 436,000; pupils attending public schools, from 211,120 to 283,500; teachers employed, from 7,585 to 8,900; their salaries advanced about one-third; total value of school-houses rose from \$1,500,000 to \$4,000,000. The Superintendent, Hon. Edward Searing, had long been an eminent teacher, and a ripe classical scholar. His fame had extended through the country, and in 1873, on the reform ticket, he was elected to his responsible post by a large majority.

Iowa.—This State, which has grown into so prosperous and splendid a commonwealth, laid the foundation of a fine School System in the Constitution which admitted her to the Union in 1846, for the Legislature about to assemble were enjoined to provide a System of Common School Education. They proceeded to their work, and had made good progress; but a new impetus was imparted by the amended Constitution of 1867, which gave the

Board of Education power to legislate, and make all the necessary rules and regulations for common schools and other institutions of learning, such regulations being subject to revision and repeal only by the Legislature. In 1873 further improvements were made, and since that time desirable, but not radical changes have been introduced. The present admirable system owes much to the efficiency with which Mr. Abernethy, the State Superintendent, has carried it out in the letter and spirit. In writing to the editor of the *American Educational Annual*, he indicated the following points, which are well worthy of the consideration even of the most experienced and enlightened educators :

‘Iowa provides for the free instruction of all its youth. The educational system embraces the entire State, and contains about 9,000 schools, distributed in such a manner as to afford to all an opportunity for acquiring a common school education. The law requires all public schools to be kept in operation for at least six months during every year, and provides for their extension as much longer as the inhabitants may elect. The schools are universally patronized. The people, in every portion of the State, and among all classes, tax themselves liberally for their support, and manifest an intelligent interest in promoting the efficiency and perfection of the schools and the school system.

‘While the great effort thus far has been in favor of elementary instruction, there are now four hundred well graded schools, many of them with high school departments, with courses of study extending through the natural sciences, higher mathematics, the ancient and modern languages. The number of these schools of a higher grade is rapidly increasing.

‘Each civil township constitutes a school district, which is divided into sub-districts for the purpose of determining where pupils shall attend school. A board of directors, consisting of one sub-director, elected annually from each sub-district, have the general control and management of the schools of their district. There are thirteen hundred of these districts in the State, the greater portion of them embracing an area of thirty-six square miles, with boundaries coincident with those of the congressional townships. All contracts, purchases, payments, and sales are made by the Board, who also locate the school-house sites and determine the number of schools which shall be taught in each sub-district. It is their duty to visit the schools, and aid the teachers in establishing and enforcing rules for the government of the schools. They may discharge incompetent teachers, and may punish irregularity of attendance of pupils by exclusion from the privileges of the schools. They have authority to establish graded and union schools wherever they may be necessary.’

The aggregate paid to the teachers during the year ending September 15, 1873, was two and a quarter million dollars, and the expenditures for grounds and school-houses during those same twelve months, \$1,164,000 ; for district libraries and apparatus \$20,000 were appropriated, and the amount of all other contingent expenses reached \$797,000, while the total expenditures for schools in that single year reached the large sum of \$4,430,000 ; and yet Mr.

Abernethy says 'the cost *per capita* for each person of school age per annum, exclusive of the school buildings, was only \$6.24, while the actual yearly expenses of those who were enrolled in the schools was over \$8.82.' The law requires Teachers' Institutes to be held in each county from three to six weeks; while Teachers' Normal Institutes were fully provided. Superintendent Abernethy urged the county superintendents to hold frequent examinations, and invite the attendance of the citizens. He said he would not renew certificates without re-examination, or grant any on the testimony of other persons. 'Teachers,' he said, 'ought to be progressive students,' and in harmony with this opinion he declared he would 'insist on this by not granting a low grade of certificates twice to the same person, for if they did not feel an interest to improve their grade, they were not the proper persons to engage in teaching.'

Considering that Iowa, as well as all the new Western States, has had always to contend with vast masses of ignorance, most of which was found among the foreign population, it is a matter of amazement and congratulation that such steady and rapid progress in education has been made; for in all these States this obstacle was encountered, and in many districts it was for a while invincible. It was not to be supposed that where a community was made up principally of ignorant and bigoted men and women, they would readily submit to heavy school taxes, least of all impose these burdens upon themselves. Those who have not looked into this matter with considerable care, can have no just idea of the untiring and heroic efforts that have been made by the friends of education in the new States: nor were these efforts by any means confined to men; the educated women of the West surpassed them vastly in numbers, and often outstripped them in that divine spirit of humanity and patient endurance which constitute the chief glory of womanhood. It was in the West that for the first time the citizenship of women began to be recognized, in soliciting her vote as well as her labor, in helping to build the enduring structure of civilized life.

Texas.—The Constitution which brought her into the Union in 1845, created a School Fund out of all lands and property before set apart for the support of schools, and enjoined the Legislature, 'as soon as might be,' to make suitable provisions for 'a system of Free Schools throughout the State.' All taxes collected from Africans, or African descendants, were to be set aside 'for the exclusive maintenance of schools for the children of Africans.' In 1858 the proceeds of all sales of public lands were to be added to the School Fund. Texas was hurled into a Rebellion with which she should have had nothing to do. She withdrew more than a million and a quarter of dollars from this Fund to waste in the war; giving another instance of the barbarizing and demoralizing influence of all war, especially in young communities; for the first sacrifice that has to be made to this all-exacting Moloch, is the most cruel—the education of children. By the new School Law of 1871, a Board of Education was established, who were authorized to provide thirty-five in-

spectors for the State ; and afterwards the State Superintendent could, with the approval of the Governor, make requisitions on the treasury for the funds necessary to pay teachers and employes of the Bureau of Education. In 1874 the present School System was established, and it is working well. The Permanent School Fund comprises the funds from all lands and other property set apart, appropriated or donated for the maintenance of Public Free Schools, and all money coming to the State from fines or forfeitures. The available fund for schools, from all sources, was, last year, \$650,000. Superintendent Hollingsworth writes that, 'notwithstanding the present school law proved cumbrous and expensive, and the Legislature failed to carry out many of his suggestions, yet returns from counties indicate that confidence in the Public School Free System is almost restored, and they present a more flourishing condition of affairs than during any previous year.' He reports the number of organized schools in 1874 as 1874, the total scholastic population 300,000, of whom the number enrolled in the public schools was 129,542, 83,082 being the number of pupils in daily attendance: the number of teachers 2,236 ; their average monthly salaries \$80 ; for females \$50 ; all the children of school age in the State are required to attend school, unless prevented by certain specified causes, such as illness, danger from Indians, or distance from school ; or unless they can show they have received regular instruction for four months every year from a teacher having a proper certificate.

California.—When the Golden State took her place in the Republic the world expected she would do great things in every department of life ; and not least of all in the realm of mind, as well as in the Mineral Kingdom. Nor were these promises made to be broken. Her career has met every aspiration and fulfilled every hope. She has proved herself too strong to be enervated by the luxury of gold ; she has stood with all her manhood preserved on the banks of the Pactolus which swept by her feet ; the wine of Cræsus has not addled her brain ; she has bid all nations to her shores saying, 'I will educate all your children, for ignorance and civil prosperity cannot live together.'

California came into the Union in 1850, with a Constitution which provided that lands given for education should be 'dedicated forever to that sacred object, and the Legislature must establish a system of Common Schools.' This duty was promptly done, within two years a system was constructed and put into active operation, and before the close of 1865 nearly six million dollars—and in California a dollar always meant money, gold and not its promise—were raised and wisely spent in the cause. Everything went well till 1867, when everything went better ; for in that year Free Schools were established throughout the State, and the most ample provisions made for the education of all children. Some of the regulations now in force are peculiar and admirable. *First*, The duties of State Superintendent, the State Board of Education, and all subordinate authorities, are clearly defined and made of imperative execution. *Second*, Able persons are everywhere appointed, and they

are well paid for their services. In California they know that 'time is money, that work means brains—that poor pay gives poor work,' instead of sending 'boys to mill,' they send them to school, and get men to do the work. *Third*, As to color—that *bête noir* of our generation—separate schools for Africans or Indians are not provided by trustees. Such children *must be admitted to white schools*, for no California Child's Education 'shall be neglected.' *Fourth*, Women over twenty-one years of age—being citizens—are eligible to all educational offices; and no person can disturb a public school or school meeting without a heavy fine,—and many other strong guarantees are given for the execution of the sacred duty of securing 'the education of the people.'

And what an eloquent answer is thus sent back from the Pacific to Plymouth Rock. It is a grand response to the invocation of Webster, when, at the close of the Second Centennial of the Landing of the Pilgrims, his prophetic vision forecast the miracles of these days.¹

The School Fund consists chiefly of interest-bearing bonds of California, amounting to \$1,417,500. In the spring of 1874, an unexpended balance of \$316,630, derived from interest on School Land Bonds held in trust, and the Property tax, was held subject to apportionment. In addition to these resources the counties levy a School tax. Last year the Tuttle Act provided \$1,000,000 for School purposes. Every district of fifteen children is entitled to \$500 a year; and the average of teachers' salaries is for males \$84, females \$63. *The law compels the education of children*, which crowns the edifice of popular education.

¹ Finally, let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary. Let us cherish these sentiments, and extend this influence still more widely; in the full conviction that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity.

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can expect to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity, they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here a hundred years hence, to trace, through us their descent from the Pilgrims, and to survey as we have now surveyed the progress of their country during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas.

We would leave for the consideration of those who

shall then occupy our places, some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation; some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincere and ardent desire to promote everything which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. And when, from the long distance of a hundred years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know, at least, that we possessed affections, which, running backward and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done for our happiness, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation, ere yet they have arrived on the shore of being.

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence which we are passing and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred and parents and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth.

A few figures show the progress of public instruction in California from 1864 :—School districts increased from 684 to 1,462 ; number of schools from 754 to 1,868 ; male teachers from 535 to 882 ; females from 464 to 1,454 ; average number of pupils in public schools from 29,416 to 97,681. Salaries paid teachers from \$328,380 to \$1,434,366 ; total receipts for school purposes from \$581,000 to \$2,552,000. It is the best commentary on the influence and spirit of our institutions and people, that the further they travel from the scenes of their origin, the stronger and more splendid they grow.

Minnesota.—This State entered into the Union in 1858, with a Constitution which provided for a General Uniform System of Public Schools in each township, and a University. After an experience of fifteen years the School Code was thoroughly revised, and all changes were made which were found necessary to place education upon a broad and liberal basis. In this case, as in nearly all other Western States, men of the best known ability and accomplishments were chosen to carry out the work, and the great mass of the people were themselves sufficiently intelligent to lend to such efforts their heartiest concurrence. The State Superintendent of Minnesota has charge of the Teachers' Institutes, the establishment of Normal Training Schools, apportions annually from the State Funds in the treasury among the counties, *pro rata* to the number of persons between five and twenty-one years, grants State certificates to teachers of eminent qualifications, and is the chief executive officer to administer the School System of the State. No drawback or misfortune has attended this progress of education. The School Fund, which is derived from the proceeds of the sale of school lands, had, up to 1872, realized upwards of two and a half million dollars ; while last year the interest fell little short of two hundred thousand dollars. The State has 3,137 school districts, and 196,000 persons between five and twenty-one years of age, of whom 125,000 attended school. In nine years the number of male teachers has increased from 469 to 1,639, and of females from 1,419 to 3,567 ; the aggregate amount paid teachers during the year, had increased from \$125,000 to \$5,700,000 ; the school-houses from 994 to 2,571 ; their value had risen from \$280,000 to upwards of \$2,000,000. Teachers' Institutes are in a flourishing condition. Education is free to all students in the University of Minnesota ; males and females enter on the same qualification, pursue the same courses, and receive the same degrees. A more enlightened system does not exist in any State.

Oregon.—Here on the banks of the Columbia River, although the State has only been in the Union fifteen years, we find very much the same system of popular education as we find on the shores of the Merrimac and the Hudson. The best men in the State have always had charge of the System, and the School Fund has been so vigilantly guarded that it now amounts to half a million. The new School Law of 1872, among other changes, provided for a uniform series of text-books by the votes of the County Superintendents, their

immense diversity up to that period having, as in so many other instances, impeded the progress of education.

Kansas.—The Constitution under which she came into the Union enjoined the Legislature to ‘encourage the promotion of intellectual, moral, scientific, and agricultural improvements, by establishing a Uniform System of Common Schools, and schools of higher grade, embracing Normal, Preparatory, Collegiate, and University department.’ Sections sixteen and thirty-six, in every township of public lands, were set apart for schools; and seventy-two sections of land were set apart and reserved for the maintenance of a State University. Money from military exemptions, fines and estrays, it was stipulated, should be applied to the support of common schools; furthermore, the proceeds of all school lands, and of the five hundred thousand acres under the Act of 1841, and of estates without heirs or will, should be a perpetual School Fund.

A School System was at once established, and went into operation during the very period that homes were desecrated and the soil wet with innocent blood. After the close of the war, nearly every year witnessed improvements in the School System, one of the best features of which was the Board of Education, which comprises the Principals of the Normal Schools, the President of the State University and Agricultural College, with the Superintendent of Public Instruction. At their annual meetings they issue, after severe examinations, certificates for three or five years, or a diploma for life. The County Superintendents apportion the school money according to the number of persons of school age in each district, and have the supervision of the school-houses and the schools themselves. In every county having fifteen schools, the Superintendents are required to hold Institutes annually; while Teachers’ Institutes are held every year by the State Superintendent in the various judicial districts. A Compulsory Law went into effect in 1874, with severe fines for delinquency on the part of parents or guardians, and the school directors were compelled, under penalty of a fine, to see the law enforced. How differently would the record of the progress of education in Kansas during the last ten years have read, if slavery could have cast its black shadow over its soil! Her school districts since 1864 have increased from 705 to 3,404; her male children of school age from 26,000 to 185,000; those enrolled from 15,000 to 122,000; daily attendance from 5,500 to 71,000; male teachers employed, from 164 to 1,880; female teachers from 527 to 2,143; average monthly salaries of male teachers from \$27 to \$39; female teachers from \$16 to \$31; amount paid teachers from \$25,000, to \$716,000; disbursement of the State School Fund from \$13,000 to \$232,000; amount raised by district tax from \$12,300 to \$932,000. In 1867 the State had 703 school-houses, and they were worth only \$33,000; last year she had 3,133, and they were worth \$3,409,000.

Nevada.—It was a fortunate thing for this State, which came into the

Union in 1864, that the leading men who made her Constitution entertained large and liberal views for the 'promotion of literary, scientific, mining, mechanical, agricultural, and moral improvements.' This was one of those new States whose hands were electrified by the touch of silver in endless deposits, but whose brain was not paralyzed into moral insensibility. So we find her Constitution provided for a Superintendent of Instruction; the organization of 'a uniform System of Common Schools, and the establishment of a State University'—thus realizing in the wilderness the dream of Plato, where there could scarcely be said to be any people—'comprehending departments of agriculture and mechanic arts, and Normal Schools, and Schools of different grades, from the Primary to the University, and the condition that in none of them shall sectarian instruction be imparted or tolerated.'

That same Constitution stipulated that a half-mill tax should be levied upon all taxable property for the maintenance of the University and Common Schools, and that the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in every township, the thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress, by the Act of 1862, the fifty thousand acres granted to new States in 1841, and all escheats and fines for penal offenses, should be held and used for educational purposes, the interest thereof only to be applied as directed in the law donating the same. The Legislature was likewise authorized to enact a Compulsory Educational Law.

All this was an advance on anything America had yet done. I must stop here a moment to ask the reader to contemplate such a primal civilization. As the common rumor went, Nevada was first made known to the world as a mob of silver seekers—all sorts of doubtful characters—desperate men, people who had nothing to lose—just as the first colonists of Texas had been represented, and just as the world has always libelled the pioneers of civilization. How despicable do such libels look to-day! And especially when we go back ten years, and see those desperadoes taking care of the holy interests of the education of children.

The next year after the adoption of the Constitution, a public school law was enacted, and on its basis the Legislature has reared a good structure. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction is elected for four years, has a good salary, and his business is to do the work required. The State Board of Education, consisting of the Governor, Surveyor-General, and the Superintendent, are required to hold semi-annual sessions to devise plans for the management and improvement of the whole system, and prescribe uniform text-books. In addition to all the other executive officers, Nevada created a new one,—the School Census Marshal,—who secures order and executiveness in every department. As time is worth more in new countries than in old ones, the school age ends at eighteen; so Nevada boys and girls are expected to graduate earlier.

The School Fund like that of other Western States, consists of all proceeds from the sales of land given for school purposes; all fines collected by the State; two per cent. of the gross proceeds of all toll roads and bridges;

and twice a year the proceeds are equitably divided among the counties. The *ad valorem* tax of half a mill on the dollar on all property in the State, is added, and known as the State School tax. Later legislation made other desirable conditions, among them a stringent Compulsory Law. It is cheering to know that the further our people extend the realm of civilized life, the more sure they are to secure, in the organization of society under free institutions, the very latest and best guarantees for the education of their citizens. The value of the school-houses of Nevada was last year \$70,000. She had nearly 4,000 children in her schools, was paying \$116,000 to her male teachers, and \$90,000 to females; her school fund was \$274,000. Another fact most significant: it cost her \$30 for each scholar that went to her public schools, which was manifold more than the average cost in other States; but she cared not for this. In her Constitution she declared that her children should be educated, and last year she cheerfully did it at this unprecedented expense. She will raise more treasures from her mines by carrying intelligence into them; for every dollar laid out in brains in those mineral regions will bring back thousands in treasure, since all the machinery of mining depends for its profits, other things being equal, upon the knowledge which guides it.

Nebraska.—With only fifty thousand people this State came into the Union in 1867. The 'Enabling Act,' as it was called, gave Nebraska, in addition to the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of land in every township for school purposes, five per cent. on all cash sales of public lands within her boundaries; seventy-two sections of land as an endowment for a State University; seventy-two sections for the development of the salt interest, and five hundred thousand acres for internal improvements.

She began her system of education by dividing \$15,000 among thirty thousand children; and last year she appropriated \$108,000 for 73,000 children, and she had 2,130 school districts. Although her school-houses in 1869 were valued at only one hundred thousand dollars, in 1874 they were valued at upwards of a million. And during the same period the salaries paid to teachers had risen from \$40,000 to \$210,000. This was doing pretty well. All school interests increased from three hundred to one thousand per cent.

Her Temporary School Fund—that is, the fund for annual distribution—is derived from a two-mill tax on the grand assessment-roll, lease of school-lands, and interest on moneys arising from sales of school lands; also, from fines, licenses, and a dog-tax. The apportionment is made by the State Superintendent to the counties, on the basis of the number of children between the ages of five and twenty-one years.

While the new system is working admirably, strangers are attracted at Omaha by one of the finest public school edifices in the country, erected at a cost of over two hundred thousand dollars, and accommodating one thousand children. Several other school buildings have been erected at a cost of over forty thousand dollars each, and a large number at an expense from five to twenty thousand. The State University at Lincoln, the capital, is in success-

ful operation, and an Agricultural College is going forward in connection with the University. The State Normal School at Peru—a beautiful village on the banks of the Missouri, sixteen miles below Nebraska City—is under the direction of General Morgan, with over three hundred scholars. With such a start, no further solicitude need be felt about the cause of popular education in that State. She not only received her birth under the fairest auspices which American civilization could give, but she is constantly electrified by the stream of enterprise which the great iron road passing through her entire limits is imparting, but she is lighting all the torches of science to guide the eye of the Eastern traveller, and illuminate his way to the still farther West.

Education in the Territories.—We have encouraging signs that Common Schools are beginning to be considered as among the indispensable conditions even of Territorial existence—that wherever Americans go they must take with them the means of education for their children.¹

*Colorado.*²—As I am now writing, I hardly know whether she has been admitted to the Union this evening—March 1st, 1875, or will be to-morrow morning, for she and her neighboring sister, New Mexico, has for some years been knocking at the gates of the Capitol. But while waiting for admission, Colorado established an American System of Education for her own protection and advancement. The latest facts on the subject are from the pen of Superintendent Hale, whose style partakes of the clearness and exhilarating vigor of the atmosphere of the magnificent region he describes:—‘Fifteen years ago,’ he writes to the *American Educational Annual*, ‘Colorado, then known only as a constituent part of the *Great American Desert*, was unexplored, and supposed to be uninhabitable. During the ten years succeeding 1859, her immigrants were transitory, or, if temporarily otherwise, they were always uncertain as to the length of time they would remain—this depending wholly upon their luck in the mines. Solicitude for the future permanent well-being of the Territory, therefore, was seldom manifested. Public instruction received little or no attention. The immediate demand was met in some localities by a county or district tax, in others by the establishment of private schools. In 1869 there was not a public-school building in the territory, and the children of schoolage numbered less than three thousand.

‘In 1870—Peter Parley being no longer considered as reliable authority on the *Great American Desert*—the School law was revised, the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction created, and Wilbur C. Lothrop appointed to fill the office. Migratory pilgrims became permanent settlers. Miners who

¹ This idea, when brought to the poet WORDSWORTH, on a visit I made to Rydal Mount in 1840, is exquisitely illustrated in some autograph verses he afterwards sent to me:—one of the stanzas says:

‘Where’er the Patriarch pitched his tent
He built an altar to his God,
And sanctified where’er he went
With prayer and faith the ground he trod.’

² COLORADO.—By Act of February 28, 1861, formed as a Territory with an area of 104,500 square miles, consisting—first, of 14,000 square miles from the Territory of New Mexico; second, of 29,500 square miles from the Territory of Utah; third, of 16,035 square miles from the original Territory of Nebraska; and, fourth, of 44,965 square miles from the Territory of Kansas.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 579.

had wrung fortunes from the mountains, and merchants, mechanics, and ranchmen who had prospered, expended their gains in local improvements, both public and private.

'Black Hawk and Central City, both mining towns in the very heart of the Rocky Mountains, and within twelve miles of the summit of the snowy range, completed, in 1870, the former a \$15,000, and the latter a \$20,000 public school-house, the first in the territory. Denver, the capital, soon followed with an \$80,000 building, and then a second, and then a third; and now a fourth is in process of construction. The public schools of Denver are attended by over two thousand pupils, and employ twenty-eight teachers. Greeley, Golden City, Colorado Springs, Nevada, Georgetown, and many other districts have finished, or are building school-houses after the best models.

'To-day, Colorado has one hundred and thirty school-houses, valued at more than \$300,000; sixteen thousand school children, and two hundred and fifty-two teachers. Graded schools are established in the large districts, and High Schools in the cities. The scholarship of the pupils will compare favorably with that of pupils generally. A college, under the auspices of the Congregationalists, and an institution for deaf-mutes have been established at Colorado Springs. The entire public-school system is well established, and is in a prosperous condition.'

Little could be done till 1864; and even then the largest public school did not exceed one hundred pupils: there were no school-houses; there was no well-established system of schools. Nearly all the school-houses have been built within the last five years; and yet note the progress from 1871 to 1874. School districts increased from 160 to 243; schools, from 120 to 180; pupils in public schools, from 4,367 to 7,456; school-houses, from 80 to 125; aggregate paid teachers, from \$44,000 to \$71,260; value of school-houses, from \$82,500 to \$260,000; average rate of school taxation, from $1\frac{1}{10}$ mills to $3\frac{1}{4}$ mills; special tax collected in school districts, from \$34,000 to \$60,000; School Fund, exclusive of proceeds of bonds issued for building purposes, from \$81,274 to \$137,560, and twenty-five County Institutes were held in 1873—we can dismiss all fears for the cause of education in Colorado.

*Idaho.*¹—A public school system was organized soon after this Territory was incorporated. The number of children of school age was fifteen hundred. In 1866 there were in eight counties, fourteen schools, with 792 children, between five and eighteen years of age, 436 of whom were registered as attending schools; but no further means had been adopted to raise a School Fund, and in 1870 the Governor in his message used the following language: .

'The present school law is an outrage upon an enlightened people. In

¹ Territory of Idaho.—By the same act 91,665 square miles further were set off to the Territory of Dakota, leaving an area of 60,932 square miles. By Act of July 25, 1868, 4,638 square miles were once in the Territory of Oregon, next in the original Territory of Washington, and afterward in the Territory of Idaho [not to be confounded with the 4,638 square miles twice mentioned

just above], were set off to the Territory of Wyoming. This transfer reduced the Territory to its present area, 86,204 square miles, all of which was once in the Territory of Oregon, but afterward in the original Territory of Washington.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 579-580.

many of the counties and school districts, where school-houses are built, no school has been held during the present year; these structures stand empty, and in silent mockery,—it might be said monuments of inadequate legislation.'

The following year the Legislature passed an act for a public school system, and to provide for its maintenance. Subsequent legislation improved the system, and on June, 1874, the necessary steps were taken for the establishment of a University. The statistics for 1874 show the School Fund to have been \$3,855; pupils enrolled in the schools, 3,500; paid for teachers' salary, \$19,500; total expenditures for school purposes, \$27,181.

*New Mexico.*¹—Mr. William G. Ritch, is the chief source of information of what is known of education in this Territory. Distinguished as a patriot soldier, the founder of a new Normal School in Wisconsin, and appointed in 1873, without his knowledge, Secretary of New Mexico, he has entered enthusiastically upon the work of bringing it into the enclosure of the Union. From 1855 the Territorial Legislature passed successive acts for the establishment of a System of Public Schools to be maintained by a general tax. It was a hard and arid soil for such tender plants, and the few friends of education among the early settlers were obliged for a while to let ignorance carry the day. Only five years ago there were but 44 public and private schools in the Territory, with 72 teachers and 1,798 pupils. But the Legislative Assembly of 1871-2, provided a new school system so well devised, and executed in so resolute a spirit, that it has proved a success. By that Act the School Fund was made to consist of twenty-five per cent. of the entire tax on property, and the poll-tax of one dollar on every male above the age of twenty-five, with the surplus of more than \$500 in the treasury of any county, after paying the current expenses of the same. In the beginning of last year there were 164 schools, public and private, and Pueblo Indian—attended by 143 natives—while the whole number of pupils was 7,100, with 196 teachers. Seventeen of the schools were English, 111 Spanish, 31 English and Spanish. The Public School Fund had reached sixty thousand dollars. Eight of the private schools were Catholic: five of them Convent schools under charge of the 'Sisters of Loretto,' and three under the 'Christian Brothers,' with an attendance of upwards of seven hundred pupils. There are also several schools under the Jesuits. The Methodists had one and the Presbyterians two. Several of the private schools teach the higher English and Spanish branches, and are of great value in educating teachers. In Santa Fé and other principal towns the Catholic parochial, and Jesuit schools share in the public School Fund. Of course, popular education has had a hard struggle

¹ New Mexico.—By Act of September 9, 1850, which by Proclamation of December 13, 1850, was declared to take effect at the date of proclamation, constituted a Territory, extending from California eastward to the twenty-sixth meridian, and from the northern boundary line of Mexico northward to the thirty-seventh parallel, while between the Rocky Mountains and the twenty-sixth meridian it extended northward to the thirty-eighth parallel; area, 215,807 square miles. By Act of August 4, 1854, the Territory acquired from

Mexico by the Gadsden treaty, 45,535 square miles, was annexed. It thus had a total area of 261,342 square miles, wholly constituted from cessions from Mexico and from the State of Texas. By Act of February 28, 1861, 14,000 square miles set off to the Territory of Colorado. By Act of February 24, 1863, 126,141 square miles set off as the Territory of Arizona, leaving 121,200 square miles, the present area of the Territory.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 578.

there in approaching the American System. The predominance of the native element in society, giving the controlling power at the ballot-box ; the dense ignorance of most of the people ; the large proportion of Indians ; the great distance from the rest of the Union ; the hostility to the imposition of a tax for the support of free schools—all combined, have made an anomalous condition unlike any other portion of the country. And yet the increase in schools since 1870 has been 120 ; 5,500 pupils and 134 teachers. Far more rapidly than the most sanguine could hope, these obstacles have begun to melt away. Taxes for the schools have not been remitted, and their collection has been so well enforced as materially to increase the School Fund. It will be some time, however, before the English language will gain complete predominance, for the old inhabitants of Spanish descent naturally cling to ancient traditions to the exclusion of progressive ideas.

*Utah.*¹—This Territory, which was originally a part of Upper California, was made a Territory in 1850. After the Mormons had been expelled from their settlement of Nauvoo, and settled on the borders of the Great Salt Lake, they established and maintained common schools for their own community ; but they were of a very low grade. Various acts and provisions were passed ; but in 1868 the Territorial Legislature enacted a bill which began to secure something like a system of Common School education. The first Teachers' Institute was held in 1872 ; over a hundred teachers were present, and the sessions lasted a month. Of course, Utah holding an anomalous position in the very heart of the Republic, the barbarous institution of polygamy has cut her off from all land grants for educational purposes. The Superintendent of Schools in his Report says :—‘ Utah has improved and sustained the present School System without a dollar, or an available acre of land from the General Government. Little more is needed on our statutes, other than that which is already enacted, until means become available, or until the school lands and the munificent grants given by Congress to States may be accorded to Utah, when she shall be clothed with the robes of State sovereignty. Perhaps there are few States in the Union—the Superintendent does not know of any—where so high a percentage is collectable by statute, as there is in Utah Territory, for school purposes.’

More money has been expended by Morimons on their four principal schools, perhaps, than upon all the rest of the system. The Deseret University, St. Mark's School, the Rocky Mountain Conference Seminary, and the Morgan College, are said to maintain a respectable grade of scholarship. Little, however, can be expected from such materials as compose the Mormon population. The vast bulk of them are foreigners, whose grade of intellect and education may be easily measured by the brutal character of their

¹ UTAH.—By Act of September 9, 1850, formed as a Territory, extending from the Rocky Mountains westward to California, and from the southern boundary of the Territory of Oregon, being the forty-second parallel, southward to the thirty-seventh parallel ; area, 220,196 square miles. By Act of February 28, 1861, 10,740 square miles set off to the Territory of Nebraska. By

Act of March 2, 1861, 73,574 square miles set off to the Territory of Nevada. By Act of July 25, 1868, 3,580 square miles set off to the Territory of Wyoming. The remainder, 84,476 square miles, forms the present Territory of Utah.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census, A 578.*

system. But it will prove short-lived ; it cannot long resist the light blazing around it. The progress of American population would alone produce the result ; while the organization once deprived of its fearless, sagacious and indomitable leader, would soon be dissolved into its original elements. Mormonism is an exotic ; offensive to civilization, and doomed to an inevitable overthrow.

*Washington Territory.*¹—It was cut off from the northern part of Oregon, and settled chiefly by emigrants from the Northern and Western States, and organized as a Territory in 1853. Nine years later, the Legislative Assembly incorporated a University, to be controlled by Regents. The National Government donated to the Territory for its endowment, 46,080 acres of unoccupied land within its limits, and the buildings were soon constructed. Only two years before, the Territory had already 46 public schools, and nearly 900 students, with \$16,000 income, much of it being raised by taxation. There were also six Academies with an income of \$9,000, while several schools had been sustained among the Indians by the National Government. In no young State had a more earnest determination been displayed from the beginning, to promote popular, common, and higher education. The lights of Eastern civilization began to burn there at once, like candles exported to a distant clime, where they burn and illuminate just as well as though they had been lit at home. But effectual as the work had hitherto been, it was carried forward with fresh enthusiasm and vigor when a General School Law was put into effect in January, 1872. It was modeled after the best systems that had been elsewhere adopted. The Territorial Superintendent was required 'to disseminate intelligence in relation to the value and methods of education,' and have general supervision of the system. Parents, guardians and all persons having the immediate custody of children between the ages of eight and sixteen, were required to send them to school at least three months in the year ; and if such persons were not able to pay for the education received, the pupils should be admitted free. The School Fund consists of money accruing from the sales of land devoted by Congress to School purposes, and the annual county tax of four mills on a dollar levied on all taxable property for Common Schools. The results have been most satisfactory. The school districts, school-houses and pupils have multiplied with astonishing rapidity. Within one year from that healthful legislation of 1872, six thousand children were in course of instruction, and forty-four thousand dollars were paid to teachers.

*Dakota.*²—Mr. Miller, Superintendent of Public Instruction, like so many

¹ WASHINGTON.—By Act of March 2, 1853, formed as a Territory from the Territory of Oregon, and included all of the Territory not afterward included in the State of Oregon ; area, 193,071 square miles. By Act of March 2, 1861, 4,638 square miles set off to the Territory of Nebraska. By Act of March 3, 1863, all of its Territory then east of the fortieth meridian and the Snake River, 118,439 square miles, set off to the Territory of Idaho. The remainder, 69,994 square

miles, constitutes the present Territory of Washington. —*Historical Notes, Ninth Census, p. 578.*

² DAKOTA.—By Act of March 2, 1861, formed as a Territory, extending from the western boundaries of the States of Minnesota and Iowa westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from the present northern boundary of the State of Nebraska and to the west thereof, from the forty-third parallel northward to the international boundary line. It consisted of the portion of the original

others in the same pursuit, had not only been thoroughly trained in academic studies, but had made his way to the bar, and also cut his mark in the society which he moved in as a thinking man—all students, men of culture putting a high value upon education. He became Superintendent in 1872, when he infused a new spirit into the minds of the people. But already in 1867, a school law was passed, and a large number of school districts had been organized; the rapidly increasing population doing what they could to help in the execution of this law. The National Government constructed a school building for the children of Ponca, at a cost of \$17,500, and expended large sums among the Indians in other parts of the Territory. In 1870, Mr. Foster, then Superintendent, reported: 'There has been a rapid influx of immigration into the Territory during the year. More school districts have been organized; more comfortable school-houses erected; a better class of teachers employed, and the schools have been more generally patronized than during any previous year in the history of the Territory. Sectarianism and politics are alike ignored in the schools.'

Mr. Miller's last report has these encouraging words: 'The progress of public education which previous reports have recorded, has continued during the past year, and we have great reason to congratulate ourselves on the future outlook of the public school system in our Territory. Though there are many defects which demand a change, yet, under our present system, imperfect as it is, great good and wonderful results have been accomplished.'

Since 1868, the number of school districts has increased from 39 to 200; children in public schools from 420 to 4,000; school property from \$5,500 to \$16,000; teachers' wages from \$2,400 to \$11,200; and the total expenditures by the Territory for school purposes augmented from \$2,600 to \$22,000. So much for the vigilance, activity, and enthusiasm of two able Superintendents among a strange population scattered over a wilderness.

*Arizona.*¹—When separated from New Mexico and made a Territory in

Territory of Nebraska north of the last mentioned boundary, 228,907 square miles, and of all of the Territory of Minnesota remaining after the erection of the State of Minnesota, 81,960 square miles, having thus a total area of 310,867 square miles. By Act of March 3, 1863, the Territory of Dakota gave to the Territory of Idaho, of land at first in the original Territory of Nebraska, 161,935 square miles. Hitherto this area had been officially reported as 177,970 square miles, erroneously including 16,035 square miles which had passed from the original Territory of Nebraska to the Territory of Colorado before the organization of the Territory of Dakota. There then remained an area of 148,932 square miles. Hitherto this area had been officially reported as 150,932 square miles, which is the present area of the Territory of Dakota, the difference of 2,000 square miles being accounted for by a strip of the present Territory of Dakota west of the Territory of Wyoming, which, at the period referred to, was not embraced in the Territory of Dakota. By Act of May 26, 1864 (the Act erecting the Territory of Montana), the Territory of Dakota received from the Territory of Idaho—1st, land which had been first in the original Territory of Nebraska, next in the Territory of Dakota, afterward in the Territory of Idaho; in extent, 45,666 square miles; 2d, land which had been at first in the original Territory of Nebraska, afterward in the Terri-

tory of Idaho; in extent, 30,621 square miles; 3d, land which had been originally in the Territory of Utah, next in the Territory of Nebraska, and afterward in the Territory of Idaho; in extent, 10,740 square miles; 4th, land originally in the Territory of Oregon, next in the original Territory of Washington, next in the Territory of Nebraska, and afterward in the Territory of Idaho; in extent, 4,638 square miles. Total received from the Territory of Idaho, 91,665 square miles. The area of the Territory of Dakota was thus 240,597 square miles. By Act of July 25, 1868, the Territory of Dakota gave to the Territory of Wyoming 89,665 square miles, being all of the above-mentioned 91,665 square miles, excepting 2,000 square miles from the item, 45,666 square miles. The present area of the Territory of Dakota (150,932 square miles) is thus obtained, but a tract containing 2,000 square miles lies separated from the main body of the Territory by the entire extent east to west of the Territory of Wyoming.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 579.

¹ ARIZONA.—By Act of February 24, 1863, formed as a Territory from the western part of the Territory of New Mexico; area, 126,141 square miles. By Act of May 5, 1866, 12,225 square miles set off to the State of Nevada. Present area, 113,916 square miles.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 579.

February, 1863, several enactments were passed for education. During 1869, Mr. Safford, of Vermont, who had twice been in the Legislature of California, and grown familiar with mining operations, and been Surveyor-General of Nevada, was appointed Governor of the Territory, where he found a field for his best exertions in organizing a complete system of common schools. The Territory was overrun by hostile Apache Indians; it was a poverty-stricken population, the children mostly of Mexican parentage, and speaking either a foreign or a barbarous tongue. With the courage of a soldier and the love of letters which none but scholars know, he travelled from settlement to settlement, chiefly with the grand theme of education of children upon his lips; he saw the fruits of his labors. In the winter of 1870-1 he got the Legislature to pass a School Law, levying a tax for school purposes of ten cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property, and establishing Boards of Trustees to levy additional taxes sufficient to maintain a school in every district. In 1872, nearly \$8,000 was unexpectedly raised, and in his annual message, January, 1873, this excellent Governor said, 'Free Schools have been taught during the past year in every School District in the Territory for at least three months. The advancement made by the pupils has been extraordinary, and the sentiment of the people has become interested and cemented into a determination to make almost any sacrifice to educate the rising generation. No officer entrusted with putting the school law into operation has yet received any compensation for his services, so that every dollar raised for school purposes has been applied to furnishing schoolrooms, the purchase of books, and payment of teachers.'

The last communication from the Governor is still more cheering. 'We now have Free Schools in every district in the Territory: and although much opposition has been, and is encountered by those who prefer the education of children under Church rule, still the system of Free Schools is popular with the people, and I do not believe it will ever be allowed to languish.'

Last year nearly fourteen thousand dollars was received from all sources, for maintaining the schools; the value of school-houses was upwards of six thousand dollars, and the monthly salaries to teachers averaged one hundred dollars.

*Montana.*¹—It was organized in 1864, and at its first session the Legislature passed a school act providing for a Superintendent of Instruction—thus beginning at the right place. The Territory was fortunate in its Superintendent, Mr. Hedges, a Massachusetts man, and a graduate of Yale College; he was reappointed in 1874. Two years ago he said: 'Notwithstanding the general depression in all branches of business, and a considerable decrease of population since the Census report was taken, there has been a steady improvement in our schools. Our people are generally poor, and very scattered.

¹ MONTANA.—By Act of May 26, 1864, formed as a Territory from the northeastern part of the Territory of Idaho. It consists—*first*, of 116,269 square miles, at first part of the original Territory of Nebraska, next in the Territory of Dakota, and afterward in the Territory of Idaho; and *second*, of 27,507 square miles, first in the Territory of Oregon, next in the original Territory of Washington, afterward in the Territory of Idaho. Aggregate area of the Territory, 143,776 square miles.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census, p. 580.*

Many of our school districts are of greater area than whole counties in the Eastern States. There are, as near as I can estimate at present, about eighty organized school districts in the eight organized counties in this Territory. In some of the principal cities there is some attempt towards grading, but it is poorly done at best.' The thorough work of education began last year, when a new measure known as 'The Montana School Law' was passed, which might serve as a model for the organization of a system of education for any State in the world.

*Wyoming.*¹—Became a Territory in 1868. Among its early settlers, there were enough of substantial citizens to begin at once to lay the foundation for the education of the children of this far-off Territory. With a population in 1870, of nine thousand people sprinkled over a territory of 97,883 square miles, three hundred and sixty-four persons were attending school in nine places, with fifteen teachers. There were eleven public, and twenty private libraries, containing nearly three thousand volumes. A large proportion of the population was foreign born, and among them six hundred of all races over ten years of age unable to write. But there, as in all the Territories, there were live coals burning on the altars of learning, and the people of Wyoming were to be illuminated, cost what pains or money it might. In 1873 a new school law was passed, and taxes levied to build school-houses and maintain the schools. Here, where it would least be expected, compulsory education was decreed and enforced. Last year fifty thousand dollars were raised for school purposes: and another point full of encouragement—female teachers were paid nine hundred dollars annual salary, and the most competent males fifteen hundred dollars.

*Indian Territory.*²—This distant, and to most of my readers *terra incognita*

¹ WYOMING.—By Act of July 25, 1868, formed as a Territory from portions of the then Territories of Utah, Dakota, and Idaho, aggregating 97,883 square miles, as follows: *first*, 30,621 square miles once in the original Territory of Nebraska, next in the Territory of Idaho, afterward in the Territory of Dakota; *second*, 10,749 square miles originally in the Territory of Utah, next in the Territory of Nebraska, next in the Territory of Idaho, afterward in the Territory of Dakota; *third*, 4,638 square miles once in the Territory of Oregon, next in the original Territory of Washington, next in the Territory of Idaho; *fourth*, 43,666 at first in the original Territory of Nebraska, next in the Territory of Dakota, next in the Territory.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 580.

² THE INDIAN COUNTRY is a geographical but not an organized political division of the United States. By Act of June 30, 1834, regulating trade and intercourse with Indians, this Country was declared to be 'all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi [River] and not within the States of Missouri and Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas.' This Act limited the Indian Country on the east by the present western boundaries of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, and north of these boundaries by the Mississippi River, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean, and on the north and south by international boundaries. As the different tracts of land, which from time to time have been set apart, for the use of Indians, on the east side of the River Mississippi, have always been included within the boundaries of some political division, so this Indian Country on the west of this river was, when first

bounded by the above cited statute, identical in extent with the organized Territory of Missouri. The Country and the Territory have alike suffered successive losses of the same areas, and the Territory the loss of organization, until the government and the name of the Territory of Missouri have become obsolete, and the present Indian Country contains all of the land of the once Territory of Missouri which has not been absorbed by other political divisions. In 1850 the boundaries of the Indian Country were as follows:—On the east, the present western boundaries of the States of Missouri and Arkansas; on the south, the Red River; on the west, the Twenty-third meridian (100th Greenwich) as far north as the Arkansas River, and along that river to the intersection of the Rocky Mountains and the Twenty-ninth meridian, (106th Greenwich,) and along that meridian northward to the proposed southern boundary of the original Territory of Nebraska, which became the northern limit of this Country. Within these limits, however, is included that part of the territory ceded by Texas to the United States which was not included in the Territory of New Mexico, being a parcel of land between the Arkansas River on the north and the present northernmost boundary of the State of Texas, and between the Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth meridians (100th and 103d Greenwich). Including this latter territory, the area of the Indian Country at 1850 was 195,273 square miles. By Act of May 30, 1854, the Territory of Kansas was erected, and its southern boundary, from the State of Missouri to the Twenty-third meridian, (100th Greenwich,) became the northern limit of the Indian Country. The limits of

nita, lies west of Arkansas, and north of Texas. It embraces the vast tract of country set apart by the National Government as a permanent home for the aboriginal tribes removed from the east of the Mississippi, as well as those native to the Territory. To the future student of the history of American Indians, this Territory, with the fortunes of its numerous tribes, will furnish one of the most interesting subjects of study ever brought under consideration. The five principal tribes have advanced to a higher civilization than is generally supposed. The Cherokees number 17,500; the Choctaws, 16,000; the Creeks, 13,000; Chickasaws, 6,000; Seminoles, 2,500. Each of these nations has a government of its own, and each has a superintendent of schools which have been established by law, and which have been maintained with remarkable success. They are regulated with as much wisdom, and administered with far more efficiency than the schools of many of the States. The Cherokees are further advanced than their neighbors; the annual interest on their school fund is \$162,000, and their system of education is complete. Next to them come the Choctaws and Chickasaws, numbering twenty thousand; they have three missions, twenty-five hundred members, two boarding-schools, and forty-eight day schools upon which \$75,000 a year is expended. The Creeks have three missions, two thousand church members, one boarding school, and thirty-one day-schools, the latter having nine hundred pupils.

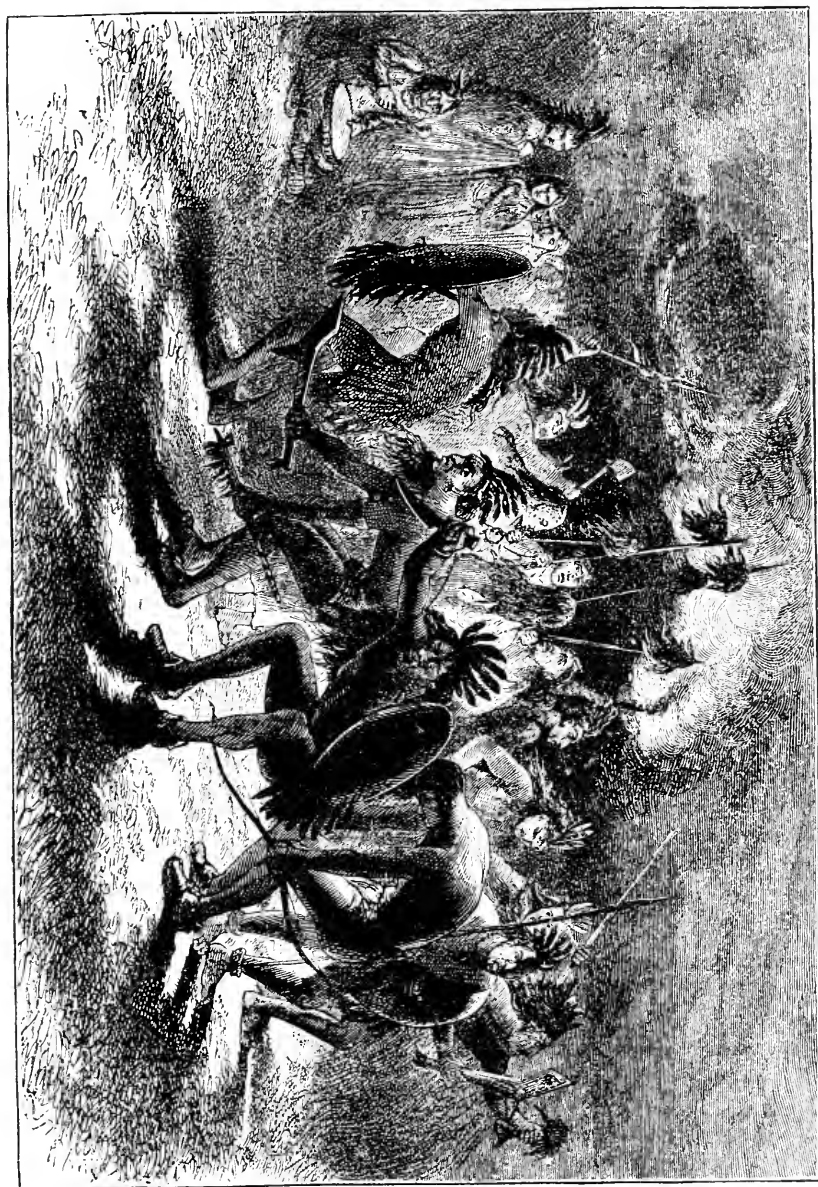
I am glad that I can notice some fruits of the uncounted millions of money that have been expended in the almost fruitless attempts of the National Government, the governments of States, and the earnest efforts of philanthropists in behalf of the civilization of these aboriginal races.

*Alaska.*¹—It may sound somewhat strange that we should be purchasing territory in these latter days—as though we were not too rich in land already—and in such close proximity to the Pole. But our old friend Russia, finding an outlying frozen strip of her Empire of little use, the suggestion was made in the same friendly spirit which the Czars of Russia have always displayed to this country, ‘that geographically it seemed to appertain to the United States,’ and so by good understanding and a treaty in 1867, we took it for about seven million dollars. Alaska includes, with its neighboring islands belonging to the same sovereignty, 580,107 square miles of territory. When it became

the Indian Country remain as they were left by that Act; area, 68,991 square miles. A part of the territory above mentioned as ceded by the State of Texas was included in the Territory of Kansas. The residue, bounded on the north by the Territory of Colorado and the State of Kansas, on the east by the Indian Country, on the south by the State of Texas, and on the west by the Territory of New Mexico, and included between 36° 30' and 37° of latitude and the Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth meridians, (100th and 103d Greenwich,) having an estimated area of 10,800 square miles, still remains an unorganized portion of the public domain. *Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, pp. 576-577.

¹ By Treaty of March 30, 1867, exchange of ratification and transfer of title having been made June 20, 1867, Russia ceded Alaska. This cession made the line between the continent of Asia and America the northwestern boundary of the Territory of the United States, and extended the territory of the United States

northward to the Arctic Ocean. On the east this cession was bounded by a line beginning at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island (parallel of 54° 40') and running north along Portland Channel to the junction of the Fifty-sixth parallel of north latitude with the continent, and thence, along the summit of the mountains parallel to the coast, to and along the one hundred and forty-first meridian, to the Arctic Ocean. But where the crest of the mountains skirting the coast from the specified parallel to the meridian is more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, there the boundary is a line not more than ten marine leagues from the coast and parallel to its windings. This cession is separated from the main territory of the United States by the western part of the British possessions between the parallels of 54° 40' and 49° of north latitude. A geographical, but not a political division of the United States; area, 577,390 square miles.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 580.





a part of our domain, it had to share the fortunes of all the ground over which our flag floats. It was to become subject to the American Law of Progress; and this law rested upon the basis of Common School Education. In 1870, the entire population numbered only 29,000, of whom all but ten or twelve hundred were natives of the Territory, and most of them Indians or half breeds. There were five hundred Russians, and some three or four hundred natives of the United States, with a slight sprinkling of other nationalities. It would be a liberal estimate to say, that a thousand of them were fairly civilized.

One more word in praise of Russia. Some time ago, the Russian traders had maintained two or three Kodiack schools, to teach the natives the Russian tongue. A naval officer had charge of these schools from 1820 to 1833. In 1839, when the families of the traders had begun to come in, a girls' school was set up to educate the employees of the Russian Fur Company. In 1845, an ecclesiastical school was opened at Sitka; and in 1860 a colonial school to educate persons connected with the Company. Other schools, too, were in operation under Russian auspices, even on Amelia Island. So much for the good work begun by Russia—a State which has in recent times displayed a surprising interest in the Common Education of its people, which, if carried out as fearlessly as the fall of serfdom was proclaimed, will make that Empire the savior of more millions than now own any other Christian sceptre.

Captain Charles Bryant, agent of the United States Treasury Department, stationed there to look after the seal fisheries,¹ in his reports last year,

¹ THE FUR SEAL IN HIS HOME.—In the first cold days, when the chilling blasts hurry down upon us the frosts of the Polar winter, what more cheering than to look through the half frost-bound plate-glass windows of a palatial fur store on Broadway, where the soft, warm seal muffs and mantles greet the eye of the passer-by! We at once picture the Arctic hunter on his perilous venture for the fur seal in his ice-home. Let us glance at his dwelling, and see how he lives—as his hunters tell us—for our space can admit of only a glance.

The seal lives only within the Arctic circle. The male reaches full growth about the sixth year, averaging seven to eight feet in length, and six to seven in girth. His fur is a dark brown, with gray over-hair on neck and shoulders, and weighs from five hundred to seven hundred pounds. The female, at maturity, measures four feet in length, by two feet and a half round the body, and differs from the male in shape, having a longer head, shorter neck, and fuller body posteriorly, and weighing only eighty or a hundred pounds. In leaving the sea for the land, which is her summer home, her color is a dark, glistering steel, mixed on the back, with breast and sides as white and beautiful as a pigeon. But a few days of air and sunshine turn the back to brown, and the breast, sides, and throat to a bright orange. She becomes a mother only in her third year, and is full grown in her fourth. Like the lioness, she has one pup, which hardly weighs six pounds, but in a year he grows to forty or fifty.

During April, the sun has mounted high enough to

melt the shore snow, and sweep the drift-ice to the south. Then the seal's summer begins. Soon a few veteran males land on the island, after two or three days' vigilant reconnoissance, and carefully smell and tread their way up to the rookeries, stealthily climbing the slopes, where they lie with their heads erect, listening for any approaching danger. This is the time for the vigilant seal-hunter to extinguish his fires, and keep still.

When these veteran scout seals have made all sure, they leave; and in a few days male seals of all ages begin, in small numbers, to arrive. But the old patriarchs soon take their places on the rookeries first chosen, and keep the juniors at bay, or force them again to take to the water.

No monarch or conqueror chooses his couch more royally. Each reserves about a square rod to himself, for observation and defence. This is necessary for two reasons—their eyes being adapted to seeing better in water than on land, their vision is feeble on shore, and they have to rely mainly on hearing and smell for signals of danger; and their rear being their weakest point, they require room to turn suddenly to repel an attack. Besides, the seal is a Sultan, and he provides quarters for his harem of ten or fifteen wives. Now the news has gone through the ocean chambers, and a whole colony comes rushing—all males—and often a fearful and bloody strife goes on, till each newcomer has chosen his own place and made good his title, according to the law which seems everywhere to prevail among men and beasts—that to the victor belong the spoils.

gives the whole population of the territory of Alaska at 30,000 ; 7,000 Aleutians on the islands, 11,000 Coloshes on the coast, and the remainder scattered over the large Territory in wandering tribes. The Aleutians live in villages of from a few persons, to five or six hundred. The ministers of the Greek Church, by a system of missionary effort most noble, have in that far-away dependency been found educating to a certain extent these poor people in the Greek religion. Their instruction succeeded so far that most of them understand the services in the Russian tongue, can manage accounts, and intelligently transact business. The Coloshes seem to be a compact tribe, but they have very little education. Most of the priests scattered through the villages are natives, under a Russian bishop, and whatever education they have was obtained from a school established by the Russian Government at Sitka. The treaty transferring Alaska to the United States broke up this feeble system of education, and there has hardly been time to establish another. But at Sitka there were people enough who felt the necessity of education to start one of their own ; and they organized an efficient plan of action as a voluntary community, and elected certain officers to found and manage an English school. Probably our Government has not yet bestowed sufficient attention on the subject to set our common-school system going there ; but Congress has made the islands of St. Paul and St. George a Government reservation, and the Alaska Seal Company, to whom the monopoly of the fur trade has been given, are required to keep up a common school in each of those islands for eight months in the year. A school-house was built and dedicated on St. George's Island, and the school opened in October, 1873. It was kept for eight months, after a fashion ; but the Russian people had a very natural alarm, lest some mischief might accrue if their children, in learning English, should forget the beloved tongue of their ancestors, and thus weaken old associations, especially those of the Greek Church, so dear to them ; hence they gave this school no encouragement, only a few scholars attending ; but they were taught with great assiduity. If any success

The males having now completed their summer preparations, they lie waiting for their wives and sweethearts to come. They begin to appear in small numbers, timid and cautious, like all their sex, till at last, by the middle of July, the rookeries are all full, the females often overlapping one another.

As each female comes gliding up in her matchless beauty from the sea, the nearest or boldest male goes down to meet her, with a winning noise—the language of the seal-lover—and then, getting between her and the water, either escorts or forces her to his rookery.

Again comes the strife of wife-stealing. Those perched on the higher ground watch their chances, and, when those below them are off their guard, those above glide down, and, seizing the fair ones of their choice by the nape of the neck (as cats carry off kittens), bear them up to their own quarters. Not seldom, fearful conflicts take place, and the luckless beauty is torn to pieces by her ferocious rivals.

At last the battle is over. Might, not right, has settled it. In two or three days after the female has

landed, she gives birth to the (always) single child she has carried in her white bosom so long through the Peri-haunted chambers of the deep ; and each fond mother knows the cry of her own young among the myriads around her.

Such is the wild but beautiful life led by these Arctic beings in their far-off homes. It seems wrong and cruel for man to break into their domain, and disturb an Eden like this. But man has been doing this from the days of Herodotus, the Father of History, who tells us that in his time, 400 years before Christ, the people on the shores of the Caspian were clad in the rich fur of the seal.

Nor will man cease his work. There is something more than the reign of fashion which infatuates the people of the temperate zone with furs ; they bear with them a magnetism (animal magnetism, if you will) which, insensibly perhaps, attracts and holds the wearer—

"E'en in their ashes live their wonted fires."

attended the experiment of making scholars in those frozen regions, it was encouragement enough for better efforts, since the orthodox creed of American democracy is never discouraged by obstacles in the good work, however hard to teach the English language to this people, whether they like it or not, because to learn the English language, when young, means to become the civilized men of the future.

The George Peabody Fund for Common Education.—The provisions which were made by this magnanimous American for the good of the depressed classes of the British metropolis, have already been recognized by the English people, among whom he had lived so long, and to whom he so appropriately gave a generous portion of his fortune. These acts have gone into effect in London, and the results that will flow from them it needs no prophet to foretell. Great and good deeds are eternal; for even if all traces of them were blotted out on earth, the memory of them would live green in heaven. But the British people have so broad and solid a basis of integrity,—as shown in the good faith they have maintained through ages—that we need have no anxiety about the safety of the trust which Peabody confided to their care:—for if another convulsion should occur, more violent than any which ever shook those islands, British manhood and honor would not betray a trust so sacred. From English sources we learn that the noble example of Peabody has inspired many of the good people of England to deeds as generous, if not as great.

Peabody's benefactions to his countrymen, were on the same scale of liberality, and influenced by the same humane spirit; for his sympathy with the great mass of his fellow-men, was the chief characteristic of his grand character. No source of information on this subject could be so reliable as that of Reverend Dr. Barnas Sears, general agent of the Peabody Fund. In his sketch of it to the *American Educational Annual*, he gives the history of the creation of the Fund, and how it has been managed.¹

¹ The letter announcing and creating the Peabody endowment was dated February 7, 1867. In that letter, after referring to the ravages of the late war, the founder of the Trust said: 'I feel most deeply that it is the duty and privilege of the more favored and wealthy portions of our nation to assist those who are less fortunate.' He then added: 'I give one million of dollars for the encouragement and promotion of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and South-western States of the Union.'

On the day following, ten of the Trustees selected by him, held a preliminary meeting in Washington. Their first business meeting was held in the city of New York, the 19th of March following, at which a general plan was adopted, and an agent appointed.

Mr. Peabody returned to his native country again in 1869, and on the 1st day of July, at a special meeting of the Trustees held at Newport, added a second million to the cash capital of the fund.

As to the success of this great enterprise, it is

enough to say that not a single Southern State had a modern system of public schools when the Trustees first entered upon their work, and that now no State is without such a system, existing at least in law, and that every State has either already organized or is now organizing its schools. The Trustees do not arrogate to themselves the credit of creating all these public schools, but it may safely be said that but for their efforts in some of the States they would not have existed at all, and that in others they would not have been in their present comparatively flourishing condition.

Of the fund thus donated by Mr. Peabody for promoting education in the Southern States, the amount now available is in round numbers about \$2,000,000, and yields an annual income of \$120,000. Besides this, there are Mississippi and Florida bonds amounting to about \$1,500,000, from which nothing is realized at present. According to the donor's directions, the principal must remain intact for thirty years. The Trustees are not authorized to expend any part of it, nor yet to add to it any part of the accruing interest. The manner

The National Bureau of Education.—The friends of education in every part of the country had long desired to see established in Washington, what most civilized governments had long had—a Department of Public Instruction. But every effort to bring about this desirable result had proved unavailing. It was thought, that since the government had no National University to control, the business of education appertained more appropriately to the separate States. But sounder arguments finally prevailed; and the conviction became all but universal that a Bureau of Education should be established, if it served no other purpose than to collect and publish information on the subject of education for the use of the whole people. In February, 1867, a Congressional Act established a Department of Education, for the declared purpose of ‘aiding the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of an efficient School System, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.’ This day could be marked with a white

of using the interest, as well as the final distribution of the principal, was left entirely to the discretion of a self-perpetuating body of Trustees. Those first appointed had, however, the rare advantages of full consultation with the founder of the Trust while he still lived, and their plans received his cordial and emphatic approbation. It seemed best to him to leave the question of the final disposition of the fund to the developments of time and wisdom of the Trustees. The pressing need of the present seemed to be in the department of primary education for the masses, and so they determined to make appropriations only for the assistance of public free schools. The money is not given as a charity to the poor. It would be entirely inadequate to furnish any effectual relief if distributed equally among all those who need it, and would, moreover, if thus widely dissipated, produce no permanent results. But the establishment of good public schools provides for the education of all children, whether rich or poor, and initiates a system which no State has ever abandoned after a fair trial. So it seemed to the donor, as well as to his Trustees, that the greatest good of the greatest number would be more effectually and more certainly attained by this mode of distribution than by any other.

No effort is made to distribute according to population. It was Mr. Peabody's wish that those States which had suffered most from the ravages of war should be assisted first, and so appropriations have been made thus far in only twelve States; the other three, namely, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, will, of course, ultimately share in the benefits. Nor is distribution made in proportion to the comparative destitution of any community, but following the sound maxim of giving help to those and only to those who helped themselves, the Trustees make donations from time to time at their discretion, whenever and wherever there is the most reasonable prospect of doing the most good. When any State, or any city or town within its borders is actually taking efficient measures to support a permanent system of schools, and needs help to meet the outlay necessary in the beginning, contributions are made to supplement the public school money.

But it is clearly impossible to give assistance to all the public schools which have been recently established

in the Southern States. It was thought proper to select such as would best illustrate the system, and be, by their example, most influential in diffusing it.

For this reason it is required that all schools aided shall have at least a *hundred* pupils, with one teacher for every *fifty*; shall be properly graded, and shall be continued during ten months in the year, with an average attendance of not less than *eighty-five per cent.* If smaller schools were accepted the number would be so great as to make the share of each quite insignificant, and besides, they would not be likely to exhibit the best models, as they could not well be graded.

To prevent collision or disorder, and to secure unity of plan and concert of action, the Trustees co-operate with the State authorities, availing themselves of the agency of each State Superintendent. They have the benefit of his more minute information, special advice, and detailed plans, while his purposes are furthered and his hands strengthened by their contributions.

The most that is given to a school of a hundred pupils is \$300; to one of two hundred, \$600, and so on; but this always on condition that the *district* shall pay at least twice, and usually much more than twice, the amount given from the Peabody Fund. No public pledge can be given that all schools which comply with the conditions may claim the amounts here named, but special arrangement must be expressly made at or near the beginning of the school year, through the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Trustees are entirely untrammelled in their action except as above indicated. They aim to secure the just mean between concentration for strength and diffusion for relief. Unable to aid all at any one time, they desire first to cultivate the most promising fields and establish radiating centres at the most conspicuous points. When these are beyond the contingency of failure, they may turn their attention and donations to others. Thus, while bound only by their own sense of what is just and proper, all may rest assured they will be fairly and generously dealt with. The character of the Trustees selected by Mr. Peabody, and chosen since to fill vacancies, is an abundant guarantee that their ripe wisdom will be imbued with the spirit of his philanthropy.

stone in the history of American education. Dr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, was wisely chosen by President Johnson, as the first Commissioner, and he devoted his fine talents and ripe experience for three years to organizing a new system. He was succeeded, in 1870, by General John Eaton, whose valuable Reports fully attest the ability and zeal with which he has consecrated himself to the responsible and exalted position.¹ If all the officers and agents of the National and State Governments were chosen as wisely and well as these two gentlemen were, how much treasure and trouble would have been spared, and how much farther would the nation have advanced on the road to a higher civilization !

If any reader thinks I may have given too much space to Common School Education in our country, I offer the following reasons for it : *First.* One of the old sages, as we all know, said : 'Give me the training of your youth, and I will guarantee their manhood.' The Solon of the Hebrew nation said : 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.' Confucius said, 'Take care of the education of the children, and they will take care of the future.' It certainly ought to be just as true in the intellectual and moral, as it is in the vegetable world—that the uncultivated garden will grow to weeds, and then to briars. Perhaps, among the maxims uttered by Jesus, no one has touched the hearts of the mothers of the world so much as 'suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven.'

Second. In tracing to their sources the streams of intelligence which have irrigated what would otherwise have been an American desert, I have gone to the fountains of our National Life : I think I have thus done a better work than if I had written an elaborate history of all our Universities. These institutions have all grown out of the Common School System ; unless indeed, a possible exception might be made in favor of our earliest Colleges. And yet it would not be difficult to show that even they *were the outgrowths of the education of the young* which had been considered of primary importance by the earliest settlers who became the founders, or the fathers of the founders, of our system of social life. Colleges could always take care of themselves—just as the sturdy forest trees can weather the storm. I have been looking

¹ Of Dr. Barnard it is unnecessary to speak. His splendid accomplishments as an educator have settled his fame long ago. General Eaton was not so widely known. Born in New Hampshire, and graduating at Dartmouth College in 1854 ; working his own way to a classic education by hard labor as a teacher a portion of each year ; removing to the West, where he became principal of a grammar school at Cleveland, Ohio ; Superintendent of Public Schools of Toledo ; studying theology in the divinity school at Andover, Massachusetts ; serving as chaplain of the 27th Ohio Volunteers ; appointed in 1862, Superintendent of Contrabands, and shortly afterwards General Superintendent of Freedmen in the South-western States ; called to Washington, to assist in the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau ; and for military services as colonel of a regiment of United States Colored Infantry, and brevetted brigadier-general ; resigning his commission in 1865, to establish the *Daily Post*, at Memphis, which he edited for four years ; elected State Superintendent for Tennessee, where he organized a system of Free Schools which enrolled an attendance of one hun-

dred and eighty-five thousand pupils.—He may well have rested upon so good a reputation so fairly earned. But it appears his greatest labors were yet to come ; for being appointed Commissioner of Education under the National Government in 1870, he found in this broad field an exhaustive demand for his wide experience and almost unrivalled training. Besides his Annual Reports, which are more comprehensive by far than had ever been published, he has issued a series of Circulars concerning education in other countries, and established correspondence with the chief educators of the world, thus making a fine beginning of a System of International Communication on the subject of education, in all its branches and bearings. This has already been attended with excellent results ; and if prosecuted with the same diligence and vigor in the future, will lay the whole world under tribute. It would be hardly possible to estimate the good which will come from the establishment of the National Bureau of Education, if it shall be hereafter conducted as well as it has been during the first eight years of its existence.

at primal sources, and never forgotten those homely but wise words: 'As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.'

I shall be content with giving only the statistics of HIGHER EDUCATION, and dwell little even on our Agricultural Colleges, in which the National Government has made a beginning—for which further provisions will be made—and in which it will be proved, we trust, that the means secured to make a practical start shall have been well used. Long before what we call our Modern System of Common Schools, the light-houses of Nine Colleges, which did such noble work in the colonial days, had been shedding their beams. Their history, as fully as I could give it, has been recorded. I am thankful that institutions of classic learning have been so multiplied that, were I called upon to enumerate them all, and bestow praise or blame, where either might be well deserved, it would leave no room to finish my work within the limits by which I am circumscribed.

I know that when we roll up the list of High Schools by the hundred, and honor them with the names of Colleges, and even of Universities, we open ourselves to the criticism of Europe. I am fully conscious that the magniloquence of our nomenclature has fairly exposed us to the satire of pens dipped in ink, paid for by revenues derived from benefices left long centuries ago—institutions which are looking on the past, and not towards the future. I know, too, that the perfected edifice which may be reared hereafter for the thorough education of all classes of all communities, is yet to be completed,—that education is a more stupendous thing than has yet been understood, even by the Masters of Science; that the spirits of Plato and Socrates, of Cicero, Seneca, and Thomas Aquinas; of Alcuin the monk, and the long line of the Educators of the ancient and modern world, held together, as they

¹ 'There are at present five millions of children who attend the common schools, graded and ungraded, of our States and Territories. Imitating the example of your forefathers, the pioneers of the new States placed a school-house among the necessities of every new settlement; and there is no way of touching our popular heart so sure as to ascribe our greatness to the meeting-house, and the modest little building at its side with its two doors and well tramped playground. Of these there are now one hundred and nineteen thousand, all of them sources, I am sorry to say, of popular satisfaction and pride. We early received so much good from common schools, and have since built so many, and talked so much about them, that we have persuaded ourselves that they are education; and yet there can be no doubt that this thin sowing broadcast has made us indifferent to the deeper culture.'

These words I quote from the eloquent and learned 'Address Delivered before the Delta Upsilon Fraternity at Amherst, Mass., May 28, 1873, by Prof. William C. Russel, of Cornell University—both the Professor and his University receiving, as they deserve, all my praise. But I would ask whether Prof. Russel could not more

gracefully have bestowed his encomium on the Common Schools of America without the criticism which attends it? Was he himself not indebted to a 'Common School' for the first step he took on his proud way to the University which he now embellishes by his culture? Were not many of the classic scholars he addressed under the same obligation? If this 'thin sowing' he now seems to cast a slur on had not been 'broadcast,' would it ever have reached him, or a tithe of his listeners? I trow not. But this I do trow:—that the primitive fount of the humble District School was the source from which the great body of American scholars drew the first inspirations of their intellectual life; and that among these graduates of the Common School who have risen to eminence, not one will say that the little they there learned 'made them indifferent to the deeper culture.' I know that so ripe a scholar as Prof. Russel would neither pull up after him the ladder on which he climbed, nor curse the bridge which carried him over with safety.

are, by the electric chain which binds human progress through the ages, looking down on the advancement of human learning,—have never withdrawn their sympathies from any efforts for the illumination of *the whole human race*. I know, too, that for what we now are in this nation, we are indebted to the past; and if I had a treasure which I could expend no better, I would erect to all these Fathers of Learning, some temple where the teachers of the Common Schools of America could gather to pay their homage to the Discoverers, Inventors, and Toilers in Letters. The debt of the present to the past can never be paid except in providing for the education of future generations.

Third.—I am pleading for Democracy in Education, as I plead for it in Government,—and as our Government has illustrated it as best it could.

Democracy.—This noble word has been dreadfully abused from the days of Pericles. In this country preëminently, since the honest times of Jefferson, Madison, and the younger Adams; especially since our Republic met with its best critic and its most generous eulogist, De Tocqueville. I am sorry the name ‘Democracy’ has had a single shadow cast upon it, for it was ‘wounded in the house of its friends.’ But the eclipse which in later years may have fallen upon it, gives no good reason why so noble a word should be blotted from the lexicon of American life. It has been pressed into bad service by the villainies of base men. Many a bad thing has been done in its great name; and men high in power have robbed, on scales so gigantic as to make the tyrant robbers of all the ages turn pale: stealing little railroads, and then big ones; and then continental railways; and then thrusting foul hands to the arm-pits into the public treasury—sustained in authority when they were known to be thoroughly bad, till the poison entered the vitals of the National Legislature.

And yet all this has not swung the Republic from its moorings. We have seen our hopes already more than realized—our faith left whole; for if the ‘government of the people, by the people, and for the people,’ cannot last here, for a while at least free government goes by the board; and the brave and last struggling hoping man will be proclaimed hero of the ruin. But God is not the God of Death, but of Life.

No! Democracy on earth with the freedom of man, and Theocracy with the universal Father above, is yet to be shouted as the sublime anthem of a redeemed humanity. Democracy means not only for America, but for the earth—the empire of all, instead of the despotism of the few. As it was understood in the beginning, and as it is now understood by the true everywhere—Democracy is the manna falling in the wilderness for the weary and heavy-laden—and not to make a festival for oppressors. Let self-government—always by a people educated in Free Common Schools—have half the chance to show itself for the next thousand years, which the usurped supremacy of oligarchy, aristocracy, and arbitrary power have wielded through all the past, and then bring the two systems to judgment. The earth has been blighted long enough by the reign of the few; let us try the reign of the many for a

while, and by fair experiment see which system is best. At least, let humanity have fair play in an open fight against oppression.¹

¹ Precious as my space is, I cannot omit the excellent Tables of School Statistics which have been prepared with so much care by the Editor of *The American Educational Annual*.—

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, SCHOOL TEACHERS, AND SALARIES PAID.
(1873.)

Number.	STATES.	Number of Schools.	Average duration of school in days.	Male Teachers.	Female Teachers.	Total.	Average Monthly Salaries.	
							Male.	Female.
1	Alabama.....	2,650	...	1,796	854	2,650	\$40 00	\$40 00
2	Arkansas.....	...	...	...	...	2,035	60 00	40 00
3	California.....	1,868	134	882	1,454	2,336	84 28	63 37
4	Connecticut.....	1,638	173	715	2,240	2,955	67 10	34 09
5	Delaware.....	349	146	...	...	...	...	...
6	Florida.....	500	102	150	350	500	35 00	35 00
7	Georgia.....	21,735	66	...	...	...	...	...
8	Illinois.....	11,620	151	8,765	12,029	20,794	52 92	40 51
9	Indiana.....	9,100	166	7,430	4,816	12,246	...	...
10	Iowa.....	8,816	130	6,091	10,193	16,284	36 28	27 68
11	Kansas.....	4,004	107	2,206	2,469	4,675	38 43	30 64
12	Kentucky.....	5,521	110	...	...	5,521	...	...
13	Louisiana.....	864	90	865	611	1,476	50 00	50 00
14	Maine.....	4,283	112	1,904	4,094	5,998	34 28	15 16
15	Maryland.....	1,742	283	1,079	1,476	2,555	39 86	39 86
16	Massachusetts.....	5,305	168	1,028	7,421	8,449	93 65	34 14
17	Michigan.....	5,521	142	3,010	8,940	11,950	51 94	27 13
18	Minnesota.....	...	132	1,219	1,419	2,638	36 90	29 08
19	Mississippi.....	4,650	165	...	...	4,800	51 32	51 32
20	Missouri.....	6,879	...	5,821	3,803	9,624	42 43	31 43
21	Nebraska.....	1,863	85	1,046	1,176	2,222	39 60	33 80
22	Nevada.....	...	250	29	47	76	116 53	88 73
23	New Hampshire.....	2,496	106	527	3,296	3,823	40 78	23 84
24	New Jersey.....	1,480	193	907	2,224	3,131	65 92	36 61
25	New York.....	11,995	175	...	...	18,295	49 53	49 53
26	North Carolina.....	3,311	50	...	...	2,690	30 00	25 00
27	Ohio.....	14,543	140	9,789	12,110	21,899	41 00	29 00
28	Oregon.....	642	90	...	...	607	47 54	43 70
29	Pennsylvania.....	16,305	146	7,944	11,145	19,089	42 69	34 92
30	Rhode Island.....	719	179	112	646	758	75 72	41 97
31	South Carolina.....	2,081	120	1,439	935	2,374	33 78	32 06
32	Tennessee.....	3,949	...	3,254	364	3,618	32 04	32 04
33	Texas.....	1,842	210	...	...	2,207	57 00	57 00
34	Vermont.....	2,503	180	671	3,544	4,215	...	...
35	Virginia.....	3,696	165	2,434	1,323	3,757	32 00	32 00
36	West Virginia.....	2,857	80	2,443	639	3,082	34 00	28 89
37	Wisconsin.....	5,540	150	1,765	4,116	5,881	43 66	27 34
TERRITORIES.								
38	Arizona.....	...	...	...	...	...	100 00	100 00
39	Colorado.....	180	111	107	134	241	62 00	51 00
40	Dakota.....	100	...	...	...	...	30 00	30 00
41	District of Columbia.....	...	200	26	245	271	91 66	62 50
42	Idaho.....	51	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	Montana.....	90	83	50	49	99	68 41	68 41
44	New Mexico.....	164	...	...	...	196	...	...
45	Utah.....	246	198	174	173	347	47 59	24 14
46	Washington.....	196	120	...	...	...	...	...
47	Wyoming.....	8	200	...	...	...	150 00	70 00
48	Indian.....	285	...	172	185	357	...	...

a Thirty counties not reported.

Colleges and Higher Institutions of Learning.—I shall, from necessity,

SCHOOL AGE, POPULATION, AND ATTENDANCE.

Number.	STATES.	Scholastic Age.	School population.	Males.	Females.	Number enrolled.	Average attendance.
1	Alabama.....	5-21	403,735	204,416	199,319	103,615	73,927
*2	Arkansas.....	5-21	194,314	.....	.....	.....	32,863
3	California.....	5-15	141,610	71,828	69,782	107,593	69,461
4	Connecticut.....	4-16	131,748	.....	.....	114,805	67,599
5	Delaware.....	5-21	47,825	.....	.....	18,790	.....
6	Florida.....	4-21	74,828	.....	.....	18,000	14,400
7	Georgia.....	6-18	343,635	174,333	169,302	76,159	32,240
8	Illinois.....	6-21	909,828	.....	.....	655,508	329,799
*9	Indiana.....	6-21	631,549	325,959	305,590	459,451	286,301
10	Iowa.....	5-21	491,344	252,485	238,859	347,572	204,204
11	Kansas.....	5-21	184,957	95,156	89,801	121,690	71,062
12	Kentucky.....	6-20	427,523	.....	.....	240,000	.....
13	Louisiana.....	6-21	280,384	.....	.....	57,433	34,000
14	Maine.....	4-21	225,179	.....	.....	122,442	103,548
15	Maryland.....	6-21	276,120	138,813	137,307	130,324	59,001
16	Massachusetts.....	5-15	287,000	.....	.....	283,872	202,882
17	Michigan.....	5-20	421,322	.....	.....	324,615	170,000
18	Minnesota.....	5-21	196,075	100,036	96,039	124,583	54,895
*19	Mississippi.....	5-21	317,264	.....	.....	148,780	125,000
20	Missouri.....	5-21	673,493	346,600	326,893	389,956	122,186
21	Nebraska.....	5-21	63,108	33,195	29,913	37,872	.....
22	Nevada.....	6-18	5,675	2,859	2,816	3,848	3,322
23	New Hampshire.....	4-21	73,554	38,529	35,025	69,874	47,759
24	New Jersey.....	5-18	286,444	142,430	144,014	179,443	87,840
25	New York.....	5-21	1,560,820	.....	.....	1,036,999	503,240
26	North Carolina.....	6-21	348,603	179,715	168,888	146,737	97,830
27	Ohio.....	6-21	991,708	506,506	485,202	704,018	407,917
28	Oregon.....	4-20	38,670	19,391	18,049	.....	15,329
29	Pennsylvania.....	6-21	1,200,000	.....	.....	834,020	511,418
30	Rhode Island.....	4-15	42,000	.....	.....	28,245	22,435
31	South Carolina.....	6-16	230,102	116,916	113,186	85,594	.....
32	Tennessee.....	6-18	427,443	.....	.....	169,679	.....
33	Texas.....	6-18	280,000	.....	.....	129,542	83,000
*34	Vermont.....	5-20	84,946	.....	.....	70,904	.....
35	Virginia.....	5-21	424,107	216,366	207,741	160,859	91,175
36	West Virginia.....	6-21	171,793	69,130	64,226	81,100	61,244
37	Wisconsin.....	4-20	436,001	222,590	213,411	281,708	180,185
TERRITORIES.							
38	Arizona.....	6-21	1,660	836	824	333	.....
39	Colorado.....	5-21	14,417	7,617	6,800	7,456	7,214
40	Dakota.....	5-21	7,500	.....	.....	3,500	.....
41	District of Columbia.....	6-17	31,671	14,971	16,700	16,770	13,000
42	Idaho.....	5-21	3,213	1,657	1,556	2,196	891
43	Montana.....	4-21	3,517	.....	.....	1,818	909
44	New Mexico.....	.....	23,000	.....	.....	7,102	.....
45	Utah.....	4-16	27,178	13,590	13,588	15,839	11,663
*46	Washington.....	4-21	9,949	.....	.....	5,928	.....
47	Wyoming.....	5-20	1,100	500	600	.....	.....
48	Indian.....	6-16	10,923	.....	.....	9,026	.....

content myself with the following enumeration and classification, which will give a somewhat distinct idea of the departments of higher education which crown the American System:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF SCHOOLS AND STATE SCHOOL FUNDS.

STATES.	Income from taxation for 1873.	Total income from all sources.	School Fund.
Alabama.....	.....	\$490,604	.....
Arkansas.....	\$367,378	405,464	\$55,000
California.....	1,423,719	2,551,779	1,417,500
Connecticut.....	1,203,842	1,442,667	2,043,375
Delaware.....	163,284	192,397	.....
Florida.....	75,000	116,219	281,785
Georgia.....	108,992	260,432	.....
Illinois.....	6,675,097	9,259,441	6,382,000
Indiana.....	1,482,279	3,681,773	8,395,135
Iowa.....	3,898,702	4,519,688	3,294,742
Kansas.....	931,958	1,863,098	3,017,589
Kentucky.....	838,000	963,121	1,628,123
Louisiana.....	493,845	678,373	.....
Maine.....	849,775	1,179,712	312,975
Maryland.....	1,093,721	1,398,607	315,370
Massachusetts.....	3,889,053	4,206,054	2,127,653
Michigan.....	2,561,133	3,939,528	3,124,471
Minnesota.....	814,891	1,093,706	2,907,624
Mississippi.....	1,089,685	1,242,308	1,950,000
Missouri.....	1,145,384	1,790,314	7,273,882
Nebraska.....	111,018	798,660	.....
Nevada.....	.....	.....	104,000
New Hampshire.....	434,150	502,527	47,192
New Jersey.....	2,426,705	2,497,068	805,033
New York.....	10,305,397	11,256,895	3,029,513
North Carolina.....	212,363	408,794	2,187,564
Ohio.....	6,739,344	7,705,603	3,562,992
Oregon.....	71,152	230,611	452,724
Pennsylvania.....	7,548,149	8,248,149	.....
Rhode Island.....	576,250	601,361	45,000
South Carolina.....	449,968	449,968	.....
Tennessee.....	.....	.....	.....
Texas.....	1,092,915	1,144,534	.....
Vermont.....	415,432	532,110	.....
Virginia.....	850,000	1,023,000	1,500,000
West Virginia.....	693,059	778,991	305,849
Wisconsin.....	1,810,096	2,628,027	2,389,488
TERRITORIES.			
Arizona.....	4,942	5,849	.....
Colorado.....	137,577	257,557	137,507
Dakota.....	22,000	22,000	.....
District of Columbia.....	220,514	220,514	.....
Idaho.....	20,129	33,013	.....
Indian.....	31,350	33,161	.....
Montana.....	.....	58,621	.....
New Mexico.....	12,885	127,447	.....
Utah.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	12,000	17,000	.....
Wyoming.....	41,180	69,474	.....

Normal Schools:—119:—*High Schools and Academies*:—for boys, 162; for girls, 186:—for boys and girls, 596:—total, 944. The number should, under Professor Russel's classification, be greatly extended.¹ *Business Colleges*:—120. *Colleges and Universities*:—324. *Schools of Theology*:—110. *Law Schools*:—37. *Schools of Medicine and Surgery*:—94. Schools of Science and Agriculture endowed by land grants, 44; similar Institutions not thus endowed, 29. Such are the institutions which, together, represent the higher education of the nation *en masse*. By this, I do not mean that all the learning of the country, even of the native population, is to be attributed to these institutions; but generally they represent the chief sources to which we owe our literary and scientific culture.

Libraries.—In close connection with these institutions, and all others of a lower grade, must be embraced public libraries, those of historical societies, the States, and General Government, mechanic institutes, library associations, circulating libraries, young men's Christian unions, all free public libraries, athenæums, and libraries established by private munificence—the number of which cannot be placed below two thousand,—many of which contain large and valuable collections of art and science, besides their literary treasures, and all of which are perpetual sources of knowledge and illumination. Extending still further, we must embrace the district school libraries, which are becoming everywhere the necessary auxiliaries of Common Education; containing an aggregate—without reckoning school-books—known to reach many millions of volumes. As a fair indication of the appreciation in which persons of wealth hold the claims of education:—during the year 1873, the benefactions made by private individuals, either for sustaining old institutions, or founding new ones, I find that the gross sum for that year exceeded twelve million dollars: and in this list of beneficence only five hundred names are represented. Some of them made princely gifts, about one-half of the amount having been contributed by less than a score,—Mr. John Hopkins, of Baltimore, having given \$3,500,000, and Cornelius Vanderbilt half a million. But this vast sum of twelve millions, stupendous as it seems, does not represent all the benefactions made by the rest of the good people of the United States, over and above the five hundred whose names shine out the brightest. It is my belief that, if the entire amount voluntarily contributed for the support of

¹ It is reasonable to estimate that these Common Schools furnish all the direct education which five-sixths of our people receive. With what they have there learned of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, the bulk of our boys and girls enter life by the way of the farm, the shop, the store, the factory, or domestic service. The rest may be supposed to continue their education in our academies and colleges. Let us then consider the next higher stage of education. We have over fifteen hundred academies in the United States, giving instruction to probably one hundred and fifty thousand pupils, a few of whom are there preparing for college, the rest receiving their last direct intellectual culture. In the plan of academic education we must class that of the Graded Schools, Union Schools, High Schools, and Grammar Schools. These all offer instruction for as long a time as is needed without intermission, except for necessary vacation, by means of comparatively permanent teachers, in all

branches of literature and science, and one cannot without pleasure contrast them with the schools we have been considering.

In the Academies we find the standard education very much advanced, the area covered much larger, more time given to the subject, and greater permanence in the position of the teachers. A student who pursues the ordinary academical course, even without reference to preparation for college, may obtain a good knowledge of his own language, of French and German, and of all the mathematics he will probably ever need. He will obtain an introduction to Literature, to Rhetoric, to Psychology, to History, to Physics, to Chemistry and Natural History. To one who considers that the system offers so much to all our boys and girls almost without price, it must seem a cause of congratulation.—*Prof. Wm. C. Russel's Address at Amherst, May, 1873.*

knowledge in this country in the single year 1873, could be accurately ascertained, it would exceed twenty-five million dollars. But sufficient is accurately known, to exceed whatever was during the same period ascertained as the benefactions not only of any one nation, but of all the other nations of the earth.

Many of the institutions I have enumerated, I am fully aware, need no praise, and some of them do not deserve any. Their average standard is much below institutions in Europe professedly of the same rank ; but in some of them, classical, mathematical, and philosophical studies are taught with great thoroughness, while many instances could be adduced in which, particularly in scientific schools recently established, a thoroughness of teaching and study prevails unknown except in a few of the best schools of Europe.

While it is not pretended that any country except, Prussia, has so complete a system of popular education as our own, yet her system could never be established in the United States ; for it rests upon a military basis, and upon the vast number of highly educated teachers, all working in the same spirit. Under the Prussian pressure of military discipline, a completeness of education has been reached, which, externally, presents a symmetrical edifice. But we may well congratulate ourselves, that if we have a less admirable system in these respects, the twelve millions of our youth are trained to become citizens under institutions where the spirit of civil liberty is universally inculcated. Here, at least, with the exception of schools established chiefly for religious education, the divorce of sectarianism from secular education has been forever proclaimed. What may be denominated our National System of Education has certain excellences peculiar to itself. *First.* In no country is so vast an amount expended for Popular Education, as will be seen by the figures already given. *Second.* No nation has ever been known to tax itself so heavily to sustain education. *Third.* No government has ever made such vast contributions to establish Permanent Funds for Common Education, or displayed in all its States, from their earliest foundations, so uniform a conviction of the incalculable value of Common Education ; while recently a striking proof has been given of the growing importance which our National Government attaches to science by generous donations of public lands for founding Universities for education in practical agriculture, science, and art in every State and Territory. But in this respect the Republic has only made a beginning. There is a growing conviction that the policy, which had, until a few years ago, prevailed of giving away whole domains for the construction of railways, has proved, with a few notable exceptions, a source of political corruption, and aided in building up monopolies detrimental to the interests of the public, oppressive to whole departments of industry and commerce. It is well known that the most eminent statesman of the country, have at all periods held to the opinion, that since the public lands belong to the people, the government never should have attempted to derive any revenues from their sales ; that they should have been reserved for the use of the people. It was this belief that finally, after persistent struggles, procured the adoption of the Homestead Act, which gave a farm to every actual settler ; and later

the munificent appropriations for the forty-four agricultural colleges. In the numerous teachers' meetings, and especially the recent conventions of the National Education Association, the most earnest declarations of opinion have everywhere been made to the effect that, hereafter, the public domain, with its accruing revenues, should be sacredly devoted to the education of the people. The National Convention held last year at Detroit—a most numerous and imposing body of professional teachers—after a long and able discussion, passed a resolution, that it was the duty of the Republic to found a National University, which should crown the whole edifice of education : and it is not only the hope, but the belief, that within a few years it will be done ; and that it may be built on such broad foundations, and be so richly endowed, that it may as far surpass the noblest universities of the Old World, as they now surpass the common colleges of America. The people will be satisfied with nothing less ; nor would there be any difficulty in the accomplishment of the work in a single decade. America could do it alone ; for she has a host of learned men in every department of knowledge ; and if she were lacking, she could call to her aid the most learned men of other countries. Already has America become so attractive a field to the savans of Europe, that they gladly come at our call to shower upon us the wealth of their ripe and exquisite learning. The Republic of Letters is universal. It belongs to no race, but to all—to no age, but to all the ages.

Being secure of the means for endowing such a university, and of the talent and learning required to sustain it, the implements of science, art, and literature could easily be provided. Already we are making many of the best instruments for art and science. The geology and mineralogy of this continent are only on the edge of their development ; while the success of the Astor-Library—even with its lean endowment—under the direction of Dr. Cogswell, its first librarian, and Mr. Straznicky, shows how easily a few millions of dollars would command the whole mighty range of the printed literature of the world. America is, for what she has already done in a century, denominated 'the nation of achievement ;' but, on prophetic eyes it now shines as 'the country of hope.' If we may judge of the future by the past, the progress we are hereafter to make will cause all we have hitherto done to dwindle into insignificance, except to the comprehension of that calm and majestic philosophy, which, in tracing effects back to their causes, finds its rapt gaze dwelling with intensity upon the primal sources of development and power ; just as scientists of our day are peering into the unknown realms where the protoplasm must yet yield its secrets of the origin of life ; just as the revelations of the nomad must hand over for our inspection the last ultimate atom of matter ; and as in the long pilgrimage which stretches out into the dim realms of the unknown, the universe will be compelled to yield up its last secret, except the origin of eternity and its God.¹

¹ *Incompleteness of Collegiate Education in America*.—This subject is fully understood by scholars ; and while I lament that criticisms passed by Europeans, and most eloquently enforced by our own illuminated friends of Higher Education, may be justifiable from their standpoint, and while I trust that they will not

relax any exertion, but press the great idea of centralizing all the forces of high culture into fewer places ; and while I feel that concentration should be the order of the American System of Education for culture ; and while I regret that we have been founding ten universities—so called—where we should have aggregated their united forces in building up one good college ; and while I hope that no effort to produce these culminating results will be remitted—yet I have one word to utter in justification of our present so-called university education, even with all its imperfections ; and this justification is based on three grounds.

First. The pressures of Civilization have been brought to bear quicker and harder upon American life, than upon life in any other country. *We had to do everything quick ;* and we ought not to be astonished, nor to be harshly criticised, that we have done everything no better. It reminds me of an anecdote told of Dr. Johnson, the great lexicographer, who, on being teased by a lady friend to go and see a bear dance, and sitting out the performance with as much composure as possible, was asked by the lady on retiring, whether he was not astonished at the wonderful *manner* of the bear's dancing, replied : ' No,' said the irate dictionary maker, ' no, madam ; I was surprised that the brute danced at all.'

It was quite a different problem to solve on this continent, from what had engaged the attention of Europe. Here, we undertook to lift whole masses of society into the sunshine of education ; there, the attempt had never been made. They constructed and carried on governments for the few, the many being left out of sight altogether. It was for the few that universities were built and endowed, and libraries founded ;—it was for the few that all the forces of civilization had been expended. In the beginning, princes and nobles and their ministers and secretaries alone were taught by the learned to read and write. In later times, the sun broke out from his long eclipse, and began to lift the shadows from the higher classes ; and later still, in the afternoon of Europe's life, the mercantile classes felt these blessed influences. *But from the first start in America, we began to build for all ;* and it has been a pretty serious business to achieve the poor successes we have reached.

Second. The quickened forces of intellectual and social life on this continent have sprung into so forced a growth, that the earlier fruit—as might have been expected—was immature. But this, to the philosopher—and above all to the sociologist—should be a

matter of no surprise ; for it corresponds so closely with unvarying law throughout the whole realm of nature, that instead of its being a cause for anxiety, or a subject for opprobrious criticism, it should be accepted as among ' the inevitable things ;' and therefore, treated with the broadest charity. Agricultural chemistry teaches us that the very exuberance of alluvial soils constitutes an *embarrass du la richness*, and that in the first stages, we may have to mix innutritious ingredients with superabundant qualities until some of the elements of vegetable growth are subdued ; just as afterwards, in maintaining the even capabilities of the soil for successive crops, we have to add other qualities which are in danger by constant drain of being exhausted.

Third. We could well afford to abide the result ; *for the thing was sure to regulate itself.* The soils that are too rich for the best fruit are generally the ones which produce without culture the most plentiful crops of weeds and noxious plants. It only needs patience in the culture of learning, as it does in the culture of the soil. Symmetrical growth and exquisite aroma are the rewards of culture, care, attention and patience, like vigilance in either case. So we have found, all through this country, that the poorest district school-house once planted, became better—that it gave birth to better ones still ; that they in their turn helped the growth of a system which culminated into Normal Schools to beget teachers ; that the graduates of Normal Schools made all the Common Schools better ; that the Normal Schools gave origin to higher institutions ; and no matter if ten colleges were set up, where their combined endowments were insufficient to establish and support a single good one—that these colleges, meanly endowed, asked the Legislatures of their States to give them the power under high-sounding titles to confer degrees so lavishly that they fell thicker upon unworthy heads than the leaves of *Valambrosa*—make it as bad as you will !

The last Report of the Commissioners of Education at Washington makes it bad enough. He tells us that only 289 colleges and universities answered his questions as to their libraries ; and that those 289 averaged only 6,500 volumes each ; that the average income from the productive funds of 144 of them was only \$13,000 each ; and that the average receipts for the year, exclusive of this income, were only about the same amount for 200 colleges ; that they have been ' multiplied through sectarian zeal, and individuals ambitious to be known as founders have given premature birth to institutions hardly worth the name ;—' still-

born children of science : '—Suppose that in addition to all this we were pointed to the ' Report of the Commissioners of the British Crown, appointed to inquire into the property and income of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge,' and we should learn that together their incomes, derived chiefly from landed property, amounted to \$3,500,000. Well, concede all the eloquence you will to these high-sounding figures ; I confront them with the fact that *there are several States of the American Union which expend much larger sums upon Common Education than all the universities of the British Empire put together*, and further that the amount of benefactions voluntarily given by ten American citizens in the year 1873 exceeded the entire amount of money expended in the British Empire that same year for the education of *all* her people. The revenues of these two Universities constitute less than half the money given by a few American gentlemen, for scholastic and scientific, education in a single twelvemonth.

I therefore think that such slurs have been long enough cast upon *the American System of Education*. I moreover claim that probably higher education, classical, mathematical, and scientific, is being more munificently encouraged : and that the fruits coming from this American System are greater and more brilliant than are coming from the whole system of higher university education of Europe—that American scholars are displaying a larger amount of learning and of a quality which need not blush in the presence of the ripe, and even overripe, learning of the Old World—that in the matter of pure science ; in geographical and geological explorations ; in the discovery and classification of new species and specimens, both in fossils and in living growth of the flora and in the fauna of science, that our scientists have proved themselves fully the equals of their European brothers.

The upshot of the whole argument lies simply in this : that we are reaching those culminating points which Europe is so justly proud of, as the result of her

achievements for centuries ; and that the record of OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS is more than encouraging.

I claim, besides, that the substratum of all this superstructure is the COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM of the United States ; that what we can now show is the legitimate growth of Popular Education ; and that he must be a dull reader of these signs—when the facts are once fully before him, as I have no space to present them in this book—if much, if not all of this disparaging talk at home and abroad shall not cease.

And yet I will not disallow any criticisms passed in an enlightened and liberal spirit upon the imperfections, which are innumerable, and the shortcomings, which are infinite, in our present system. They will find no remedy except in the unwearied efforts, and the imperative demands of our best scholars and friends for a gradual but rapid approach to a much higher standard than we have now reached. Blessed be God, we are approaching that day ! The light of pure knowledge has at best so far only kindled its beacon-fires on the mountain-tops of any nation. We have more light in the valleys than any of them. Dim as it may be, it is more universally diffused. But as far as I know, there is no danger that the advocates of a higher education than we have yet reached, will intermit any exertions or relinquish any demands upon the National Government, the State governments, the municipal authorities, or the whole people for the accomplishment of this sublime object. I only wish that I may be understood as an advocate for the education of all men—for I am a firm devotee of that democracy which does not limit the right of any race to the highest privileges of intellectual culture ; nor its capacity to attain it without the limits of the attainable. What is possible for finite power I have a full belief in. I see no other possible limit that can be fixed, or that ought to be fixed, to the possibilities of any thinking being than the capabilities, the rights, and the hopes of any single child of God.

FOURTH PERIOD.

1848—1876.

ACHIEVEMENT—WEALTH.

FROM THE PEACE WITH MEXICO, TO THE CENTENNIAL
CELEBRATION.

SECTION FIRST.

TO THE GOLDEN COAST.

IN our record of national events we dropped in the Capitol of Mexico the chain which Scott held till the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, which transferred to us, with other Mexican Territory, the ancient Province of California.

Discovery of Gold.—It is nearly impossible, even at the distance of only a quarter of a century, to find language which can give to a younger reader any adequate idea of the excitement which thrilled through the nation, as the news spread that, in the mill-race of Col. Sutter, near the town of Colona, in El Dorado County, gold had been discovered. The rush was as fast, and went far as the tidings flew. In a hundred days, it had set the world on fire. I need not rehearse the story, for the world knows it by heart.¹

¹ The news spread rapidly, and it was soon found that gold was widely distributed throughout the State. People flocked in from Mexico, from South America, from the Atlantic States, from Europe, and from China. The emigration was altogether unparalleled. In a very short time California contained a mixed population of nearly a quarter of a million of energetic, daring, reckless, and dangerous people. A substantial government became necessary. Gen. Riley, the military governor of the Territory, called a convention of delegates, to meet at Monterey, Sept. 1, 1849, to frame a State Constitution, which was submitted to the people, by whom it was adopted; and on Sept. 9, 1850, California was admitted into the Union. Gambling became almost a universal passion among the Californians. Whole squares were devoted exclusively to it in San Francisco. Real estate and prices of all kinds rose enormously, and rapid fortunes were made by speculators in houses and lots. Among the emigrants to California were a large number of outlaws from all parts of the world, but mainly from Australia and the United States. In the earlier history of gold digging there were no efficient means for a proper administration of justice. Lynch law was resorted to in many parts of the country, and finally vigilance committees were established in the chief towns, by whom thieves and murderers were arrested, summarily tried, and if convicted, hanged. The first vigilance committee in San Francisco was formed in 1851. That of 1856 had its constitution and an executive committee, to whose supervision the general management was entrusted, and which performed its functions with the utmost quietness and dignity. One of the provisions of the constitution was, that no person brought before the committee should be punished without a fair trial and conviction. The committee provided itself with arms and ammunition, drilled its forces, fortified its headquarters, and constructed cells for prisoners and apartments for

Stranger things may happen in the future, but the record of this wild drama has so deeply colored the literature of the time, that it needs no other historian.

The Golden State comes into the Union.—The summer which was clouded with the sadness of the death of General Taylor—the second President who had died in office—had hardly closed, before California was admitted to the Union—Sept. 9, 1850. The next we hear is that one or two millions of gold dust is shipped monthly from San Francisco, and the amount increasing. The next, is a demand for an iron road to be laid down, between the last mile we had built towards the West, in a straight line as near as might be to the Golden Gate. It had become a necessity to shorten the distance between one side of our continent and the other. It was too much for private enterprise, and the nation had to come in ;—it was right and proper for the nation to come in and meet a great want of its people. One of the brightest facts in our history occurred in the construction of that road, which was built more rapidly than any railroad had ever been. It was under a continental pressure that the work began, and it was under a continental pressure that it was crowded forward to its completion. It really mattered very little what it cost at the time, for a mighty exigency confronted the Republic, and the Republic stood ready to meet that exigency. However much the criticism afterwards passed upon the management of the whole affair, nor how many private fortunes may have been made in its prosecution, nor how much land given away to aid the enterprise—all this was of little consequence, except as it may have soiled the honor of venal men, if they had any honor to soil. It was enough that a straight road was opened to the Pacific, so that both our America-encircling oceans should whisper the music of their waves to each other—that the toilsome route across the Plains had no longer to be made by wearied men, women and children, and exhausted and dying cattle—that it was no longer a pilgrimage of seventy days of exposure, suffering, and massacre, to reach those blue waters ; but a transit of seven days from our Western cities to the new Eldorado : the paradise of wise men, as well as of fools—a mere halting-place for the energies of our people to build the fair fabric of illuminated civilization, and drag from the earth treasure enough to cheapen gold in the markets of the world, and then traverse an ocean to bring us to the gates of Asia, where commerce with her argus and eagle eye could see that the circuit of the globe had at last been made, and that we have brought those oldest nations into direct communication with the youngest consolidated government on the earth.

All this means that civilization had travelled to the western coast of this

its various necessities. It arrested and tried rogues and dangerous men, some of whom were hanged, some transported, and others acquitted. The committee successfully resisted the efforts of the State authorities for its suppression, and practically held supreme power. After a short reign the committee surrendered its power in the latter part of 1856, having during its extraordi-

nary administration of public affairs tried and disposed of some thirty cases brought before them ; four of their prisoners were executed, one committed suicide while his case was under deliberation, and most of the others were banished from the State.—*American Cyclopædia*, p. 613.

hemisphere. Ages had waited for this event, and Time was rewarded at last for his enduring patience. After this, America listened with less interest to the bold and splendid project of M. Lesseps, for opening a canal through the Isthmus of Suez, that Europe might find a shorter passage to Asia than Vasco De Gama gave to her centuries before ; for our commerce with European nations was not cared so much for, since by building a railway to the Pacific, we should reach Asia by a shorter and better route. And here we first learned the advantages of a continental home, of a continental nation, and a continental Republic. A new world was opened to us in Asia.

When our steam lines were established between San Francisco and China, we saw that we had come so near that oldest of the Old Worlds, that we were beginning to fulfil our much ridiculed 'manifest destiny.' The teas of China and Japan became the common beverage of the tables of every home in California, without the delay or increased expenses of a journey three or four times as long, both in miles and in time, as had hitherto been required. That same iron railway brought those teas on towards the East, and the Chicago and St. Louis merchants became direct importers not only of their teas, but silks and all the products of Asia, without depending upon either the East India Company, or the New York merchant.

And thus it has gone on till the present day ; and thus it will go on until we shall learn two great lessons which these experiences have begun to teach us. *First*, that we may emancipate ourselves at will from Europe, for the old yoke of dependence we have so long worn may now be cast off at our pleasure. *Second*, that we can, by the peaceful modes of commerce, seize and hold, against the world, all the advantages which the rival states of Europe have for centuries been struggling to monopolize.

I need say little more about the history of the Golden coast, for it is too fresh in the memories of all men to need any repetition ; and if my work is referred to in the future, it will only be necessary for the reader of those times to look at the records of ours, to see how these rapidly shifting scenes of commerce and civilization, have chased each other over all the canvas which more fully delineates our progress.

Government Surveys of our Western States and Territories.—Since Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, which inaugurated the modern system of scientific exploration, no nation has prosecuted a similar work on so vast a scale as the United States ; and it is now being carried on with increased energy and constantly augmenting facilities and science from year to year.¹

¹ In an admirable account prepared by an able correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, April 30, 1874, I find the following concise summary of facts ; it being understood that the writer had the assistance of Lieutenant Wheeler, U. S. A., in charge of the Surveys west of the 100th Meridian :

'The first to attempt an organized survey were Captains Lewis and Clarke, who were sent out under the auspices of the Government of the United States in 1804. They were absent until 1806. They were followed by Major Pike, U. S. A., 1805-7, who discovered the sources of the Great Colorado of the West.

Rector and Robordean were the next, in 1818. After them, Major G. H. Long, U. S. A., conducted an exploring party under orders from the Secretary of War. The first explorers of the sources of the Mississippi were Lieutenants J. Allen and Schoolcraft, 1832. The wanderings of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., from 1832 to 1836, were woven into a graceful narrative by Washington Irving. In the order of dates, subsequent explorations were made by the following officers : Commander Wilkes, U. S. N., 1838-42 ; Nicollet, under Bureau of Engineers, 1836-44 ; Lieutenant J. C. Fremont, Engineers, 1842 ; Captain Boone, of the Dra

SECTION SECOND.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE REPUBLIC.

Humboldt gave to the world the first scientific delineation of North America, his gigantic intellect being the first to comprehend with specific clearness the outlines of the Western hemisphere. Vast as were his explorations, they furnished, even with the aid of his French and Spanish predecessors, but scanty means of correct generalization. To a man less richly endowed with genius and learning—surpassing perhaps, all interpreters of nature in this power of generalization—he was enabled, by the knowledge of a few cardinal facts, to deduce conclusions which subsequent explorations in the main substantiated, as the modern scientists are able, from a few fossil bones here and there discovered, to reconstruct the perfect forms of extinct Saurian species.

The series of volumes which are being issued from the National Printing Office by Prof. Hayden, the accomplished National geologist, are the most valuable contributions yet made to the geology of this continent. But the fruits of these governmental explorations are by no means to be limited to what they have done. Other expeditions, fitted out by learned men connected chiefly with Scientific Schools, have penetrated many unknown regions, under the protection of strong detachments of troops of the United States Army, commanded by accomplished and gallant officers like General Custar. They have assisted in bringing vast districts within the scrutiny of science, and opening to pioneer settlers well-defined routes through wilderness regions.

*Governor Gilpin's Explorations and Writings.*¹—In his *Mission of the*

goons, 1843; Captain J. Allen, 1843; Lieutenant Fremont, 1844-46, assisted by Lieutenants Abert and Peck; Abert, Engineers, 1845; Franklin, Engineers, 1846-47; Abert and Peck, Engineers, 1846-47; Colonel St. George Cook, 1846-47; Warner, Engineers, 1847-49; Derby, Engineers, 1849; Lieutenant Webster, Engineers, 1849; Lieutenant Simpson, Engineers, 1849; Captain Marcy, Infantry, 1849; Captain Stansbury, Engineers, 1849; Colonel Johnson, Infantry, assisted by Lieutenants Smith, Bryan, and Michler, Engineers, 1849-57; Lieutenant Parke, Captain Pope, Captain Sitgreaves, Lieutenant Woodruff, Engineers, 1851; Captain Marcy, assisted by Captain McClellan, Engineers, 1852. From 1852 to 1857 the explorations and surveys for a railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean were carried on principally by officers of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. The resulting reports attained a world-wide reputation on account of their valuable data, and to this day they are frequently consulted.

TOPOGRAPHICAL MAPS.

¹To enumerate all the officers of the army who, fitted by education and training for such work, have taken part in or directed surveys in the Western Territories, is not necessary for the purposes of this letter. There is hardly any important portions of the West that they have not penetrated, and their labors have supplied the basis for the principal topographical maps of our coun-

try. The Engineer Bureau of the War Department has, since its organization, published several hundred maps, which are the most accurate, and, consequently, the most frequently consulted. Of the map prepared and compiled by Lieutenant (now Major-General) G. K. Warren, a large edition has been distributed. It is still the best map of Territories west of the Mississippi River. To the common intelligence there is no medium that conveys information so directly as graphic illustration.

²In the prosecution of explorations and surveys west of the rooth meridian, it has been the aim of the officer in charge so to direct the operations that the results will meet at least a portion of the needs of the actual settlers, to enable them to carry out their enterprises. At the same time care has been taken to collect data upon scientific problems that are of interest and value. The facts ascertained by the expeditions are promptly reduced to practical results, and the work is vigorously pushed forward to completion. The volumes described hereafter, covering the surveys of Lieutenant Wheeler, will be forthcoming as soon as Congress sees fit to order the publication. Photo-lithographic copies of the atlas maps will be issued in advance for immediate use.

³*Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political: Illustrated by six charts, delineating the physical architecture and thermal laws of all the continents. By William Gilpin, late Governor of Colorado.*

North American People, he has given, in connection with six great maps, delineating 'The Mountain System of North America;' 'The System of Parcs;' 'Domestic Relations of the Great Plains;' 'The North American Andes;' 'The Pacific Maritime Front;' and 'The Isothermal Zodiac;' all of which, in a bird's-eye glance, present to the common reader altogether the clearest idea of the geographical, social, and political position of the American people, yet produced. Becoming the first Governor of Colorado, and making, in advance of any careful government surveys, wide explorations, and for many years, with rare knowledge, and unquenchable enthusiasm, prosecuting his work, he has rendered a very high service to the country and the world. I shall borrow, from the last edition of *The Mission of the North American People*, so much as I can find space for. This earnest acknowledgment I cheerfully make of my indebtedness to a brave, learned, and patriotic man.

The Great Basin of the Mississippi.—Here Governor Gilpin opens his surveys. He considers it 'the most obviously remarkable physical feature of America, and of the inhabited globe. As yet the popular mind does not clearly comprehend its dimensions, and the understanding of its physical characteristics is indistinct and vague. It is bisected through its centre by a supreme artery, which, above St. Louis, has received the name of the *Missouri*, and below, the *Mississippi* River.

'This is 5,000 miles in length, and its surface is a continuous inclined plane, descending seven inches in the mile. Into this central artery, as into a common *trough*, descend innumerable rivers coming from the great mountain chains of the continent.

'All of the immense area thus drained, forms a single *basin*, of which the circumferent mountains form the rim. It may be also called an *amphitheatre*, embracing 1,123,100 square miles of surface. This has been, during the antediluvian ages, the bed of a great ocean, such as is now the Gulf of Mexico, or the Mediterranean, above the surface of which the mountains protruded themselves as islands. Gradually filled up by the filtration of the waters during countless ages, it has reached its present altitude above the other basins, over which the oceans now still roll, and into which the waters have retired.

'The *Basin of the Mississippi* is, then, a pavement of calcareous rock many thousand feet in depth, formed by the sediment of the superincumbent water, deposited stratum upon stratum, compressed by its weight and crystallized into rock by its chemical fermentation and pressure. It is in exact imitation of this sublime process of the natural world, that every housewife compresses the milk of her dairy into solid cheese and butter. It is, therefore, a homogeneous, undulating plain of the *secondary* or sedimentary formation, surmounted by a covering of soil from which springs the vegetation, as hair from the external skin of an animal. Through this coating of soil, and into the soft surface strata of rock, the descending fresh waters burrow their channels, converging everywhere, from the circumferent rim, to the lowest level, and pass out to the sea.

‘In this system, which is the same as the circulation of the blood in animal life, the *Missouri* River, and the minutest rill that flows from a garden fountain, has each its specific and conspicuous place. Hence the corresponding order in the undulations, the variety, and the complexity of contour in the surface and in its vegetation.

‘Such is this vast Basin, whose transverse diameter is 2,500 miles, and so simple, homogeneous, and clear is the system of its geology and its waters. The vegetation and climate have a like consistent order of arrangement, and are more varied. These vary with the latitude, the distance from the oceans, and with the altitude. The insular site of New York City is upon the bank of the sea, is *sixty* feet elevated above the sea, and is constantly irrigated by the evaporation coming from the sea ; it is in latitude $41^{\circ} 30'$ north. The plain of the South Pass is 2,000 miles from the sea ; is elevated 7,500 feet above the sea ; has no vapor from the sea ; but an atmosphere rainless and without dew ; it is in latitude $42^{\circ} 30'$ north. Such are the contrasts in the elements affecting climate and vegetation.

‘Through the interval between these two extremes Nature changes, from one to the other, by a graduation so delicate and uniform as to be scarcely sensible to a traveller who goes *less* than the whole distance. Yet, to one who does so, these changes are as palpable upon the face of Nature, as are the diurnal alternations of light and darkness. The timber, the flora, and the grasses indicate the presence and absence of atmospheric irrigation, as palpably as the sun indicates the day, and the stars the night.

‘All that portion of the Mississippi Basin lying between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic, is densely timbered, excepting only a portion of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin ; so also are the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and South Missouri. An irregular line from the head of Lake Erie, running towards the south and west into Texas, defines the cessation of the timber. Between this line and the sea exists a continuous forest region, perpetually moistened by showers from the ocean. Beyond this line, and deeper into the continent, the upland ceases to nourish timber, which is replaced by luxuriant annual grasses, though narrow lines of forest continue upon the saturated bottoms of the rivers and in the islands. This is the Prairie region of luxuriant annual grasses, and soft arable soil, over which the fires annually sweep after the decay of vegetation.

‘The termination of this belt is marked by an irregular line parallel to the first, where the rains ceases, and the timber entirely disappears. It is about 450 miles in width, and within it artificial irrigation is not practised, nor necessary, it being everywhere soft, arable, and fertile.

‘To this succeeds the immense *rainless* region onward to the mountains, exclusively pastoral, of a compact soil, coated with the dwarf buffalo grass, without trees, and the abode of the aboriginal cattle. That no desert does or can exist within this Basin, is manifest from the abundance and magnitude of the rivers ; the uniform calcareous formation ; the absence of a tropical sun ;

its longitudinal position across the temperate zone ; and the greatness and altitude of the mountains on its western rim.

‘The river system of the *Mississippi Basin* resembles a fan of palm-leaf. The stem in the State of Louisiana rests in the Gulf ; above, the affluent rivers converge to it from all parts of the compass. From the *east* come in the Homochitto, the Yazoo, the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Upper Mississippi. From the *west*, the Red River, the Washita, the Arkansas, the White, St. Francis, and Osage Rivers, the Kansas, the Triple Platte, the L’Eau qui Cours, and the Yellowstone, all navigable rivers of great length and importance. These rivers present a continuous navigable channel of 22,500 miles, having 45,000 miles of shore, an amount of navigation and coast equal to the Atlantic Ocean. The area of the Mississippi Basin classifies itself into one-and-a-half-fifths of the compactly-growing forest, the same of prairie, and two-fifths of great plains. Through all of these the river system is ramified as minutely complex as are the veins and arteries of the human system.

‘The population is at present 18,000,000. The capacity for population is indefinite. Comparison will illustrate this interesting fact. Society erects itself into *empires* in order to arrive at strength, civilization, and permanence. The most perfect example is the empire of the *Romans*, whose history we familiarly possess complete, of its rise, culmination, and slow decline. This empire occupied and fused into one political and social system, the *Basin of the Mediterranean*, whose area is 1,160,000 square miles. From out of this they never passed, except into the corner of Gaul and Britain, but restricted themselves to the Mediterranean and Pontic Seas, to the Nile, to the Danube, and to the Rhone. This empire, embracing the above area, contained under Trajan and the Antonines, 131,000,000 of population ; and Rome itself, in the geographical centre, had a diameter of 50 miles and 10,000,000 of inhabitants !

‘But the area of the Basin is, for the most part, a salt-water waste, into which protrude the peninsulas of Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Spain, themselves filled with mountain vertebræ, and also a few islands. Space for habitations and the production of food is, therefore, scarce. The equivalent, with us, of this salt surface and rugged mountains, is, everywhere, an undulating, *calcareous* plain, uniformly inhabitable and productive. The rivers surpass the sea for the freightage of commerce, and the front of land upon them exceeds the coasts of the oceans in amount and accessibility. The *Basin of the Mississippi* will then more easily contain and feed ten times the population, or 1,310,000,000 of inhabitants !

‘If to the calcareous plain extending to the Arctic Sea, the two maritime fronts, and the mountain formation be added, and the whole compared to Europe and Asia, 2,000,000,000 will easily find room—a population double the existing human race ! This Basin is all within the *Temperate Zone* ; but upon the shores of the Gulf, at the level of the sea, tropical fruits, flowers, and vegetation are produced. On the high mountain slopes grows the vegetation of the Arctic Zone. Between these are found every kind of agricultural production, as we descend from the extremes to the central medium.

‘In position it is exactly *central* to the continent. Not far remote from the west bank of the Missouri River, in the bosom of romantic scenery and fertile prairie, is a spot where the Smokyhill and Republican Rivers, by their confluence, form the Kansas. This is the geographical centre at once of the North American continent, and of the Basin of the Mississippi.

‘The circle described from this centre, with a radius to San Francisco, will pass through *Vancouver* on the Columbia, the port of *Severn* River on Hudson's Bay, through *Quebec*, through *Boston*, through *Havana*, *Vera Cruz*, and the city of *Mexico*. With a radius to the 49th degree, a circle will pass through *Mobile*, *New Orleans*, and *Matagorda*. This spot is, therefore, the *geographical centre* of the North American Continent and of the Basin of the Mississippi, both at once. It is also equally the centre of the American Union, as it is now blocked out into existing States and into prospective States, to occupy sites in the now-existing Territories ! Moreover, it is equidistant from, and exactly in the middle between, the two halves of the human family, distinctly concentrated ; the one-half Christians, occupying Western Europe, to the number of 259,000,000 of population ; the other half Pagans, occupying *Oriental Asia and Polynesia*, to the number of 650,000,000 !

‘Europe has all the outlets of its inland seas and rivers towards the *west*, debouching on to our Atlantic front, towards which its whole surface slopes. Asia similarly presents to our Pacific front an *Oriental slope*, containing her great rivers, the densest masses of her population, and detached islands of great area, dense population, and infinite production.

‘The distance from the European to the Asian shores (from Paris to Pekin), travelling straight by the continuous river line of the Potomac, Ohio, Missouri, Platte, and Snake Rivers, and across the two oceans, is only 10,000 geographic miles. This straight line is the *axis* of that Temperate Zone of the Northern Hemisphere of the globe, thirty-three degrees in width, which contains four-fifths of the land, nine-tenths of the people, and all the white races, commercial activity, and industry of the civilized world.

‘When, therefore, this interval of North America shall be filled up, the affiliation of mankind will be accomplished, proximity recognized, the distraction of intervening oceans and equatorial heats cease, the remotest nations grouped together and fused into one universal and convenient system of immediate relationship.

‘Political societies and empires have in all ages conformed themselves to emphatic geographical facts. This *Democratic Republican empire* of North America is, then, *predestined* to expand and fit itself to the continent ; to control the oceans on either hand, and eventually the continents beyond them. Much is uncertain, yet through all the vicissitudes of the future, this much of eternal truth is discernible.

‘In geography the *antithesis* of the old world, in society we are and will be the reverse. *Our* North America will rapidly accumulate a population equalling that of the rest of the world combined : a people one and indivisible, identical in manners, language, customs, and impulses : preserving the same

civilization, the same religion ; imbued with the same opinions, and having the same political liberties.

‘Of this we have two illustrations now under our eye ; the one passing away, the other advancing. The *aboriginal* Indian race, amongst whom, from Darien to the Esquimaux, and from Florida to Vancouver’s Island, exists a perfect identity in hair, complexion, features, religion, stature, and language : and, *second*, in the instinctive fusion into one language and into one new race of immigrant Germans, English, Norwegians, Celts, and Italians, whose individualities are obliterated in a single generation.

‘Thus, the perpetuity and destiny of our sacred Union find their conclusive proof and illustration in the bosom of nature. The political storms that periodically rage are but the clouds and sunshine that give variety to the atmosphere, and checker our history as we march.

‘The possession of the *Basin of the Mississippi*, thus held in *unity* by the American people, is a supreme, a crowning mercy. Viewed alone in its wonderful position and capacity among the continents and the nations ; viewed, also, as the dominating part of the great calcareous plain formed of the continuous Basins of the Mississippi, St. Lawrence, Hudson’s Bay, and Athabasca, the amphitheatre of the world—here is supremely, indeed, the most magnificent dwelling-place marked out by God for man’s abode.

‘Behold, then, rising now and in the future, the empire which industry and self-government create. The growth of half a century, hewed out of the wilderness—its weapons, the axe and plow ; its tactics, labor and energy ; its soldiers, free and equal citizens. Behold the oracular goal to which our eagles march, and whither the phalanx of our States and people moves harmoniously on, to plant a *hundred States* and consummate their *civic greatness*.’

Pastoral America.—In his advance towards the west, Governor Gilpin comes to *The Great Plains*, which he claims have been almost as little understood, even by our own people, as was the Atlantic Ocean before the time of Columbus. He says :—‘These plains are not *deserts*, they are calcareous, and form the *Pastoral Garden* of the world. Their position and area may be easily understood. The meridian line which terminates the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa on the west, forms their *eastern* limit, and the Rocky Mountain crest their *western* limit. Between these limits they occupy a longitudinal parallelogram of less than 1,000 miles in width, extending from the Texan to the Arctic coasts. There is no timber upon them, and single trees are scarce. They have a gentle slope from the *west* to the *east*, and abound in rivers. They are clad thick with nutritious grasses, and swarm with animal life. The soil is not silicious or sandy, but is a fine *calcareous* mould. They run smoothly out to the navigable rivers, the Missouri, Mississippi, and St. Lawrence, and to the Texan coast. The mountain masses toward the *Pacific* form no serious barrier between them and that ocean. No portion of their whole sweep of surface is more than

1,000 miles from the most facile navigation. The prospect is everywhere gently undulating and graceful, being bounded, as on the ocean, by the horizon. Storms are rare, except during the melting of the snows upon the crest of the Rocky Mountains.

'The climate is comparatively *rainless*; the rivers serve, like the Nile, to irrigate rather than drain the neighboring surface, and have few affluents. They all run from *west* to *east*, having beds shallow and broad, and the basins through which they flow are flat, long, and narrow. The area of the Great Plains is equivalent to the surface of the twenty-four States between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Sea. They are one homogeneous formation, smooth, uniform, and continuous, without a single abrupt mountain, timbered space, desert, or lake. From their ample dimensions and position they define themselves to be the *pasture-fields of the world*. Upon them PASTORAL AGRICULTURE will become a separate grand department of continental industry.¹

'The Pastoral Region is *longitudinal*. The bulk of it is under the Temperate Zone, out of which it runs into the Arctic Zone on the north, and into the Tropical Zone on the south. The parallel Atlantic *arable* and *maritime* region flanks it on the east; that of the Pacific on the west. The Great

¹ *Pastoral characteristic*, being novel to our people, needs a minute explanation. In traversing the continent from the Atlantic beach to the South Pass, the point of greatest altitude and remoteness from the sea, we cross successively the *timbered* region, the *prairie* region of soft soil and long annual grasses, and finally the *Great Plains*. The two first are irrigated by the rains coming from the sea, and are *arable*.

The last is *rainless*, of a compact soil resisting the plow, and is, therefore, *pastoral*. The herbage is peculiarly adapted to the climate and the dryness of the soil and atmosphere, and is *perennial*. It is edible and nutritious throughout the year. This is the '*gramma*,' or '*buffalo grass*.' It covers the ground one inch in height, has the appearance of a delicate moss, and its leaf has the fineness and spiral texture of a negro's hair.

During the melting of the snows in the immense mountain masses on the western frontier of the *Great Plains*, the rivers swell like the Nile, and yield a copious evaporation in their long sinuous courses across the Plains; storm-clouds gather on the summits, roll down the mountain flanks, and discharge themselves in vernal showers. During this temporary prevalence of moist atmosphere these delicate grasses grow, seed in the root, and are *cured into hay upon the ground* by the gradually returning drouth.

It is this longitudinal belt of perennial pasture upon which the buffalo finds his *winter food*, dwelling upon it without regard to latitude, and here are the infinite herds of *aboriginal* cattle peculiar to North America—buffalo, wild horses, elk, antelope, white and black-tailed deer, mountain sheep, the grisly bear, wolves, the hare, badger, porcupine, and smaller animals innumerable.

The aggregate number of this cattle, by calculation from sound data, exceeds *one hundred million*. No annual fires ever sweep over the *Great Plains*; these are confined to the *Prairie* region.

The Great Plains also swarm with poultry—the turkey, the mountain cock, the prairie cock, sage chickens, the sand-hill crane, the curlew. Water-fowl of every variety, the swan, goose, brant, ducks. Marmots, the armadillo, the peccary, reptiles, the horned frog. Birds of prey, eagles, vultures, the raven, and the small birds of game and song. The streams abound in fish. Dogs and demi-wolves abound.

The immense population of nomadic Indians, lately

a million in number, have, from immemorial antiquity, subsisted exclusively upon these aboriginal herds. They are unacquainted with any kind of agriculture or the habitual use of vegetable food or fruits.

From this source the Indian draws exclusively his food, his lodge, his fuel, harness, clothing, bed, his ornaments, weapons, and utensils. *Here is his sole dependence from the beginning to the end of his existence*. The innumerable carnivorous animals also subsist upon them. The buffalo alone have appeared to me as numerous as the American people, and to inhabit as uniformly as large a space of country. The buffalo robe at once suggests his adaptability to a winter climate.

The Great Plains embrace a very ample proportion of *arable soil* for farms. The '*bottoms*' of the rivers are very broad and level, having only a few inches of elevation above the waters, which descend by a rapid and even current. They may be easily and cheaply saturated by all the various systems of artificial irrigation, azegas, artesian wells, or flooding by machinery.

The climate of the *Great Plains* is favorable to health, longevity, intellectual and physical development, and stimulative of an exalted tone of social civilization and refinement.

The American people and their ancestral European people have dwelt for many thousand years exclusively in countries of timber and within the region of the *maritime* atmosphere; where winter annihilates all vegetation annually for half the year; where all animal food must be sustained, fed, and fattened by tillage with the plow; where the *essential* necessities of existence, food, clothing, fuel, and dwellings, are secured only by constant and intense manual toil.

To this people, *heretofore*, the immense empire of *pastoral agriculture*, at the threshold of which we have arrived, has been as completely a blank, as was the present condition of social development on the Atlantic Ocean and the American Continent, to the ordinary thoughts of the antique Greeks and Romans.

Hence this immense world of plains and mountains; occupying three-fifths of our continent; so novel to them and so exactly contradictory in every feature to the existence, prejudices, routine, and economy of society, is unanimously pronounced an *uninhabitable desert*.

Plains, then, at once separate and bind together these flanks, rounding out both the variety and compactness of arrangement in the elementary details of society, *which enables a continent to govern itself with the same ease as a single city.*

‘The American people are about, then, to inaugurate a *novel* and immense order of industrial production : PASTORAL AGRICULTURE.—Its fields will be the *Great Plains* intermediate between the oceans. Once commenced, it will develop very rapidly. We trace in their history the successive inauguration and systematic growth of several of these distinct orders : The *tobacco* culture, the *rice* culture, the *cotton* culture, the immense provision culture of *cereals* and *meats*, *leather* and *wool*, the *gold* culture, *navigation* external and internal, *commerce* external and internal, *transportation* by land and water, the *hemp* culture, the *fisheries*, and *manufactures*. Each of these has arisen as time has ripened the necessity for each, and noiselessly taken and filled its appropriate place in the general economy of our *industrial* empire. This *pastoral* property transports itself on the hoof, and finds its food ready furnished by nature. In these elevated countries fresh meats become the preferable food for man, to the exclusion of bread, vegetables, and salted articles.

‘The atmosphere of the *Great Plains* is perpetually brilliant with sunshine, tonic, healthy, pungent, and inspiring to the temper. It corresponds with and surpasses the historic climate of Syria and Arabia, from whence we inherit all that is ethereal and refined in our system of civilization, our religion, our sciences, our alphabet, our numerals, our written languages, our articles of food, our learning, and our system of social manners.’

The Parcs of the North American Andes.—Governor Gilpin next reaches what he denominates the culmination of their superlative grandeur in the Four Parcs of Colorado :

‘This system towers over and crowns the whole continental structure. Mortised down, many thousand feet, into the ample expanse of the flattened cone, encircled by all the other North American mountains, they surround the sources and shed out all the grand *arterial* rivers, which radiate to all the seas. Here is the supreme dome, which surmounts the heart of North America !’ Those who would conceive on what a scale nature has constructed her works in these regions must read Governor Gilpin’s charming work, or spend thirty years as he did in their exploration.¹

¹ *The California Gold Fever* had its invention and birth in 1848. It has in a decade of years transplanted itself to Australasia and to Pike’s Peak. It has permeated mankind as an electric fluid, to animate, to regenerate, to exalt humanity. It permanently fortifies PROGRESS with impregnable power and activity.

Its inspiring democratic genius has, within a quarter of a century, covered the continents with railways and with telegraphs. It economizes navigation by its reduction to steam ferries upon the oceans and telegraphic cables upon its profound bed.

Immortal railways extend themselves, to become a universal system, over all the land of the globe ! The

dwarfing power, the waste, the piratical temper, the monopoly of sea navigation is at an end. Its despotism and arrogance over the *rural* populations is absorbed and reversed.

We have seen the energies of the American people, bringing into line and into use *these new powers*, span their continent with the *Pacific Railway*, as with the rapidity of lightning from a mountain cloud.

Availing themselves of the favorable *thermal* warmth upon the *Plateau*, and upon the immediate sea-coasts, bathed by the Asiatic Gulf Stream (the Suro-Siwo), they will continue to expand their work to *Behring’s Straits*, where all the continents are united.

The Mountain Formation of North America.—These immense outlines are drawn with a bold and masterly hand. The field over which this FORMATION extends, stretches from the Great Plains to the Pacific Ocean, and covers two-sevenths of the continent. 'In its superficial contents, bulk, and variety of mountain masses it equals the aggregate mountains of all the other continents. It has peculiar characteristics, which render it more interesting than them all. Travelling transversely across from east to west along the thirty-ninth degree, the breadth is 1,600 miles; the length, continuous from Tehautepec to the Arctic Sea, is 4,500 miles; the direction is regular from south-south-east to north-north-west. From east to west the traveller enters and crosses five physical divisions, as distinct in order and succession as are the prismatic streaks of the rainbow to the eye. These are: 1st. The Black Hills, or Eastern Piedmont; 2d. The Cordillera of the Sierra Madre (Rocky Mountain); 3d. The Plateau of the Table Lands, with its mountain chains; 4th. The Cordillera of the Snowy Andes (the Sierra Nevada); 5th. The Maritime Piedmont of the Pacific Shore. The divisions are parallel to one another like the streaks of the rainbow, and, like them, run throughout from end to end of the *mountain formation*, in which they are blended together in one embodied mass.'

All these divisions are described with fascinating distinctness; but in reaching the last, he confesses himself bewildered, 'for THE PACIFIC MARITIME FRONT brings us out to meet the ocean, to blend together the varieties of sea and land, and where, among the assembled climates and countries of the globe, Cornucopia permanently dwells with her ever-redundant and overflowing horn of ripening beauty and plenty.

'This Pacific Maritime Front is the counterpart of that outside of the Alleghany and upon the Atlantic. It is the tide-water region. The Atlantic Front has an area of 271,000 square miles, this of 420,000; it is not much broader from the mountains to the sea, but has a greater longitude. In every detail of climate, vegetation, soil, and physical formation, there is between these two seaboard the completest contrast.

'On the Pacific are blended, beneath the eye, and swept in at one sight, the sublime, castellated masses of the Andes—their bases are set in the emerald verdure of the plain, rising gently above the sea-level—their middle flanks are clothed with the arborescent grandeur of pine and cedar forests. Naked above, and towering into the upper air, their columnar form of structure resembles an edifice designed to enclose the whole globe itself; but from this foundation, and rearing their snow-covered crests another mile into the

This will prolong itself along the similarly propitious *thermal* selvage of the Oriental Russian coasts, into China.

To prolong this unbroken line of COSMOPOLITAN RAILWAYS along the *latitudinal Plateau* of Asia, to Moscow, to Berlin, to Paris, to Madrid, and to London, will not have long delay.

The less significant and isolated continents of the Southern Hemisphere—South America, Africa, and Australasia—will be reached by *feeders* through Panama, Suez, and the chain of *Oriental* peninsulas and islands. The whole *arza* and all the populations of the

globe will be thus united and fused by *land* travel and by *railways*.

Behold what a short quarter of a century in time has sufficed to originate and accomplish, in an age awakened and armed with the subtle democratic power of free and abundant gold!

What celerity of motion! What vivacity of progress! What victories, what triumphant, what sublime energies! What works of magnitude! How benignant to mankind! How prophetic of the future! How charitable to universal humanity.—*Gilpin's Mission of the North American People*, pp. 97-98.

firmament, shoot up volcanic peaks at intervals of one hundred miles, encasing the throats of the inner world of fire, and coruscated in perpetual snow, beneath coronets of volcanic smoke and flames.

‘The sublimest of the oceans ; majestic rivers more worthy to be deified than the Ganges or Egyptian Nile ; the grandest and most elevated of earth’s mountains ; superlative forest evergreen ; an emerald verdure and exuberant fertility ; a mellow and delicious atmosphere, imbued with purple tints reflected from the ocean and the mountains ; a soft vernal temperature the year round. Whatsoever can be combined of massive and rugged mountains, picturesque landscape, and a verdant face of nature shining under the richest sunlight : a climate soft and serene ; whatsoever of all these, blended and enjoyed in combination, will accomplish to give grace, elevation, and refinement to the social world, are here united to woo and develop the genius of our country and our people.

‘In all these natural favors our *western* seaboard front is supremely more gifted than the classic shores of the Mediterranean and the Asian Seas, for fifty centuries the favorite theme of history, poetry, and song. The embellishments which old society and the accumulating contributions of a hundred successive generations add to nature, are not yet there ; *but these will come*, and to us who fan the career of our great country whilst we live, the future, which posterity will possess and enjoy, is full of the radiance of true glory.

‘Such is a homespun and laconic detail of a few essential facts necessary to comprehend the *Mountain Formation of North America*, and to know where and what it is. The subject is above the reach of imagination or ornament, and of a higher level. Intelligent research and candid judgment must supply the rest, and fill up the portrait.’

In closing his picture he indulges in the transports of enthusiasm and hope. He had spoken of that portion of our destiny ‘*already transacted*,’—he continues :—‘The *untransacted* destiny of the *American* people is to subdue the continent—to animate the many hundred millions beyond the Pacific and cheer them upward—to set the principle of self-government at work—to agitate these herculean masses—to establish a new order in human affairs—to set free the enslaved—to regenerate superannuated nations—to change darkness into light—to stir up the sleep of a hundred centuries—to teach old nations a new civilization—to confirm the destiny of the human race—to carry the career of mankind to its culminating point—to cause stagnant people to be re-born—to perfect science—to emblazon history with the conquest of peace—to shed a new and resplendent glory upon mankind—to unite the world in one social family—to dissolve the spell of tyranny and exalt charity—to absolve the curse that weighs down humanity, and to shed blessings around the world ! We no longer march into the blind wilderness, dependent upon and chained *exclusively* to Europe in the rear. We open up in front of the gorgeous arena of the ASIATIC OCEAN.

‘At present, the huge city of London monopolizes the imports from the





VIEW OF THE SIERRA MADRE. ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

Oriental world. These are stored there, and retailed to the people residing in the basin of the Atlantic. Upon the labor of the American people, so far as they participate in the consumption of *Oriental wares*, is harnessed the frightful burden to support the British people and the British Empire, and to be devoured by their voracious despotism of trade. The work of emancipation is accomplished by the intrepid energies and conquests of the pioneer army of North America. It only remains to be appreciated and accepted by the people.

'We are about to supply by direct export, the food and precious and base metals to 850,000,000 of neighboring Asiatics! To Japan: to China: to India. To the gorgeous islands of Borneo: Sumatra: Java. To the Philip-pines: the Celebes. To the Archipelagoes of the Sooloo Sea and Polynesia! These are *larger* in aggregate area, and more populous, than Europe; *and are nearer to us*.

'Included within the *equatorial* zone, but approached by us through the *temperate* zone, they overflow with merchandises desirable to our people, in multitudinous affluence. To us will belong the prodigious carrying trade upon the seas for these infinite multitudes. The equatorial *heats* are outflanked and avoided. The conflict for dominion over the multiplied commerce of the world is fought, and the conclusive victory is won for our country. A large majority of the American people now reside within the Mississippi Basin, and in this Asiatic front of our continent, which is born from us.'

SECTION THIRD.

THE LATEST ACCESSIONS TO THE UNION.

Iowa.—This State came into the Union December 28, 1846, under circumstances as favorable as ever attended the establishment of any one of our commonwealths.¹ Her territory extended north and south 208 miles; east and west, 300; embracing 55,045 square miles—being ten times larger than Connecticut, seven times larger than Massachusetts, and twenty-five times larger than Delaware. But the vast extent of her area gives little idea of the resources of her soil, for her name, 'the beautiful land,' seems to have been well chosen in the Indian nomenclature; since on this broad continent no State shows so small an amount of inferior land. The growth of her population has been almost incredible. In 1840, it was 43,000; in 1850, 192,000; in 1860, 675,000; in 1870, 1,200,000. It now ranks as the eleventh State of the Union. Its early history is filled with romance and ad-

¹ *IOWA*.—By Act of June 12, 1838, to take effect July 3, 1838, founded as a Territory from the Territory of Wisconsin, and included all the territory between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers and north of the present northern boundary of the State of Missouri. By Act of March 3, 1845, admitted as a State, having the same boundaries as at present, except that to the west the State extended only to the meridian of 17° 30',

while on the north it extended to the parallel passing through the mouth of the Mankato or Blue Earth River. By Act of August 4, 1846, the State of Iowa was extended westward and restricted on the north to its present boundaries; by Act of December 28, 1846, re-admitted as so enlarged.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 577.

venture, and presents one of the most extraordinary scenes of the mingling of almost unnumbered nationalities, whose people are so fast blending together in prosperity and the arts of peace, that one of the fairest samples is presented of the rapid growth of a community free from most of the drawbacks and embarrassments of primitive civil life, and blessed with all its benefactions.

Wisconsin.—Admitted May 29, 1848. Her territory¹ is nearly as large as that of Iowa, being 53,924 square miles, and her progress in population just about as rapid. In 1840 it was 31,000; in 1850, 305,000; in 1860, 776,000; in 1870, 1,055,000. As an indication of her diversified industry and prosperity, she occupies the thirteenth place in the Union in the value of her manufactures, her investments being over fifty million dollars; and in the value of her commodities nearly one hundred millions. No land under the sun lies fairer, for her limits are chiefly determined by rivers and lakes; Lake Michigan bordering her on the east; Lake Superior touching her on the northwest; and the Mississippi sweeping by most of her western border. The record of her work in education, like that of all the other States and Territories, has already been given.

California.—This princely State,² the largest in the Union except Texas, is bounded by Oregon on the north; Nevada and Arizona on the east; Mexico on the south; and the Pacific on her entire border, which stretches over eight hundred miles. She embraces a territory of 189,000 square miles, or 121,000,000 acres; forty millions of which are arable, and nearly as many more suitable for grazing—and partly through her good fortune, but chiefly perhaps through the energy and genius of her wonderful people, she constitutes in civil life the most stupendous miracle of modern civilization. She came into the Union September 9, 1850. Her first census, taken in 1850, reported 93,000; her State census in 1852 gave her 265,000; the national census of 1860, 380,000; that of 1870, 560,000; while her present population is estimated at nearly three-quarters of a million. Until recently, her gold products averaged from forty to sixty-five millions per annum, having in the aggregate, two years ago, considerably exceeded one thousand million dollars. The products of her quicksilver mines have been very great; but her

¹ WISCONSIN.—By Act of April 20, 1836, to take effect July 3, 1836, formed as a Territory out of the lands originally acquired by Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, in 1783, and other lands which were a part of the French cession. At the date of this act all these lands were in the Territory of Michigan. The part east of the Mississippi had formerly been successively in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, and the Territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The part of the Territory west of the Mississippi River had formerly been in the Territory of Michigan. As so constituted the Territory of Wisconsin was bounded on the east, northeast, and on the south as far to the west as the Mississippi River by the present boundaries of the State of Wisconsin; on the south, going westward from the Mississippi River, by the present northern boundary of the State of Missouri; and on the west by the Missouri River, and on the north by the international boundary line. By Act of June 12, 1838, all of the Territory west of the Mississippi River and of a line, due north from the sources of that river to the international

boundary line, was taken to form the Territory of Iowa. By Act of August 6, 1846, the Territory thus reduced in size was enabled to become a State, as now bounded; by Act of May 29, 1848, admitted as a State. The remainder of the Territory of Wisconsin not included in the Territory of Iowa or in the State of Wisconsin was, in 1849, included in the Territory of Minnesota.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 577.

² February 2, 1848, Mexico ceded the territory now covered by the States of California and Nevada; also her claims to the territory covered by the present State of Texas, and the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, by portions of the Territories of Wyoming, Colorado, and by the unorganized territory west of the Indian Country, except that part of the Territory of Arizona, and that part of the Territory of New Mexico lying south of the River Gila and west of the old boundary of New Mexico, which lands were ceded by Mexico December 30, 1853, and are known as the Gadsden Purchase.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 578.

cereals, embracing fruits, and grapes especially, are now proving a source of much greater wealth. Probably there is not a land on which the sun shines which has been so munificently endowed by nature with the means of wealth, health, and prosperity. California has more than realized the wildest El Dorado dreams of the poets of all ages.

Minnesota.—She came into the Union May 11, 1858, having been organized as a Territory in 1849.¹ Minnesota lies near the centre of the continent. While her eastern border is washed by Lake Superior, on the north she touches the Lake of the Woods, and is bounded by the British possessions, yet within her bosom lie the fountains of the Mississippi River, whose waters make her southwestern boundary. Her area is 83,531 square miles. Although she has no mountains, yet her surface, in its undulations, resembles the rolling prairies of the adjoining States of Iowa and Wisconsin, and in her northern portion the springs which feed the Mississippi on the south, and Lake Winnepeg on the north, burst from hills which rise upwards of fifteen hundred feet. In 1850 she had a population of only 6,000; in ten years it had increased to 172,000; with another decade it had risen to a quarter of a million, and in 1873, to 550,000. As a sample of the sources from which her population has grown,—as well as that of the Western States generally,—the following classification of the census of 1870 shows: Males, 235,000; females, 205,000; of the aggregate, 280,000 being natives, and 160,000 of foreign birth. Of the natives, 125,000 were born in the State; 11,000 in Illinois; 10,000 in Maine; 39,000 in New York; 13,000 in Ohio; 12,000 in Pennsylvania; and 24,000 in Wisconsin. Her foreign population comprised 17,000 born in British America; 1,900 in Denmark; 1,700 in France; 41,000 in Germany; 6,000 in England; 28,000 in Ireland; 2,200 in Scotland; 1,850 in Holland; 36,000 in Norway; 21,000 in Sweden; and 2,200 in Switzerland. Her advancement in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and railroads has been almost unparalleled. What she has done for education has already been stated. Her increase in wealth has been extraordinary—the estimated value of her real and personal property having risen, in ten years, from fifty-two millions, to two hundred and fifty millions.

Oregon.—Her admission dates from February 14, 1859.² Nine years before, her population was only 13,000; in 1860, it rose to 52,500; in 1870,

¹ MINNESOTA.—By Act of March 3, 1849, formed as a Territory out of land east of the Mississippi River ceded by Great Britain, which was first in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, afterwards successively in the Territories of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and out of other lands west of the Mississippi River, ceded by France, which were successively in the Territories of Louisiana (afterwards organized as the Territory of Missouri), Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. At the passage of this act, this Territory consisted of the parts of the Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin which were not respectively included in the States of the same names. As thus constituted the Territory extended from the northern boundary of the State of Iowa northward to the international boundary line, and from the western boundaries of the States of Wisconsin and Iowa to the Mis-

souri and White Earth Rivers; area, 165,491 square miles. By Act of February 26, 1857, the portion of the Territory east of the present western boundary of the State was enabled to become a State; by Act of May 11, 1858, the same was admitted as a State; area, 83,531 square miles. The part of the Territory not included in the State, 81,960 square miles, became a part of the Territory of Dakota.

² OREGON.—By Act of August 14, 1848, formed as a Territory out of the French cession, extending from the Forty-second parallel to the international boundary line, and from the Pacific Ocean eastward to the Rocky Mountains; area, 288,345 square miles. By Act of February 14, 1859, admitted as a State as now bounded; area, 95,274 square miles. The part of the Territory not included in the State, 193,071 square miles, became the original Territory of Washington.

91,000. Amongst all the far Western States she has the largest proportion of native population; and as we have already seen her system of education indicates the intelligence of her people. The area of Oregon exceeds that of most the States, being 95,274 square miles. Standing off so far from the older settlements of the Republic, and being first settled by native Americans, a careful study of Oregon as she now exists—enjoying in a preëminent degree all the blessings of free civil government, adorned by all the embellishments of civilization—offers one of the fairest themes for the student who would analyze the elements which enter into the construction of free government.

Kansas.—She entered the Union January 29, 1861,¹ as the first victory for freedom after the war of the Rebellion had begun. From 1860 her population had increased from 107,000, to 364,000; the vast majority of whom are natives of this country, the rest having more than the average of respectability and intelligence, since in those times few, except the lovers of free institutions, and those who desired to cast their lot in a State absolutely free, had finally settled in a commonwealth which was born in convulsions, and nurtured in conflict and trouble. Her area is 81,318 square miles, and embraces a portion of that extensive region which gently slopes from the base of the Rocky Mountains to the banks of the Mississippi. Her first inhabitants carried with them all the elements for founding a new and prosperous State. Even as early as 1870, she had 2,000,000 acres of improved land; 636,000 woodland; and 3,055,000 of unimproved land embraced in her farms, their value being over ninety million dollars. She was then raising two and a half million bushels of wheat; seventeen million bushels of Indian corn; her live stock was valued at over \$25,000,000; and with an improved system of agriculture was deriving vast revenues from the soil. Manufactures had been placed upon a solid basis, and she seemed to lack none of the elements of prosperity and progress.

Nevada.—This State's area covers 112,090 square miles.² In 1870 her population was 43,000, more than half of whom were natives of the United States. Her soil is not generally favorable to agriculture; but her mineral wealth is so preëminently great, that the temptations to enterprise and labor in that direction have made the inhabitants forget all other attractions. Nevada is the silver State, for her mines seem to be the richest yet discovered on the

¹ KANSAS.—By Act of May 30, 1854, formed as a Territory, extending from the western boundary of the Missouri westward to the Rocky Mountains, then the eastern boundary of the Territory of Utah; and from the Thirty-seventh northward to the Fortieth parallel, excepting that part of the Territory of New Mexico north of the Thirty-seventh parallel; area, 126,283 square miles. By Act of January 29, 1861, that portion of the Territory east of the Twenty-fifth meridian, 81,318 square miles, was admitted as a State. By Act of February 28, 1862, the remainder of the Territory, 44,965 square miles, was included in the Territory of Colorado.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 578.

² NEVADA.—By Act of March 2, 1861, formed as a

Territory from a strip of the State of California, and that part of the Territory of Utah, west of the Thirty-eighth meridian. California, however, has not ceded the part of the Territory included in the statutory boundaries of Nevada; area, exclusive of this portion of California, 73,574 square miles. By Act of March 21, 1864, enabled to become a State; October 31, 1864, proclaimed a State. By Act of May 5, 1866, there were added to the State of Nevada 18,326 square miles from the Territory of Utah, and 12,225 square miles from the Territory of Arizona. Present area of the State of Nevada, 104,125 square miles.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, p. 579.

continent; and while in 1872 they produced in bullion, chiefly silver, nearly \$25,000,000, new discoveries and developments have increased so rapidly that the soberest judgment can hardly confine their products within any reasonable limit.

Nebraska.—She was admitted to the Union in January, 1867,¹ and in the census of 1870 her population numbered 123,000, 92,000 of whom were natives of the United States. She has an area of 76,000 square miles, one-fourth of which consists of alluvial bottoms, and one half of undulating prairie lands, whose extraordinary fertility is specially spoken of in the United States Agricultural Report for 1872. In twelve years the number of her farms had increased from 2,800 to 12,300. In 1870 the assessed value of her real and personal property was fifty-five million dollars, and the increase, during 1872 alone, was estimated at fifteen million dollars.

Thus ends the enumeration of the thirty-seven States which now constitute the organic commonwealths of the Republic. Colorado and New Mexico not having been admitted during the last Congress, await, with their other sister Territories, their turn for admission.

SECTION FOURTH.

THE WORK OF THE TELEGRAPH AND ITS INVENTOR.

Samuel Finley Breese Morse.—His was one of the noblest lives that have been led on the earth—his is one of the names that cannot possibly die; for the memory of his deeds will be flashed from his own instruments, through all the coming ages; the world already knows his history by heart. He was descended from as long a line of brave, God-fearing and illuminated ancestors as any man can boast of; and even if his ancestral record did not come down clearly from the time of Edward III., and he could go no further back than Anthony Morse, who came to New England in 1635, it would be clear enough for the proudest aristocrat.

His father, Jedediah Morse, who lived in Woodstock, Connecticut, was a

¹ NEBRASKA.—By Act of May 30, 1854, formed as a Territory from the public domain included between the western boundary (mainly the Missouri and White Earth Rivers) of the then Territory of Minnesota and the Rocky Mountains, and between the Fortieth parallel and the international boundary line; area, 351,558 square miles. By act of February 28, 1861, 16,035 square miles set off to the Territory of Colorado. By Act of March 2, 1861, 228,907 square miles set off to the Territory of Dakota. Hitherto this area has been reported officially as 244,942 square miles through failure to deduct 16,035 square miles mentioned above, which had been set off from the Territory of Nebraska to the Territory of Colorado in the month before the Territory of Dakota was organized. By the same act the Territory of Nebraska received from the original Territory of Washington 4,638 square miles, and from the Territory of Utah 10,740 square miles. As thus constituted, the Territory of Nebraska extended from

the Missouri River westward to the Thirty-third meridian, and from the present northern boundary of the State of Nebraska, and west thereof from the Forty-third parallel southward to the present southern boundary of the State of Nebraska, and west thereof to the Forty-first parallel; its area was 121,994 square miles. By Act of March 3, 1863, there were set off to the Territory of Idaho 45,999 square miles, made up—1st, of 30,621 square miles at first, the original Territory of Nebraska; 2d, of 4,638 square miles once in the Territory of Oregon and afterward in the original Territory of Washington; and 3d, of 10,740 square miles originally in the Territory of Utah. These reductions left the area of the Territory of Nebraska 75,995 square miles. By Act of April 10, 1864, the same Territory was enabled to become a State; by Act of February 9, 1867, admitted as a State.—*Historical Notes, Ninth Census*, pp. 578-579.

projector, a founder, and an inventor, in each of which attributes being *ahead of his time*. He was the companion of Franklin and Washington, and many of the learned men whose contributions enriched his famous 'Geography,' and afterwards his 'Gazetteer of the United States.' Of him Daniel Webster said, 'He is always thinking, always writing, always talking, always acting.'

The great Inventor was one of the closest students attending the lectures of Prof. Silliman, from 1808 to 1810, when that chemist was turning the attention of his class in Yale College to galvanic electricity. From that time young Morse's thoughts were irrevocably fixed upon the nature of that mysterious power which he was to bring into the every-day service of man. Although his inclination for the Fine Arts diverted him for a while from his electrical studies, yet he seems never to have been able or desirous to escape the great passion of his life. Many years went by, devoted to art, travel, and intercourse with illustrious cultivators of learning, at home and abroad, and the period was filled with inventions—some of which were useful, and others serving as pioneer indices to the road where fortune and fame lay for other men—cultivating painting, working among the artists of New York for the establishment of some permanent Institution to promote the culture of fine arts, lecturing, writing reviews, and corresponding with artists, savans, and statesmen; becoming one of the founders and first president of the National Academy; visiting Europe on an art mission, and settling in Rome; knowing, and being beloved by the best men. At last the moment was approaching for the greatest production of genius in modern times. He took passage on the packet-ship *Sully*, which sailed from Havre for New York, October 1st, 1832,¹ and on that ship the Electro-magnetic Telegraph was born.

¹ In the early part of the voyage conversation at the dinner-table turned upon recent discoveries in electro-magnetism, and the experiments of Ampère with the electro-magnet. Dr. Jackson spoke of the length of wire in the coil of a magnet, and the question was asked by some one of the company, 'If the velocity of electricity was retarded by the length of the wire.' Dr. Jackson replied that electricity passes instantaneously over any known length of wire. He referred to experiments made by Dr. Franklin with several miles of wire in circuit to ascertain the velocity of electricity, the result being that he could observe no difference of time between the touch at one extremity and the spark at the other. At this point Mr. Morse interposed the remark, 'If the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit, I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity.' The conversation went on. But the one new idea had taken complete possession of the mind of Mr. Morse. It was as sudden and pervading as if he had received at that moment an electric shock. All that he had learned in former years, the experiments he had seen in his boyhood, his studies with Professors Day and Silliman, the later and significant discourses of Professor Dana, and conversation with Professor Renwick were revived, and began to form themselves into means and ways to the accomplishment of a grand result. He withdrew from the table and went upon deck. He was

in mid-ocean, *undique cælum, undique pontus*. As the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth unto the west, so swift and far was the instrument to work that was taking shape in his creative mind.

Lightning and electricity had long been known as one and the same. Signals had been made at a distance by electricity and intelligence thus transmitted, as beacon-fires on hill-tops had from time immemorial flashed the knowledge of events across continents. But this was not the conception of that moment in the brain of Morse. His was a thought, so far as he knew, that had never entered the mind of man before! He would transmit intelligence and record it at a distance. That is a telegraph. Nothing else is a telegraph; an instrument to write at a distance. The purpose instantly formed absorbed his mind, and to its perfection his life from that moment was devoted. He was the man to do the work. His mind was eminently inventive and mechanical. In his early youth and riper manhood he had sought out many inventions. His name had long been enrolled among inventors in the Patent Office of the United States. Patience, perseverance, and faith, were hereditary traits of his character. He was now forty-one years old.

The mechanism by which the result would be reached was to be wrought out by slow and laborious thought and experiment, but the grandeur of that result broke upon him as clearly and fully as if it had

I have followed the authority of Samuel Irenæus Prime, who was chosen by the executors of Professor Morse to prepare his biography—a work for which he was so specially qualified, and which is executed with such completeness, that there will never be a necessity for another life of that great man. He thus describes the origin of the Electro-Magnetic Recording Telegraph:—‘Of all the great inventions that have made their authors immortal, and conferred enduring benefit upon mankind, no one was so completely grasped, at its inception, as this. His little note or sketch-book was always at hand, in which he made drawings of objects that met his eye, or of images formed in his mind. Scores of these books are now in existence, in which his early and later pencillings are preserved. As he sat upon the deck after the conversation at dinner, he drew from his pocket one of these books, and began to make marks to represent letters and figures to be produced by the agency of electricity at a distance from the place of action. First, he arranged ten dots and lines so as to represent figures referring to words. Next, he drew the wires in tubes. Then came the magnets, and by-and-by cog-rules, to be used in regulating the power. He wrought incessantly that day, and sleep forsook him in his berth that night. His mind was on fire. In a few days he submitted these rough drafts to Mr. Rives, who suggested various difficulties. But Mr. Morse was ready with a solution. Mr. Fisher states that Mr. Morse illustrated to him his system of signs for letters, to be indicated by a quick succession of strokes or shocks of the galvanic current, to be carried along upon a single wire. After several sleepless nights, while his mind was in labor with the subject, he announced it at the breakfast-table, and explained the process by which he proposed to accomplish it. He then exhibited the drawing of the instrument, by which he would do the work, and so completely had he mastered all the details, that five years afterwards, when a model of this instrument was constructed, it was instantly recognized as the one he had devised and drawn in his sketch-book, and exhibited to his fellow-passengers on the ship.’

Landing from the ship Sully in New York, Morse began to construct an instrument to test the practicability of his invention. In this work he had no guide but the inspiration which overshadows genius. But he worked with slender means and little encouragement for years, till 1835, when he put a half mile of wire in coils around a room, in the University of New York, making a demonstration of an Electro-Magnetic Recording Telegraph in operation. This was the first single instrument ever made of the kind. Two years

been a vision from heaven. Difficulties afterward arose in his path, to be surmounted or removed by toilsome and painful processes; for it is the order of nature that birth-throes should bear some proportion to the greatness of the birth. But in that first hour of conception, when his soul was all aglow with the discovery, he saw the end from the beginning. The current of electricity passes instantaneously to any distance along a wire; the current being interrupted a spark appears. The spark will be one sign; its absence another; the time

of its absence another. Here are three signs to be combined into the representation of figures or letters. They can be made to form an alphabet. Words may thus be indicated. A telegraph, an instrument to record at a distance, will be the result. Continents shall be crossed. This great and wide sea shall be no barrier. ‘If it will go ten miles without stopping,’ he said, ‘I can make it go around the globe.’—*The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse*, by S. I. Prime, p. 251-253.

later he filed a caveat in the Patent Office in Washington, and asked Congress to help him to build an experimental line between that city and Baltimore, but Congress did not comprehend him. He went to Europe, where he was understood no better. Returning home he struggled on for years, unheard by deaf politicians in Washington. Finally, when he had given up all hope, on the last evening of the session of 1843, he was awakened from sleep at midnight by a friend, who startled him with the announcement that, a few minutes before, Congress had voted him \$30,000 to set up a line between Baltimore and Washington. The long struggle was over; the great work was done; the Electro-Magnetic Recording Telegraph had passed into history. No other record is needed in this work.¹

I have often wondered that so long an interval should have passed away from the startling discoveries of Franklin in electricity, till Morse applied for a patent for his grand invention, without any other great intervening step of advancement in the same entrancing field.

The Magnetic Telegraph is purely the offspring of American genius. Ninety-one years before Morse made lightning transmit and *record* messages in intelligible language, Dr. Franklin invited his philosophical friends to what he termed 'an electrical feast' on the shore of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, where he tried those wonderful experiments in electricity, which thundered so astoundingly through the civilized world. In describing these experiments, in a letter to his friend, Peter Collinson, of London, he used the following language: 'Chagrined a little that we have been able to produce nothing in this way of use to mankind, and the hot weather coming on when electrical experiments are not so agreeable, it is proposed to put an end to them for this season, somewhat humorously, in a party of pleasure on the banks of the Schuylkill. Spirits at the same time are to be fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river *without any other conductor than the water*; an experiment which we some time since performed to the amazement of many. A turkey is to be killed for our dinner by the electric shock, and roasted by the electric jack, before a fire kindled by the electrified bottle,

¹ MORSE'S PATENTS AND INSTRUMENTS.

1. Professor Morse's first caveat was dated October 3, 1837; first application for a patent April 7, 1838; patent granted June 20, 1840; patent of June 20, 1840, was reissued January 15, 1846; patent granted April 11, 1846; patent of June 20, 1840, reissued June 13, 1848; patent granted May 1, 1849; patent of 1840 extended in 1854 for seven years; patent of April 11, 1846, extended in 1860 for seven years.

2. The Morse Telegraph is employed (1874) in America upon about 110,000 miles of line, and 250,000 miles of wire, and in foreign countries upon about 200,000 miles of line, and upon 600,000 miles of wire. It is not much used upon long submarine lines; Sir William Thomson's Mirror Galvanometer being used as a receiving instrument upon all long submarine circuits.

3. The total telegraph receipts throughout the world (in 1874) are about \$40,000,000 per annum. The total number of messages is about 75,000,000.

4. The Morse Telegraph apparatus and alphabet now used in the United States are the same, and in Europe are substantially the same, as invented by him. Receiving by sound is the general practice in America, and receiving on paper in Europe. As a rule, the

Morse's ink-writer has superseded the embossing instrument in England and on the Continent of Europe.

5. The principal improvements applied to the Morse system are, the Repeater, through the use of which messages may be sent over distances ranging from 500 to 10,000 miles without rewriting, and the duplex apparatus, invented by Joseph B. Stearns, of Boston, for the transmission of two messages in opposite directions, over one wire at the same time. This latter invention, which is the greatest addition made to telegraphy since the great invention of Professor Morse, is now successfully operated throughout the United States, the Canadas, Great Britain and Ireland, and is being introduced upon the Continent of Europe.

6. In England the Post-Office Telegraph continues to use a variety of systems of telegraphs, although the bulk of the traffic is performed by the Morse apparatus. Of the 8,284 instruments in use there, 3,582 are Wheatstone needle instruments, 2,367 Wheatstone's A B C, 394 Bright's bell, 98 Wheatstone's automatic, 23 Hughes's letter-printing, and 1,720 Morse ink-writers and sounder. On the Continent of Europe 12,938 Morse apparatus are employed against 508 Hughes's letter-printing, and 2,529 telegraph instruments of all other kinds.—*Life of Samuel F. B. Morse*, by S. L. Prime, pp. 585, 586.

when the health of all the famous electricians of England, Holland, France, and Germany is to be drunk in electrified bumpers, under a discharge of guns from the electrical battery.' This was a near approach to the Magnetic Telegraph. The only difference consisted in a connecting-wire, which, when touched at one end, should be made, by Morse's cunning machinery, to record certain signs at the other, that could be understood as representing thought. This was all Morse did—but it was enough!'

The Sewing-Machine, and its Inventor.—The pride of our Republic is that it opens to every citizen all the paths that lead to wealth and honor. Here there is freedom for glory as well as struggle; wealth as well as toil. We rummage through no musty scrolls of heraldry for titles of nobility, for here every true, brave, daring man is the Rudolph of his race. If such a spirit and such institutions do not make us a great nation, then civilization, with all its appliances of civil and religious liberty, is born in vain. In America, the genius of invention has gone hand in hand with the noblest elements of individual character, and done the best services to society.

Elias Howe.—He stands incontestably the inventor of the sewing-machine, just as Morse does of the telegraph. It were vain to compare the relative value of the great inventions of the world; but it is safe to class these two on the list of those which, in our time, have had most to do with the social advancement of the country. It detracts from the merit of none of the illustrious inventors of any age, that their pretensions to entire originality

¹ Violations of his patents and the assumption of his rights by rival companies involved him in a long series of lawsuits; but these were eventually decided in his favor, and he reaped the benefits to which his invention entitled him. It is doubtful if any American ever before received so many marks of distinction.

In 1846 Yale College conferred on him the degree of LL.D., and in 1848 he received the decoration of the *Nishan Iftikhar* in diamonds from the Sultan of Turkey. Gold medals of scientific merit were awarded him by the king of Prussia, the king of Wurtemberg, and the Emperor of Austria.

In 1856 he received from the emperor of the French the cross of chevalier of the legion of honor; in 1857 from the king of Denmark, the cross of knight commander of the first class of the Dannebrog; in 1858 from the queen of Spain, the cross of knight commander of the order of Isabella the Catholic; from the king of Italy the cross of the order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, and from the king of Portugal the cross of the order of the tower and sword. In 1856 the telegraph companies of Great Britain gave him a banquet in London, and in Paris in 1858 another banquet was given him by Americans, numbering more than 100, and representing almost every State in the Union.

In the latter year, at the instance of Napoleon III., representatives of France, Russia, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Sardinia, Tuscany, the Holy See, and Turkey met in Paris to decide upon a collective

testimonial to him, and the result was a vote of 400,000 francs as a personal reward for his labors.

On December 29, 1868, the citizens of New York gave him a public dinner. In June, 1871, a bronze statue of him, erected by the voluntary contributions of telegraph employees, was formally unveiled in the Central Park, New York, by William Cullen Bryant, and in the evening a reception was held in the Academy of Music, at which Prof. Morse telegraphed, by means of one of the instruments used on the original line between New York and Washington, a message of greeting to all the cities of the continent. The last public service which he performed was the unveiling of the statue of Franklin in Printing House Square, New York, on January 17, 1872.

Submarine telegraphy also originated with Prof. Morse, who laid the first submarine lines in New York harbor in the autumn of 1842, and received at the time from the American Institute a gold medal for that achievement. In a letter from Mr. Morse to the secretary of the United States Treasury, dated August 10, 1843, it is believed, occurs the first suggestion of the project of the Atlantic telegraph. While in Paris in 1839 he made the acquaintance of Daguerre, and from drawings furnished him by the latter he constructed on his return the first daguerreotype apparatus and took the first sun pictures ever taken in America.—*American Cyclopædia*, vol. xi., pp. 849-850.

were disputed; for in most instances it has happened that more than one, and often many advanced minds had been working their way in the same direction; sometimes under the influence of thoughts projected by others, who had neither the genius nor the facilities for carrying them out. Even as late as 1846, there were attempts made to deprive Leverrier of the honor of having discovered the planet which the world would not allow to be called after his name; but it was glory enough for him to have, by the inductions of illuminated science, pointed out that space in our solar system, where some vast planet ought to be revolving, since otherwise the perturbations of neighboring bodies could not be accounted for. Of course, on the announcement of this undemonstrated problem, all the telescopes in the world were turned in the same direction. The planet might have been discovered by a hundred astronomers during one revolution of the earth; and perhaps somebody at Berlin saw Leverrier's new world before its beams struck the great Frenchman's eye. But the glory of the discovery belongs to him. So was it with Morse, who was not the first, nor the thousandth man, who had been trying to make a practical alphabet for electricity to write with. And yet to him belongs the praise, and his claim will hold good eternally against all comers. The same thing happened with Elias Howe. Many a brave and brilliant attempt had been made to substitute the tireless fingers of nerveless steel for the sensitive muscles of women. But every such effort had fallen short of the mark; at best they were only brilliant, and for the most part, even in the estimation of their authors, hopeless failures.

To trace the poor and constitutionally feeble boy, Elias, from his birth in Spencer, Massachusetts, in 1819, where at the age of six years he began to work with his brothers and sisters at sticking wire teeth into strips of leather for cards used in the manufacture of cotton—to go with him to his work on the farm of his father, or in the grist-mill, or saw-mill, or shingle-machine, all of which were driven by this farmer to wring a support for a large family—to see how he trudged through mud, and snow, and heat, and cold, to the district school-house, every step of travel, and every strain of muscle in the hard work of the farm, or mill, costing him pain, because he had inherited a lameness from which he never could recover, and which would have broken down a less resolute spirit a thousand times—to follow him to the young city of Lowell, where he obtained a learner's place in a large manufactory of cotton machinery, from which the financial crash of 1837, closing the mills, sent him adrift—how he went to Cambridge to work on the hemp-carding machinery invented by Professor Tredwell, toiling there by the side of his cousin, Nathaniel P. Banks, and boarding in the same house with the man who afterwards became Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and a Major-General in the war for the Union, and a statesman,—how he afterwards found more congenial employment with Ari Davis in Boston, where, in listening to a conversation on mechanism by mechanics, he first got the idea that it was 'a waste of power to employ the ponderous

human arm, and all the intricate machinery of the fingers, in performing an operation so simple, and for which a robin's strength would suffice'¹—how he could not 'lay the ghost' of that machine for many years,—the ghost being a machine which would do what he saw his wife doing when she sewed—how he worked hard sixteen hours a day to get bread for his family,—of course being blessed, like all other poor men, and especially inventors, with an inconveniently large crop of children,—and stealing every moment he could from inevitable labor to get at some device for sewing by machinery—how, when he had actually constructed a machine *which did the work*, and his friend, George Fisher, was his only convert to the possibility of such an invention, and even he had grown 'tired of pouring money into a sandbank, and could help no longer,'—he then determined to offer his discovery to Europe—how, at the very time Leverrier was looking for his planet, he, with the assistance of his father, took passage with his brother, Amasa B., in the steerage of a sailing packet, carrying with him his first machine to show to Englishmen—and how a certain William Thomas examined and approved the machine, and was 'willing to risk some money in procuring a patent,' which by a plain, but verbal understanding, was to be for their mutual benefit,—and how this Thomas set the machine to work on his own account in his manufactory of corsets, umbrellas, valises, carpetbags, and shoes, among his five thousand workmen, paying but £3, on every machine sold;—and yet how the villain patented the invention in his own name, and ever afterward made every machine manufactured in England, or imported, pay a royalty of £10, while he could—and how this Thomas, by the investment of £250, afterwards made several hundred thousand guineas—how the inventor, under a cruel delusion, returned with his brother to Cambridge, on the promise of £3 a week, and the necessary expenses for adapting the machine to certain work upon corsets—coming home on the steerage, both brothers cooking their own poor food—and then under another offer going back on the same weary passage, his wife and three children joining him afterwards—and having adapted his machine, and set it into successful operation, this Thomas discharged the inventor, leaving him a poor stranger with a wife and children in London, which, if it be the paradise of the rich, is the hell for the poor—that in 1849 Howe landed in New York, after an absence of two years, and standing on the pier with wife and children, found that he had half-a-crown in his pocket—how he went to work instantly in New York, his wife and children in some way or other going on to Boston—how he received the news that the wife was dying of consumption, and how he was enabled, by the receipt of ten dollars from his good old father, to reach her bedside and receive her last breath and blessing—how he borrowed a suit from his brother to appear decent at the funeral,—how, just afterwards, he heard that the ship which held his few household goods had been wrecked off Cape Cod and was a total loss—and how he again went to work as a journeyman machinist at weekly wages—and all

¹ I am seizing up the thread of a fine article on this *azine* for May, 1869, and I here give him my thanks. subject by Mr. Parton, in the *Atlantic Monthly Mag.*

the while wonderful rumors filling the air of 'a grand invention' which was turning the heads of the manufacturers in England,—and soon learning that some fellow, who had got away from England with one of his machines, was exhibiting it in Western New York as a curiosity, at a charge of twelve and a half cents admission ; and it was a curiosity, for the machine was 'warranted to make a pair of pantaloons in forty minutes, and do the work of six hands—how speculators in Massachussets were making and selling his own machines,—how he was somewhat too proud in spirit to submit to such infringements, unknown mechanic as he was, and helpless even to convince any one what he had done—for he had been obliged to leave his original machine in a pawnbroker's shop in London—and then how heaven helped him to a little money, and to a noble friend in Anson Burlingame, who was going to London, and undertook to hunt up that machine in the wilderness of Surrey—how 'the dear little instrument' came back—and then the long struggle he had in getting his patents granted, and defending them against infringement ; but at last, after dreadful trials and discouraging litigation, he made his claims good on the records of the United States Court for the District of Massachusetts, Judge Sprague presiding :—all this would be a story more fascinating than any romance, and worthier a thousand times as a volume in the history of genius working its toilsome and dreadful way to fame and to fortune. The story will yet be written in all its completeness ; but it is perhaps too early for that work to be done, for vast as are the results that have already come from the invention of the sewing-machine, its mission of usefulness has only just begun. It has clothed armies of half a million in a few days, which could not have been clothed in as many months ; it has enabled the people of most civilized nations to dress themselves better and cheaper,—it has made fortunes, which, in the aggregate, could be summed up only by hundreds of millions ;—and yet, all these are but the poorest and smallest of its triumphs. Its chief glory consists in having become the ally of woman in her emancipation from the slavery of the needle. Some idea of what the sewing-machine has done may be had from the statistics in a note.¹

¹ I am not writing a history of the Sewing-Machine. If I were, I should show no reluctance in giving credit to other men of genius whose names have been honorably connected with the instrument. Elias Howe did in that invention precisely what Morse did in his ; both of them made a clear demonstration of the practicability of their work, and deserve and will forever have, the chief glory. Yet there is room enough for the credit of other inventors, in connection with this wonderful conception. I believe that something like a thousand patents for alleged improvements in the sewing-machine have been issued in the United States. Says Mr. Parton : ' Perhaps thirty of these patents are valuable, but the great improvements are not more than ten in number, and most of those were made in the infancy of the machine.'

In Mr. Parton's article, already alluded to, and which seems to have been written with full intelligence and complete fairness, he mentions, among other inventors and improvers of sewing-machines, the following :

I. M. Singer, who afterwards became the founder of the great Singer Manufacturing Company. In 1850 he saw at the shop of Orson C. Phelps, a Boston machinist, several sewing-machines brought in for repairs. He went to work and made several improvements, which were considered of such value, that they laid the foundations for his fortune ; and it is alleged that these improvements were subsequently applied in all the machines made by his Company. On being prosecuted by Howe for infringing his patent of 1846, 'the adventurer threw all his energy and his growing means into the contest against the original inventor. The great object of the infringing interest was to discover an earlier inventor than Elias Howe. For this purpose, the patent records of England, France, and the United States were most diligently searched ; encyclopædias were examined, and an attempt was even made to show that the Chinese had possessed a sewing-machine for ages. Nothing, however, was discovered that would have made a plausible defence, until Mr. Singer





GENERAL SHERIDAN.

SECTION FIFTH.

THE ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC—SLAVERY DIES,
AND LIBERTY AND THE UNION LIVE.

WE now approach the greatest fact in our history since we became a nation. No record of OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS could omit some account of what has, by courtesy, been called 'the late civil conflict,' but what history will be quite apt to call 'the death of slavery before the altar of freedom.'

joined the infringers. He ascertained that a New York mechanic, named Walter Hunt, who had a small machine shop up a narrow alley in Abingdon Square, had made, or tried to make, a sewing-machine as early as 1832. Walter Hunt was found. He *had* attempted to invent a sewing-machine in 1832; and, what was more important, he had hit upon the shuttle as the means of forming the stitch. He said, too, that he had made a machine which did sew a little, but very imperfectly, and, after wearying himself with fruitless experiments, he had thrown it aside. Parts of this machine, after a great deal of trouble, were actually found among a quantity of rubbish in the garret of a house in Gold Street. Here was a discovery! Could Mr. Hunt take these parts, all rusty and broken, into his shop, and complete the machine as originally made, so that it would sew? He thought he could. Urged on by the indefatigable Singer, supplied by him with money, and stimulated by the prospect of fortune, Walter Hunt tried long and hard to put his machine together; and when he found that he could not, he employed an ingenious inventor to aid him in the work. But their united ingenuity was unequal to the performance of an impossibility: the machine could not be got to sew a seam. The fragments found in the garret did, indeed, demonstrate that in 1832 Walter Hunt had been upon the track of the invention; but they also proved that he had given up the chase in despair, long before coming up with the game. [And yet it is thought by some persons well qualified to judge, that if Hunt had, at the right time, presented his claims before the Patent Office, they would have been acknowledged.—AUTHOR.]

'And this the courts have uniformly held. In the year 1854, after a long trial, Judge Sprague, of Massachusetts, decided that "the plaintiff's patent is valid, and the defendant's machine is an infringement." The plaintiff was Elias Howe; the real infringer, I. M. Singer. Judge Sprague further observed, that 'there is no evidence in this case that leaves a shadow of doubt that, for all the benefit conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing-machine, the public are indebted to Mr. Howe.'

Mr. Parton further adds: 'By general consent of the able men who are now conducting the sewing-machine business—including Elias Howe,—the highest place in the list of improvers is assigned to Allen B. Wilson. This most ingenious gentleman completed a practical sewing-machine early in 1849, without ever having seen one, and without having any knowledge of the devices of Elias Howe, who was then buried alive in London. Mr. Wilson, at the time, was a very

young journeyman cabinet-maker, living in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. After that desperate contest with difficulty which inventors usually experience, he procured a patent for his machine, improved it, and formed a connection with a young carriage-maker of his acquaintance, Nathaniel Wheeler, who had some capital, and thus was founded the great and famous house of Wheeler and Wilson, who are now making sewing-machines at the rate of about fifty-three thousand a year.—[See later returns in a note on next page.] These gentlemen were honest enough in opposing the claim of Elias Howe, since Mr. Wilson knew himself to be an original inventor, and he employed devices not to be found in Mr. Howe's machine. Instead of a shuttle, he used a rotating hook,—a device as ingenious as any in mechanism. The four-motion feed, too, was another of Mr. Wilson's masterly inventions, sufficient of itself to stamp him an inventor of genius. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that Messrs. Wheeler and Wilson should regard Mr. Howe's charge of infringement with astonishment and indignation, and join in the contest against him.

'Messrs. Grover and Baker were early in the field. William O. Grover was a Boston tailor, whose attention was directed to the sewing-machine soon after Mr. Howe's return from Europe. It was he who, after numberless trials, invented the exquisite devices by which the famous Grover and Baker stitch is formed—a stitch which for some purposes is of unequalled utility.'

In speaking of Mr. Howe's original machine Mr. Parton adds: 'This first of all sewing-machines, after crossing the ocean many times, and figuring as a dumb but irrefutable witness in many a court, may still be seen at Mr. Howe's office in Broadway, where, within these few weeks, it has sewed seams in cloth at the rate of three hundred stitches a minute. It is agreed by all disinterested persons—Professor Renwick among others—who have examined this machine, that Elias Howe, in making it, carried the invention of the sewing-machine farther on towards its complete and final utility, than any other inventor has ever brought a first-rate invention at the first trial. It is a little thing,—that first machine,—which goes into a box of the capacity of about a cubic foot and a half. Every contrivance in it has been since improved, and new devices have been added; but no successful sewing-machine has ever been made which does not contain some of the essential devices of this first attempt. We make this assertion without hesitation or reserve, because it is, we believe, the one point upon which all the great makers are agreed. Judicial decisions have repeatedly affirmed it.'

The Republic and its people had long enough trifled with this great curse. Tyrants felt little fear of our democratic example, for they found an antidote to republicanism anywhere while slavery existed here. The lovers of liberty in all nations had long enough waited for us to wash our hands from blood unrighteously shed. Slavery had long enough soiled our skirts, and given the lie to our loud professions. The sight of its ghastly form stalking through the Temple of Freedom had chilled the hearts of its worshippers all over the world. Long enough had our own true Americans protested, suffered, and wept in vain. But the hour was coming when, in a way that we knew not, the curse was to be removed.

Our record of this strange revolution must be short; but before we enter on it, it seems proper to speak of the Prophets of Freedom—the heralds proclaiming the day of emancipation for a subjugated race—the torch-bearers of the lights which were blazing through the worse than Egyptian darkness of their days—men who dared all, suffered all; men who heroically hoped, and worked, and suffered, till man's strength and plans melted to ashes, and God came to bring the dreadful triumph. Therefore I cannot pass this terrible ordeal which was forced on liberty, without paying a passing tribute to a few of the chieftains of the advanced body-guard, who fought in one of the bloodiest, and yet sublimest battles between the powers of light and darkness in all the ages.

The Scholars and Orators for the Freedom of the Slave.—THEODORE D. WELD was among the earliest of that large body of eloquent and enthusiastic men who first assailed African slavery in America; who never left the field of conflict till the battle was won. His genial soul is now warmed in the

To those who have not observed the exact statistics, the increase in the sales of sewing-machines will be astounding. The following returns—all of them sworn to—except those of the Howe Machine Company, which were furnished to me from their books—of all the principal companies in the country tell the story.

THE STATISTICS OF THE SALES OF SEWING-MACHINES FOR THE YEARS 1871, 1872, 1873, AND 1874: Embracing none whose annual sales fell below 10,000, all others aggregating from 25,000 to 60,000 per annum.

1871.

The Singer Manufacturing Co.....	sold	181,260
Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Co..	"	128,526
Howe Machine Co.....	"	34,010
Grover & Baker S. M. Co.....	"	50,838
Weed S. M. Co.....	"	39,655
Wilcox & Gibbs S. M. Co.....	"	30,127
Wilson S. M. Co.....	"	21,153
Amer. B. H. O. & S. M. Co.....	"	20,121
Original Howe S. M. Co.....	"	20,051
Florence S. M. Co.....	"	15,947
Gold Medal S. M. Co.....	"	13,562
Davis S. M. Co.....	"	11,568
Domestic S. M. Co.....	"	10,397

Total..... 652,185

1872.

The Singer Manufacturing Co.....	sold	219,758
Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Co..	"	174,088
Howe Machine Co.....	"	156,000
Grover & Baker S. M. Co.....	"	52,010
Domestic S. M. Co.....	"	49,554
Weed S. M. Co.....	"	42,444
Wilcox & Gibbs S. M. Co.....	"	33,639
Wilson S. M. Co.....	"	22,666
Amer. B. H. O. & S. M. Co.....	"	18,930

Gold Medal S. M. Co.....	sold	18,897
Florence S. M. Co.....	"	15,793
E. P. Howe.....	"	14,907
Victor S. M. Co.....	"	11,901
Davis S. M. Co.....	"	11,376

Total..... 835,963

1873.

The Singer Manufacturing Co.....	sold	232,444
Howe Machine Co.....	"	153,244
Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Co....	"	119,190
Domestic S. M. Co.....	"	40,114
Grover & Baker S. M. Co.....	"	30,179
Weed S. M. Co.....	"	21,769
Wilson S. M. Co.....	"	21,247
Gold Medal S. M. Co.....	"	16,431
Wilcox & Gibbs S. M. Co.....	"	15,881
American B. H.....	"	14,182
B. P. Howe S. M. Co.....	"	13,919

Total..... 684,700

1874.

The Singer Manufacturing Co.....	241,679
Howe Sewing-Machine Co.....	108,136
Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Co.....	92,827
Domestic Sewing-Machine Co.....	22,700
Weed Sewing-Machine Co.....	20,495
Grover & Baker S. M. Co., estimated.....	20,000
Remington Empire Sewing-Machine Co.....	17,608
Wilson Sewing-Machine Co.....	17,525
Gold Medal Sewing-Machine Co.....	15,214
Wilcox & Gibbs Sewing-Machine Co.....	13,710
American B. H. & Co., Sewing-Machine Co...	13,529

Total..... 690,433

midst of the snows of age by the sunlight of complete triumph. Everything required to make up the perfect orator, combined in this extraordinary man. In force of reasoning, his addresses were models of logic. Conciseness of language—so extreme that it became often painful for the close listener, and yet his speech so pure and simple, he was always instantaneously comprehended—learned as a linguist, and so fine a master of his native tongue, that all its treasures seemed to be absolutely at his control under the fervid heat of his inspiration, as though, with a sort of omniscience, he could create words as fast as needed, each one coming in the place where it was wanted, and where no other word could answer the purpose; penetrated to the depths of his understanding with a burning conviction of the inherent flagrancy of slavery, that it was ‘essentially wrong,’ that it had no part or parcel in the system of justice; that it was an alien thing in the universe, exciting the indignation of every honest soul, and drawing down upon the guilty head the just vengeance of Almighty God! Such being the granite foundations of his convictions, and the bases of his arguments, his appeals to the reason and the humanity of his auditors were irresistible.¹ Early in his career, he exhausted every aspect of the case—the moral, the social, the legislative, the judicial features of slavery, *all* slavery, anywhere, everywhere, of bodies or minds; their rights, their privileges, their sentiments, their feelings; on whatever infringed, by a hair’s-breadth, upon the sacred domain of personal freedom he waged unrelenting war—this was the field entered and held; nor did any champion in law, in theology, in public economy, ever successfully assail, undermine, overthrow, or even weaken the primitive structure of his argument. In his endowments of genius, trained into habits of severest investigation, and ripened by profound learning, he transcended all his fellows. I am well aware of the meaning of my words. I do not forget that about this time—from 1833 till the beginning of the war of the Rebellion—there were among his coadjutors many of the brightest and the most cultured intellects of the land. I must speak of a few.

JUDGE WILLIAM JAY had brought out his great work, ‘*An Inquiry into the Character of the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies*,’ and subsequently, ‘*A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery*,’ both of them worthy to have come from the pen of any jurist.

¹ The first Anti-Slavery argument put forth in America against Negro Slavery that shook the hoary edifice to its foundations, was pronounced by Theodore D. Weld. It was entitled, ‘*Is Slavery from Above or from Beneath?*’ Its opening sentences thus run:—

‘The spirit of slavery never takes refuge in the Bible *of its own accord*. The horns of the altar are its last resort. It seizes them, if at all, only in desperation—rushing from the terror of the avenging arm. Like other unclean spirits, it hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest its deeds should be reproved. Goaded to madness in its conflicts with common sense and natural justice, denied all quarter, and hunted from every covert, it breaks at last into the sacred enclosure, and

courses up and down the Bible, seeking rest and finding none. *The law of love*, streaming from every page, flashes around it an omnipotent anguish and despair. It shrinks from the hated light, and howls under the consuming touch, as the demoniac recoiled from the Son of God and shrieked, “Torment us not.”—At last it slinks among the shadows of the Mosaic system, and thinks to burrow out of sight among its types and symbols. Vain hope! Its asylum is its sepulchre; its city of refuge, the city of destruction. It rushes from light into the sun; from heat, into devouring fire; and from the voice of God into the thickest of his thunders.’ *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Standard*, vol. ii. p. 222. April, 1837.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,—the John the Baptist of the new dispensation of freedom,—was another, and, of them all, perhaps the most enthusiastic and uncompromising advocate of freedom. Suffering imprisonment in Baltimore, from some expressions of opinions hostile to slavery, he went forth, after his liberation, flaming with new zeal as did the Apostles, glad that he should be 'counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.' Nor was his life safe even under the shadow of Bunker Hill, for there Moloch had his altars, stronger and more sacred in the opinion of his worshippers, than the very ground where the Puritan fathers had landed, and which they had dedicated to Liberty.

BERIAH GREEN, the founder of one of the first schools of learning opened in this country that was free to men of all colors or nationalities: His rare native gifts, enriched by diversified learning, and baptized into the spirit of the warmest and broadest humanity, gathered around him hundreds of the most earnest young men in the country; and filled as they became, with the spirit of their master, they went forth as missionaries to wake up the slumbering consciences of the people.

ALVAN STEWART, one of the most powerful pleaders of the American bar: gifted with a strange and undescribable power of wielding the judgments and passions of men, after winning fame and fortune as a lawyer, dedicated his life to his beloved clients—Freedom and Temperance—regarding slavery and rum, to use his own words, 'as the two mightiest enemies of God and man; as the fruitful sources of more crime, misery, and wrong-doing than all other causes put together.' His favorite saying was, 'Slavery must die, in order that the Republic may live; and we shall either die a drunken, or live a sober nation.'¹

GERRIT SMITH, whose long life was filled with beneficence, whose vast fortune he had from his youth mortgaged over to the cause of humanity, cannot be left out of this brief list; while William Ellery Channing was, perhaps, the most spiritual minded and scholarly defender of the divine right of the humblest child of God to the most absolute liberty of earth.

BENJAMIN LUNDY,² the earliest and hardest worker among the race of

¹ He was an early abolitionist, having witnessed and realized, while visiting the South, in 1816, the cruelties, corruptions, and crimes necessarily involved in the system of chattel slavery. He was sincere and tender-hearted. The cruelties of the system seemed to affect him more than its crimes; and he would paint its horrors in language that none who listened to him could ever forget. One that well knew this remarkable man, who rendered such effective service to the anti-slavery cause in its days of weakness and trial, thus describes him: 'His conceptions were grand, his sweep of thought majestic, his language unique, his illustrations graphic, and his knowledge varied and minute.' He had been a Whig, and one of the favorite orators of the party. A good lawyer, a clear-sighted politician, accustomed to deal with practical affairs, he early saw the necessity of assailing slavery as a political evil by the use of the ballot. He came to the convention (at Albany) to aid, if possible, in giving form and shape to that idea.—*Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, by Henry Wilson, vol. 1, p. 549.

² But far the most devoted, effective, and prominent anti-slavery worker of those days was Benjamin Lundy. From 1815 to 1830, his labors were immense, involving great personal hardship and sacrifice, and placing him

far in advance of all contemporaneous or earlier abolitionists. He was a native of New Jersey, and of Quaker origin. At the age of nineteen he went to Wheeling, in Western Virginia, where he served an apprenticeship and worked at the trade of saddler. He was evidently from the outset an earnest and thoughtful man. While his companions were prone to dissipation, he devoted his leisure hours to reading; and he was also a regular attendant on the meetings of his denomination. Wheeling being a great thoroughfare for the slave-trade, through which often passed the coffles of that nefarious traffic, his sympathies were largely enlisted in behalf of its helpless and hopeless victims. 'My heart,' he said, 'was deeply grieved at the gross abomination. I heard the wail of the captive, I felt his pang of distress, and the iron entered my soul.' Though he did not then and there enter upon what soon became his life-work, yet he unquestionably received his baptism into the spirit of the great reform of which he was an honored pioneer, while largely instrumental in persuading others to enter upon it.

Even Mr. Garrison thus gratefully and gracefully refers to his obligations to Mr. Lundy: 'Now, if I have in any way, however humble, done anything toward calling attention to slavery, or bringing about

abolitionists who succeeded the Founders of the Nation—Judge JAMES G. BIRNEY, who had emancipated his slaves at the South, and exhausted most of his fortune in the expense of removing them north of the Ohio—WILLIAM GOODELL, JOHN PIERPONT, and a host of others all through the Free States, where the battle had to be fought, embracing men of learning in all the professions—this fearless cohort were slowly undermining the dark and gloomy castle which could not be carried by storm. But before the Free-Soil Party¹ could take the field as a political power, appealing to the ballot-box as a dernier ressort—the way had to be prepared by the avant-couriers, who had roused the nation, and through whose irresistible zeal the way had alone been prepared.

The New Party for Freedom.—It had become evident, in 1848, that the Slave Power was preparing to test its strength in a final struggle against liberty, and rule or rend the nation. The war with Mexico had ended in the conquest of that country, and the annexation of just as large a portion of its territory as we saw fit to demand. The extension of our Republic to the Pacific Ocean, with the vast domain thus acquired, would now call for new legislation, and slavery was stretching forth her hands to grasp those vast regions which were now open for the first time to the enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race.² The Pro-slavery party at the North seemed more ready than

the glorious prospect of a complete jubilee in our country at no distant day, I feel that I owe everything in this matter, instrumentally and under God, to Benjamin Lundy.'—*Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, by Henry Wilson, vol. i., p. 167.

¹ Should I attempt to trace the aggressions of slavery upon liberty, the origin and progress, the growth and culmination of the Free-Soil Party till the election of Abraham Lincoln, it would require at least as much space as I gave to it in another work.* I shall restrict myself to a few outlines, which I borrow mainly from that publication, as I may certainly be allowed to make citations from my other writings with such freedom as I find desirable.

It had become evident enough that all moral appeals to the conscience of the nation would have been made in vain, had not the politicians of the times learned that to get votes they must obey the will of the people—such being the only power of the ballot-box. As Alvan Stewart said, 'There is no other eloquence which these people will listen to.'—Of this wonderful man I must add a few words. I was his guest in Utica, New York, during the winter of 1839-40. Had I room I would like to record many of his brilliant sayings, for if one in a hundred of them had been preserved, he would have taken his place almost at the head of the conversations of the world.

From the beginning he understood that the only way to overthrow slavery, as he said, was 'to fight the devil with fire.' Since 'slavery has taken possession of the National Government, and runs it without let or hindrance; it is enthroned at the capital, in the cabinet, and at the White House, with the best pick of all the offices in the

power of the government to bestow, and absolutely holds an unquestioned dictatorship of every administration, no matter whether it be Whig or Democrat, we must array ourselves as a political power against it. It is plain enough that if we do not destroy slavery, slavery will destroy us, for they cannot long exist together. If we number only a few, but happen to have votes enough to defeat a candidate for the office of pathmaster, we may soon be able to defeat a candidate as justice of the peace, and then an assemblyman, and then a State senator, and then a governor, and then United States senator, and finally elect for president a man who is pledged to sign no bill that allows slavery to extend any further.'

Mr. Stewart was the first statesman in America to advocate this policy, and it is needless to say that his political sagacity was justified by the event. This doctrine began to prevail among the abolitionists: it soon found powerful advocates, Hale in Massachusetts, Chase in Ohio, and finally Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, were elected to the Senate, where the latter became the Chevalier de Bayard of emancipation, and bravely fought his battle there, as Horace Greeley fought his in journalism; the two noblest defenders of that righteous cause, and both of whom lived to see its triumphs. When the battle was won, Tom, Dick, and Harry, of course, came in at the death.

² The aggressions of slavery upon free soil, free thought, and free men—I need not enumerate them, for they will be found by the readers of the future, scattered through all the records of the times. The virus of slavery had so far permeated the life-blood of the Republic, that it threw out its fetid corruptions

* *Life and Public Services of Charles Sumner.*

ever to yield to any demands that slavery might make, and both parties vied with each other in bowing to the now all-powerful Moloch. But signs were everywhere appearing of the birth of a new party which would resist the further extension of slavery over free soil. There were strong men throughout the country who were preparing for a new movement. Mr. Van Buren was not popular enough to command the homination of his party at Baltimore, and the Democratic statesmen of New York were making ready to stand by their former political leader, in some movement to resist the imperious demands of the Slave Power. Salmon P. Chase and Joshua Giddings commanded great influence in Ohio, while Charles Francis Adams, and his friend, Charles Sumner, were putting forth their mightiest efforts to restore to the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay the spirit of liberty, whose beacon-fires had long ago begun to burn dim. There was a general disposition through many portions of the North to throw off the despotism of party; and with a view to unite men of all parties against the future encroachments of slavery, a mass convention was called, to meet at Worcester on the 28th of

from the very temple of justice itself! By a lean majority the Supreme Bench of the United States declared that black men had no rights which the white man was bound to respect. This last ounce should have been heavy enough to break the camel's back. But emboldened by so imposing a decision, the national Congress proceeded, in the interests of slavery, to supplement the infamous Fugitive Slave Law by a solemn enactment which abolished the Missouri Compromise, and opened the soil which had long before been declared forever exempt from the taint of slavery. This was well done, for the framers of that law were building better than they knew. For many years the arms of freedom had been manacled, and no fair struggle could take place between liberty and slavery. But when these shackles were broken, and the last restriction against slavery was removed, the game of fair play could begin, the forces on both sides were let loose—either freedom or slavery was to go down. The field of conflict was chosen by slavery—it was Kansas—and in a straight appeal to its people slavery went to the wall.

Stephen A. Douglas.—This Illinois Senator was the author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and while he was considered by the pro-slavery wing of the Democratic party as their ablest champion, there were other men, and I confess I was of the number, who believed that his great heart never felt a throb for anything but freedom. Still his judgment, as a Democrat 'pure and simple,' was that, while the people of any Territory where free institutions prevailed were at liberty to determine for themselves what the character of those institutions should be, yet knowing the man so well, I did not doubt that he believed it was best to bring on this issue, and end the question forever—that he thought it the best way to cut the Gordian knot, and let the fight come on, and God be arbiter of the conflict. I speak advisedly on this subject. I was in Washington during the entire period of the discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and I had a fair opportunity to know something about the merits of the whole case.

When I learned the intention of Senator Douglas to introduce that bill I was shocked; for at the first blush it seemed to be only an ingenious device in the interests of slavery propaganda; and so I expressed myself in a confidential conversation:—'No,' he replied, 'I cherish no such purpose in my mind, and no such desire inspires my heart.' He afterwards said, 'I simply saw that the Wilmot Proviso on the one hand had greatly irritated the South, and that the Dred Scott decision had alarmed and outraged the North. I saw the elements of trouble gathering thickly over the future. I wanted a safety-valve to let all these bad humors off. I wanted to offer the most Democratic measure that the whole people could demand. I wanted to give both sides a chance to go into an open field for a fair fight, and I believed that in this way, and in this way only, could the question be fairly settled. You know me well enough to be *sure* that I have no love for slavery—that I have no faith that it will survive this struggle. But I am so ultra a Democrat that I wish to have the issue brought upon the extremest grounds, which is nothing else than my old favorite hobby of *squatter sovereignty*—the principle which lay at the bottom of the establishment of American institutions; for our early settlers held this doctrine in its wholeness, and carried it out to the bloody end. I saw no other possible solution of the question as between slave and free soil. Moreover, I thought if the white feather was shown anywhere, it was shown at the North; for if freedom for all men had grown so weak in the free States that they could not or would not make it good, then I saw nothing but the triumph of slavery. But that slavery never could have a long-lived existence in this age anywhere, and above all in this country, never entered my brain.'

While I was satisfied with the motives of Mr. Douglas, I saw nothing but trouble in the future. That trouble came; but the closing years, and especially the last months of the life of Douglas, demonstrated his sincerity and patriotism, if not his transparent political sagacity.—*My Life Note-Book, MS.*

June, 1848. In that convention Adams, Giddings, and Sumner were the chief speakers and the leading spirits. Charles Francis Adams, after showing how basely the Whig party had prostituted itself to the behests of slavery, closed with the following stirring words: 'The only thing to be done by all, under such circumstances, is what as one, individually, I have made up my mind to do—that is, to have nothing more to do with it. Hereafter, then, I stand free, clear, a freeman, without any pledges, without any promise to any party. I stand, then, ready to go forward as one in this great movement, which shall establish, I hope, forever, the sacred principle of freedom throughout this hemisphere. Forgetting the things that are behind, I propose that we press forward to the high calling of our new occupation; and, fellow-citizens, whatever, may be the fate of you or me, all I can now add is, to repeat the words of one with whom I take pride in remembering that I have been connected—"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," to go with the liberties of my country is my fixed determination.'

These words, which had something of the ring of the old Revolution, transported the assembly with the wildest enthusiasm. 'I can join them,' said Charles Sumner, 'in a renunciation of those party relations which seem now inconsistent with the support of freedom. Like them, I have been a Whig, because I thought this party represented the moral sentiments of the country; that it was *the* Party of Humanity: but it has ceased to sustain this character. It does not represent the moral sentiments of the country; it is not the Party of Humanity: and a party which renounces its sentiments must itself expect to be renounced. For myself, therefore, in the coming conflict, I wish it to be understood that I belong to the Party of Freedom—to that party which plants itself on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.'

The agitation which had now for some time been going on through the country, began to assume formidable proportions—the seed sown by a few strong hands had begun to bear fruit. The foremost of the leading spirits throughout the North assembled in convention at Buffalo, announcing a platform of *opposition to the further extension of slavery*, and by acclamation nominated Martin van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams as Vice-President. On the 22d of August, the same year—1848—a public meeting was called at Faneuil Hall to ratify the nominations of the Buffalo Convention.¹

¹ Mr. Sumner, as the presiding officer of the meeting, made a bold and comprehensive speech:

'And why, in this nineteenth century, are we assembled here in Faneuil Hall, to vow ourselves to this cause? It is because it is now in danger. The principles of our fathers,—of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson,—nay, the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence,—have been assailed. Our Constitution,—which was the work of the lovers of Freedom,—which was watched by its most devoted champions,—which, like the ark of the covenant, was borne on the shoulders of the early patriarchs of our Israel,—has

been prostituted to the uses of Slavery. A body of men, whose principle of union was unknown to the authors of the Constitution, have obtained the control of the government, and caused it to be administered, not in the spirit of Freedom, but in the spirit of Slavery. This combination is known as the Slave Power of the United States.

'This combination has obtained the sway of both the great political factions of the country. Whatever may be said of the opinions of individuals belonging to these different factions, it would be difficult to say whether the Whigs or Democrats, in their recent conduct as

The National and State elections of 1848 had come and gone. The Free Soil Party, which was afterwards to control the government, and give an entirely new direction to public affairs, was slowly forming, and wherever the great issues were made and met, the friends of Freedom had been steadily gaining ground. Strange as it may seem, the hardest work in this great battle had to be fought in Massachusetts, where Mr. Sumner was the acknowledged leader of the Liberal host. Clothed with no official dignity or power, to give prestige to his words or actions, he was already commanding a national influence which made every speech delivered in Massachusetts effective far beyond the bounds of the State. John Quincy Adams had died at his post, the last undismayed champion of the Revolutionary school of Freedom, his heart still burning with the love of liberty, and the eloquent utterances of Freedom still fresh from his lips. But his son, Charles Francis, had already come forward in the same spirit, to tread in the steps of his father, and in all quarters the roused spirit of insulted American Liberty was no longer to cower back from the presence of her foes. But there was yet lacking, as there always is in such reforms, a practical plan of operations, to give effect to the efforts of the friends of freedom. By the great majority of them, the radical Anti-slavery men were still looked upon as fanatical, and, generally, as hostile to the Constitution; many of them, like Mr. Garrison, regarding it as the chief impediment, not only to emancipation, but to the spread of Slavery itself. Much had been done at Buffalo by the enunciations made in the platform, and the nomination of candidates pledged to resist the further encroachments of slavery; and around them a large body of voters had gathered at the ballot-box. But the great mass of the people had yet no clear idea of any practical plan of operations that could be carried out without open war upon the Constitution. At this time—September 12, 1849—a Free-soil Convention met at Worcester, and Mr. Sumner was invited to present an address explaining and vindicating the Free-soil movement, and that address was adopted by the Convention. Nothing appeared at the time which set forth so clearly, or with so much power, the great issue which was coming before the nation. It served as a chart for the early progress of the mighty movement then starting, which will hereafter doubtless be regarded as the most important feature in the political history of this nation, since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Omnipresent, as Mr. Sumner then declared the great issue to be, wherever any political election occurred, it was never to cease to challenge attention, until, in his own language, ‘at least two things are accomplished:

national parties, had most succumbed to this malign influence. The late Conventions at Baltimore and Philadelphia were controlled by it. At Baltimore, the delegation of the most important State of the Union—known to be opposed to the Wilmot Proviso—was refused admission to the Convention. At Philadelphia, the Wilmot Proviso itself was stifled, according to the report of an Ohio delegate, amid the cries of “Kick it out!” General Cass was nominated at Baltimore, pledged against the Wilmot Proviso. General Taylor, at Philadelphia—without any pledge on this all-impor-

tant question—was forced upon the Convention by the Slave Power; nor were any principles of any kind put forth by this body of professing Whigs. These two candidates, apparently representing opposite parties, both concur in being the representatives of Slavery. They are the leaders of the two contending factions of the Slave Power. I say factions; for, what are factions but combinations of men whose sole cement is a selfish desire for place and power, in disregard of principles? And such were the Conventions at Baltimore and Philadelphia.’

first, the divorce of the Federal Government from all support or sanction of Slavery; and *secondly*, the conversion of this government, within its Constitutional limits, to the cause of Freedom, so that it shall become Freedom's open, active, and perpetual ally.'

Condition of the doomed African Race at the North.—The heavy structure of Southern Slavery was still unshaken—the dark clouds of prejudice against the African race hanging still undisputed over the whole North—the race itself, without exception, ostracized from the pale of Northern charity—from the precincts of Northern justice—from the sacred amenities of Northern homes—from the priceless advantages of Northern education—exiled from every scene of social amusement and culture—shut out from theatres, from lecture-rooms, from universities, from all schools of higher education—excluded from the learned professions—condemned everywhere to the most menial and degrading offices—nowhere allowed to enter the charmed circle of a common brotherhood, of a universal humanity—banished absolutely from all the sunlight of civilization, and all the sympathies of earth—and spurned from every covert of refuge except the bosom of Almighty God! Such was the condition of this doomed race—such the moment when the party of Liberty had birth.

It reads now—except to the young, who were fortunate enough to be born in these better days of the Republic, when they have escaped much of the contamination of that spirit of Caste that so deeply clouded *our* young days—like a thrice-told tale. It seems but a tame enunciation of axioms no longer disputed. Ah! thank God, there is some truth in this. But let the young go back, if it be to gain but a faint impression of the hard road the colored people have had to tread in reaching this better day; and they may half conceive how many a wounded spirit, like Charles Sumner's, bled in secret sorrow, with hearts grown sore in waiting for the emancipation of an enslaved race. Then will they cease to wonder that to their salvation the great Massachusetts Senator so unreservedly dedicated his life. Then will they learn why his name will be mentioned with veneration by their latest posterity—why he is to them, even now, the best beloved name in all history.

The long session of the Congress of 1850,—a Congress in which were gathered more great men than had been clustered in our history since the early days of the Republic,—had come to an end; its members were hurry-

¹ *Some Reminiscences of the great Senate of 1850-51.*—Of that Senate something must be said. It was the greatest Senate which had sat since the time of the Fathers of the Republic: and it was in its glory. It embraced the finest names that have embellished our modern history. The great men in that body seemed to forget, in the presence of the troubles that clouded the future, even the sections where they were born; everything gave way to higher considerations. Nor were any of them unmindful of their birth-places, nor of their constituencies; for they carried with them from the distant regions they represented, all the sou-

venirs and tender recollections which entwined with their early lives; and in their earnest and protracted debates, these associations were found to mingle genially with a common spirit of nationality.

None of them wholly lost sight of the principles which lie at the base of our system of government—above all, they never lost sight of the spirit which guided our fathers on the road to the establishment of free institutions. It will do us no harm if we cast a look back to the sparkling fountains, where they refreshed themselves in the struggle they had to go through. The recurrence of the names of those men,

ing to their homes to give an account of their stewardship. No man at the North, who had voted for the Fugitive Slave Law, was ever to recover his former popularity. Many of them were to leave public life forever: some with the regrets and the esteem of large minorities; others with the hostility of

and the scenes they went through to their last battle for the Union, thrill the pulses of every true American.

There are certain scenes enacted in the early and well-authenticated periods of the history of every nation, which makes marks in history, and these scenes have for the most part occurred at those early eras which live green in the memory of all their people: even when no historic records were left, and men had to treasure up traditions as the earliest, and often the most reliable sources. *They* were cherished as the Chinese treasure the maxims and memory of Confucius; as the Indo-Races preserve the dimmer, but reverent traces of their traditions from *Brahma*—as at a much later period, probably, the Egyptians made records of the patriachs, which our times with so poor, and yet with encouraging success, have interpreted, or tried to interpret. But all through those misty ages, the nations that have since rested in the dust of their sepulchres, they worshipped to the last such sources of history as they had. History has reverently groped among their graves, and strained the ear, if perchance, across the fearful chasm of uncertainty, it might catch one note, or fix some gleam of light to guide its investigations.

One of the inspirations which has guided me in this work, grew out of the feeling begotten, or quickened, by such scenes as I have spoken of, which the pioneers of our common humanity loved and cherished; such feelings of veneration in the ages long gone by. I felt in looking over more modern literature—for we cannot help but believe, that we too have had an antiquity—that we must not begrudge some of our short time in preserving accurate statistics of our national progress. We have been so busy in making history, we really have had no time to write it. We have had nine Censuses taken, but only the last two have really given us much more than the increase of population: and therefore I find it a difficult, if not an impossible task to show the stages of our progress in agriculture, manufactures, or any one of the arts which have contributed so much to our real progress. We have been a nation of workmen. We have marched so far, and so fast, that we have not had time to set up milestones to indicate to the future any exact scale to mark the steps of our advancement. We have *lived* the epic—I feel we ought to write it now. I am only trying to do something in that direction.

Through that Senate of 1850-51 the heart of the nation found its legitimate breathing-place, and through those great mouthpieces, her voice was uttered.

I knew that this dreadful Banquo ghost of Slavery would haunt this Republic until the body of Duncan had been long dead. But that ghost was doing duty in advance; for slavery was still uttering its dreadful threat—ever present, ever felt in the Senate House and in society; and at last it stalked into the court-house, and petrified the nation by the decision of the Tribunal of Final Appeal.

It was a dreadful hour for patriotism, for liberty, and justice. Liberty we supposed had been enthroned as a goddess; yea, more, as a fundamental principle of American life. But justice had been pushed aside, ignored, insulted, outraged and forgotten; not forgotten quite, for the reverence for it was not entirely dead—any American would have been ashamed if it were feigning death. So it was only a mock funeral, for the grave-diggers had but disturbed the turf—they had scarcely thrown out a spadeful in the blasphemous attempt to find a tomb for liberty in the whole land of its worshippers. Against this infamous movement the spirit of right asserted itself.

It was a hard moment for those old patriots to meet and face the future. It was a terrible struggle which Daniel Webster had to go through, when he uttered that speech of the 7th March, by saying:—‘I find the Fugitive Slave Law in the Constitution, and I take no step backwards.’ The lion-hearted statesman knew that the doors of Faneuil Hall would be slammed in his face when he went home; but he knew also that *negro slavery was in the Constitution of the United States*. All men knew this; and when the terrific storm came on us, which threatened to sink the ship, and the commander then on deck issued his Proclamation, the only justification he pleaded for the act being that it was a war measure, the fact being fully acknowledged, for those amendments to the Constitution which followed the proclamation, duly passed according to the provisions of that same Constitution, and ratified by the acts of the separate States—said the same thing. But all this made no difference with Webster. Nor did it stop Henry Clay—the idol of so large a part of the nation all through his history, and the mar who loved liberty and deprecated slavery, as heartily as any being on this earth—for whether the winds blew from the north, east, south, or west, they never shook the foundation on which the Kentucky statesman stood. No sectional motive disturbed the patriotism or dampened the eloquence of Houston or Dickinson, or many another patriot statesman; and Mr. Calhoun, the advocate of State rights, saw that his own theories were too small for the good of a nation so large; while General Cass, who had done more towards opening the broad fields of the West to emigration and agriculture than any other man, was on the side of the Union and glory of his country.

Sitting in the Senate Chamber at that time, I witnessed what Clay regarded as the final effort of his life. That old Senate Chamber had rung with his voice for a whole generation. He had always been a national man. When he rose, then somewhat infirm, and the Senate looked upon his blanched face, but still erect and commanding form, I shall never forget where he stood, nor how imploringly, he asked the Senate and its crowded gallery, up to which he cast a glance, to hear his final appeal, for what he had called, and the Senate often repeated, as the great Compromise Measures. He

former friends, and the contempt of whole communities. Mr. WEBSTER'S usefulness, however, was by no means over. He was to vacate the Senate April 24, 1851, and become Secretary of State, under Mr. FILMORE. His management of our foreign affairs—then somewhat complicated—commanded the confidence of the country, and the respect of foreign nations, which still left a broad field for the exercise of his consummate abilities in the public service. But it was felt then, as it was afterwards known, that his course on the Fugitive Slave Bill had been an act of political suicide. On the rock of Slavery the Whig party had gone to pieces; and very few good men regretted its fate. The illustrious sage of Marshfield had given place to the rising young statesman on whose broad shoulders Destiny had fixed the forlorn hope, not only of four million slaves, but perhaps of the Republic of Washington itself.

The election of Charles Sumner to the United States Senate opened a new period in our politics. Most of the statesmen who had swayed the country, from the time of Madison, were disappearing from the field. Mr. CALHOUN was already dead: HENRY CLAY was soon to follow. The old Whig party had fought its last battle. The Democrats had centred all their chances upon the South and the Pro-Slavery party of the North, and there it was to fight its last fight before it dissolved in the fires of the Rebellion.

In the Senate Mr. SUMNER was to appear in the list as a Free-Soiler. There were but two others who claimed that distinction—SALMON P. CHASE, from Ohio, and JOHN P. HALE, from New Hampshire. These were but the morning-stars of the great day of emancipation that was so soon to dawn upon a redeemed country, and a disenthralled race.

The great conflict in the Senate, which was to end twelve years later in absolute triumph, began on the 26th of May, 1852, when Sumner presented a memorial from Massachusetts against the Fugitive Slave Law. He was not allowed to proceed with the remarks he desired to make. On no subject except Chattel Slavery was any restraint imposed on Senators. But in moving the reference of the petition to the Committee on the Judiciary, he remarked that he hoped he was not expecting too much if, at some fit moment, he should bespeak the clear and candid attention of the Senate, while he undertook to set forth frankly and fully, and with entire respect for that

stood on the left-hand side of the Vice-President, and lifting his hand beseechingly to the presiding officer, said, 'If I am not trespassing upon your indulgence too much, I ask, sir, your attention for a few remarks, since I desire to say something for my country to-day, while I think we are on the verge of trouble.' As these words fell from his lips, the electricity that passed off from him seemed only to stir the inexhaustible fountain left behind. On the other side of the House sat Thomas H. Benton, an intense egotist, but a very bold, honest, and learned man. Near to Clay, on his left hand, sat Webster, massive, solitary, and grand. Nearly in front of him was seated General Cass—not far off General

Foote, the senator from Mississippi, near by 'old Sam Houston,' and in the neighborhood, the impersonation of straightforward patriotic democracy, Daniel S. Dickinson. Looking on this great Senate, and dividing my time between the eloquence of Clay, and half tearing myself from its enchantment in the anxiety to see the effects of his last grand speech, I saw that the Compromise Measures would be passed. I gave up for the time all solicitude. But I knew in my very soul, that it had been only a postponement, and not a final disposition, of that giant trouble, which was sure to come upon the nation at no distant day.—*My Life Note-Book, M.S.*

body, convictions deeply cherished in his own State, though disregarded in the Capital ; convictions to which he was bound by every sentiment of the heart, by every fibre of his being, by all his devotion to country, by his love of God and man. ‘Upon these,’ he said, ‘I do not now enter ; suffice it for the present for me to remark, that when I undertake that service, I believe I shall utter nothing which in any just sense can be called *sectional* ; unless the Constitution is sectional, and unless the sentiments of the Fathers were sectional. It is my happiness to believe, and my hope to be able to show, that according to the true spirit of the Constitution, and the sentiments of the Fathers, *FREEDOM*, and not *Slavery*, is national ; while *SLAVERY*, and not *Freedom*, is sectional.’

A vast majority of the Senate were determined that Mr. Sumner should not be allowed to deliver the speech which it was well known he had prepared. But he vigilantly watched his opportunity. It came at last on the 26th of August, 1852, and being by the Rules of the Senate entitled to the floor, he held it against all opposition for nearly *four hours* ; during which he pronounced that immortal ORATION—as it would have been called by the Romans in the days of CICERO—which will forever be regarded as the most powerful defence of the principles of Freedom ever uttered in that Senate House. It sounded like a voice from the dead—it stirred the whole Nation—it foretold the doom of American Slavery.

Some other words were uttered on the floor of the Senate, after the delivery of this speech, which should be preserved, since the speakers have all passed away. Mr. HALE, the Senator from New Hampshire, said : ‘I feel that I should be doing injustice to my own feelings, and injustice to my friend, the Senator from Massachusetts, if I were to fail at this time to express the very great gratification with which I have listened to his speech. If he were actuated by as corrupt and selfish motives as can possibly be attributed to him, so far as his own personal fame is concerned he has done enough by his effort here to-day, to place himself side by side with the first orators of antiquity ; and as far ahead of any living American orator, as Freedom is ahead of Slavery. He has to-day formed, I believe, a new era in the history of the politics and the eloquence of the country ; and in future generations the young men of this nation will be stimulated to effort by the record of what an American Senator has done, to which all the appeals drawn from ancient history would be entirely inadequate. He has to-day made a draft upon the gratitude of the friends of humanity and liberty that will not be paid through many generations ; but its memory will endure as long as the English language is spoken, or the history of this Republic shall form a part of the annals of the world.’

Mr. CHASE, the Senator from Ohio, used also the following noble language in adopting the argument of Mr. SUMNER against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and in a personal vindication of the orator himself : ‘In the argument which my friend from Massachusetts has addressed to us to-day, there was no assault

upon the Constitution. It was a noble vindication of that great charter of government, from the perversions of the advocates of the Fugitive Slave Act. He only asserted that the Fugitive servant clause of the Constitution is a clause of compact between the States, and confers no legislative power upon Congress; and he has arrayed history and reason in support of this proposition. I therefore avow my conviction, that logically and historically, the argument is impregnable—entirely impregnable. Let me add, Mr. President, that, in my judgment, this speech will mark *an era in American history*. It will distinguish the day when the advocates of that theory of governmental policy—Constitution construction—which he has so nobly defended, and so brilliantly illustrated, no longer content to stand on the defence in the contest with Slavery, boldly attacks the very citadel of its power, in that doctrine of finality which two of the political parties of the country, through their national organizations, are endeavoring to establish, as the impregnable defence of its usurpation.¹

The battle between Slavery and Freedom had been waxing hotter with every debate during the spring of 1854. On the 22d of June, Mr. Rockwell, of Massachusetts, presented the following memorial, numerous signed, chiefly by the citizens of Boston, and moved its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary:—‘To our Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled: The undersigned, *men of Massachusetts*, ask for the repeal of the Act of Congress of 1850, known as the FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.’

The Crime against Kansas,—the most powerful of all Sumner’s speeches,—will always be associated with the infamous attempt to murder him in the Senate Chamber, two days after its delivery.²

¹ There were some millions of copies of this speech circulated through America and in Europe by the journals, and in multiplied editions in large pamphlet form, both at home and abroad, to the extent of several hundred thousand copies. In his preface to the English edition of ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin,’ LORD CARLISLE associated Mr. SUMNER’s speech with that work, speaking of ‘the closeness of its logic, and the masculine vigor of its eloquence.’ In a letter to the *London Times*, LORD SHAFTESBURY exclaimed, ‘What noble eloquence!’ And the distinguished phrenologist, Mr. COMBE, in a letter to a celebrated American, which was soon afterwards published, remarked: ‘I have read every word of this speech, with pleasure and with pain. The pain arose from the subject—the pleasure from sympathy with, and admiration of the speaker. I have long desired to know the merits of that most cruel and iniquitous enactment, and this speech has made them clear as day.’

The effect of this speech, great as it evidently was at the time, was far greater than could then possibly be conceived. Wherever it was read, it set people to thinking: its appeals to the judgment and reason of citizens could not be resisted: it insensibly colored the thoughts of every thinking man: it gave a new, fresh,

and irreversible interpretation of the letter of the Constitution; while it breathed all through its flaming utterances the very soul of the liberty achieved by our fathers. After its delivery, the Free-Soil party was looked upon as the *national* party. The allegations of sectionalism lost their force: it was *slavery* that was now branded as sectional, local, narrow, hostile to the Constitution, as well as inimical to liberty itself. It did, as Mr. Chase had said, constitute a new era in American history; and future times will probably regard it as the grandest contribution that has been made to the spirit of American nationality and freedom, since the Declaration of Independence.

² Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, either volunteered or was selected as the agent for its infliction. After the adjournment of the Senate on the 22d of May, Mr. Sumner remained at his desk engaged in writing. While so engaged, Brooks, whom he did not know, approached him and said: ‘I have read your speech twice over, carefully. It is a libel on South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine.’ While these words were passing from his lips he commenced a series of blows with a bludgeon upon the Senator’s head, by which the latter was stunned, disabled, and smitten down, bleeding and insensible, on the floor of the chamber. From that floor he was taken by friends, borne to the ante-room, where his wounds were dressed, and then he was carried by Mr. Wilson, assisted by Captain Darling,

His recovery was slow, and for a long time hopeless. Eminent medical advisers insisted on his retirement from public life, and he more than once visited Europe.¹ There the opinion concerning him was all one way. There his high character and public services were fully understood. There was no Pro-Slavery party in Europe, outside of Spain; nor throughout the whole civilized world, beyond the limits of the United States, did Mr. Brooks find an apologist. No act in the barbarous record of Slavery had done so much to alienate mankind from it and its brazen champions. And when at last the Southern States seceded, and the Confederacy turned its eyes abroad for recognition and sympathy, it met with disdain and contempt from every nation and every class in the old world, except the cotton kings and the aristocracy of Great Britain. The ruling classes of England, to some extent, did sympathize with the Southern Rebellion, as they had from the hour of the Declaration of Independence greeted with friendly recognition every harbinger of evil to the rising Republic of the West. These classes had built the *Alabama* and her sister corsairs—they had equipped the fleet that sailed out of British ports to sweep American commerce from the ocean; and these pirates had

door-keeper of the House, faint and bleeding, to his lodgings.

This cowardly and audacious assault deeply moved the public mind, not only at Washington, but throughout the country, though the personal participants therein, the criminal and his victim, were very much lost sight of in the moral and political significance of the act. For the moment Sumner and Brooks were regarded mainly as representative men, exponents of the two civilizations which divided the country, while the scenes of the 22d of May on the floor of the Senate were looked upon as typical of what was being enacted on the wider theatre of the nation. Mr. Sumner, though confessedly the superior of his assailant in stature and physical strength, sitting and cramped beneath his writing-desk, over which he was bending, with pen in hand, taken unawares and at disadvantage, and his assailant raining blows upon his unprotected head, fairly represented Freedom and Slavery as they stood at that time confronting each other. Freedom, though intrinsically stronger than its antagonist, was yet practically weaker. So hampered by the compromises of the Constitution, by the legislation of two generations, by proscription and prescription, and by the overpowering advantage which actual possession gave to Slavery, it had been obliged to succumb to its imperious antagonist, besides suffering infinite damage thereby. This blow at free speech, and personal safety as well, like a flash of lightning in a dark and stormy night, revealed by its lurid glare the grim facts of the situation, and the people, for good reason, trembled as they gazed apprehensively into the immediate and more remote future.—*History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, by Henry Wilson, vol. ii., pp. 481-2.

¹ He was no stranger in Europe. Throughout the British Islands, and on the Continent, all the great men in science, in literature, in jurisprudence, with the friends of humanity, were prepared to give him the most generous greeting. Mr. GEORGE COMBE, the distinguished physiologist, who interested himself most earnestly in his case, after consultation with Sir James Clark, Physician to the Queen, advised him strongly against any early return to public life. But so deep was his anxiety about certain measures before Congress, he could not be deterred from returning; and in December, 1857, he was once more in his seat. But he soon found that application to public affairs brought

on a recurrence of his unfavorable symptoms, and a series of relapses induced him at last to make one more, and, if necessary, a protracted effort for recovery. Consequently, on the 22d of May, the following year—1858—he once more embarked for Europe.

After journeying leisurely through Switzerland, Germany, and the northern part of Italy, taking Berlin, Vienna, Munich, Venice, and Trieste *en route*, he reached Paris, where he made preparations for his immediate return to America. But in a medical conference held by Dr. Brown-Séquard, Dr. George Hayward, and the illustrious French practitioner, Dr. Trousseau, he was informed that death would be the inevitable result of so rash an undertaking. Escaping, therefore, from all the excitements of Paris, which meant the excitements of Europe, he fled to Montpellier, in the south of France, where he led a life of absolute retirement. Every day he was cupped on the spine, and three-quarters of his time was spent on his bed or sofa, sleeping whenever he could, but finding his chief recreation in reading; although he would frequently attend the public lectures at the College, on history and literature.

No portion of the earth approaches nearer to the ideal of the invalid's paradise than the south of France bordering on the Mediterranean,

‘That tideless sea,

Which ceaseless rolls eternally;’

whose waters vary in temperature only one or two degrees in the year, and whose climate combines all the soft and genial influences so completely embraced in the term *mezzo giorno*, and far away from the fire-life Americans lead, he was now on the road to substantial recovery. After one more rapid dash through Italy, he reported himself in Paris to Dr. Brown-Séquard, who now pronounced him *well*. For a month he took the sea-baths at Havre, and at the opening of Congress, in December, he was once more in his senatorial seat.

swarmed over all the seas on their fiendish mission. But beyond that narrow sphere, the Rebellion received no aid or comfort. Its leaders were regarded as parricides and traitors; whilst the down-trodden masses of men in every part of the world looked upon the threatened overthrow of the American Union as the greatest disaster that could befall the human race.

Sumner's Return to the Senate.—He now put on again the armor in which he had fallen paralyzed at his post of duty, and once more advanced to the front of the battle. That cause had been gaining ground faster, perhaps, because of his absence—so eloquent was that always *Vacant Chair*—than if he had not been taken from the scene. Other champions just as true, if not so mighty, had sprung to the van of conflict. Now the acknowledged leader was once more in the field, and his clarion voice rang out loud and clear along the whole line of battle.

Those who gazed on his noble form once more, could not but be reminded of the fate of Brooks, the assassin, nor fail to mark the absence of Butler, the occasion of the crime. Time had spared neither of them. They had gone to their graves, leaving names to rot their infamous way to oblivion.¹

*Sumner's Speech on the Barbarism of Slavery.*²—It roused the same infernal spirit which he had so forcibly depicted, and a party of ruffians made several attempts four days afterwards, to enter his lodgings, with the purpose, as subsequently avowed, of taking his life. Senator Wilson, who had gone to the street door on the ringing of the bell, prevented their entrance by

¹ Not many years afterwards, what a change had come over the nation, and what a vindication was finally to be made!

'For time at last sets all things even—
And if we do but watch the hour
There never yet was human power
Which could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong.'

The same bells that had rung out their chimes so merrily to usher in the Rebellion, and re-echo the curses of South Carolina upon the name of SUMNER, were all tolling his death-knell on the morning when the telegraph flashed the news that the great champion of Freedom was no more. But we will now forego any expression of exultation or gratitude on this account, and resume the thread of our narrative. It will lead us through scenes of suffering and blood. It will remind us of a hundred battle-fields where Liberty had once more to pass through the fires of conflict—a conflict compared with which, all the struggles of the old Revolution were but the pangs of the suffering child to the throes of the bleeding giant.

² His speech and his conduct were fully endorsed by the Legislature of Massachusetts. CARL SCHURZ, writing from Milwaukee, said:

Allow me to congratulate you on the success of your great speech. It did me good to hear again the true

ring of the moral Anti-Slavery sentiment. If we want to demolish the Slave Power, we must educate the hearts of the people, no less than their heads.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, so long the champion of Freedom, in Congress, wrote:

My heart swells with gratitude to God that you are again permitted to stand in the Senate, and maintain the honor of the nation, and of mankind.

GERRIT SMITH said:

God be praised for the proof it affords that you are yourself again—ay, more than yourself! I say more, for, though 'The Crime against Kansas' *was* the speech of your life, this *is* the speech of your life. This eclipses that. The slaveholders will all read this speech, and will all be profited by its clear, certain, and convincing proofs. The candid among them will not dislike you for it; not a few of them will, at least in their hearts, thank and honor you for it. Would that they all might see that there is no wrong or malice whatever in your heart. I am scattering through my county this great speech of your life.

WENDELL PHILLIPS: 'It is heart-stirring and cheering to hear your voice once more along the lines. Those were four nobly used hours. 'Twas a blast of the old well-known bugle, and fell on welcoming ears and thankful hearts.'

And so, by the hundred, came pouring in piles of letters from the most eminent statesmen and lovers of Freedom in every part of the land, revealing the fact that a wider and a deeper sentiment of indignation had been awakened against the aggressions of the Slave Power, than had been provoked even by the atrocities of border ruffianism in the West.

telling them Mr. Sumner had not yet returned, and instantly took effectual means for his protection. A party of brave Kansas men, without Sumner's knowledge, acted as a body-guard, keeping within covering distance of him wherever he went; for he still walked about unarmed, and with no special precaution against violence. It was his desire not to give publicity to the intentions of the assassins; but they became known, and from various parts of the country, men either started for Washington, or volunteered their services, at whatever hazard, to protect the person of the Senator. Mr. Burlingame, Mr. John Sherman, or Mr. Wilson, slept in the room opening into his chamber. The Mayor of Washington, who had learned the purposes of the assassins, invited Mr. Sumner to make affidavits of the facts, or lodge a complaint. The latter he declined to do, on the ground that, from the past, neither he nor his friends could rely upon Washington magistrates. But the Mayor finally brought the ringleader, a Virginian, and a well-known office-holder of the administration, to Mr. Sumner's room to *apologize*.

But many of the leading journals of the Republican party affected to lament the delivery of the speech, apprehensive it would injure their prospects in the Presidential campaign that was not far off. But they had occasion ere long to talk in a different strain. It was fast becoming evident that the day of compromise and soft words had gone by forever—that what had often been denominated the 'Irrepressible Conflict,' was at hand—that the gathering storm was soon to burst—that the loud threats of Secessionists meant something—that the feeling of the Slavery leaders in Congress was rapidly getting beyond all limits of control—that they were determined to place Slavery once more on a solid basis of political power, or break up the Union. They had everywhere grown desperate; their insatiate malice could no longer be appeased except with Sumner's blood; and all the while they were known, not only to have the sympathy of the Pro-Slavery men at the North, in both the old parties, but the reiterated assurances and guarantees of their leaders that they could reply upon the North in any attempt, no matter how desperate, they might make, to crush out Abolitionism. In fact, many of the Democratic papers at the North seemed anxious to rival their brethren in the South—everywhere the strife was to out-Herod Herod—and this continued so until the explosion at last took place, when the Secessionists found of a truth that they *had* aid, comfort, abettors, and fellow-conspirators all through the North, especially in the chief cities, which, in the beginning of the Rebellion, swarmed with angry and unscrupulous men, ready to do the bidding of Slavery and Secession.

But a great change had been coming over the public mind in the Free States—a mighty revolution was going on—Slavery was becoming so hateful and odious, that at last the manhood of the North was roused, never to sleep again until some effectual check was given to the aggressions of Slavery and the insolence of its champions.

The sturdy Republicans of Massachusetts assembled in Mass Con

vention at Worcester, to ratify the nomination of Mr. Lincoln for President, and John A. Andrew, for the first time, as Governor of Massachusetts. Mr. Sumner delivered the principal speech, on 'The Presidential Candidates, and the Issues of the Canvass.' He went into a clear and analytical exposition of the entire merits of the question,—the comparative claims for support of Lincoln and Hamlin, representing the now formidable Republican party; of Breckenridge and Lane, the candidates of the now clearly announced champions of the Democratic Pro-Slavery Party; of Douglas and Johnson, the candidates of the seceding body of Democrats, known as the Douglas, or Squatter Sovereignty Party; and of Bell and Everett, candidates of the few old remaining Whigs, who, like venerable barnacles, were still clinging to a sinking ship. This memorable campaign brought out from these four quarters more ability in debate, and excited a deeper interest among all classes, North and South, than any other within recent times; nor has any campaign perhaps ever marshalled, in public meetings and at the ballot-box, such excited and contending hosts.

It ended in the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, and he was inaugurated March 4, 1861. The cowardly, if not treasonable, administration of his successor, had prepared the Southern States for secession, and one by one they followed South Carolina, which led the way.

The first Shot into Fort Sumter.—It was the signal-gun of one of the greatest and strangest wars ever waged on earth.

It was thrown to the feet of Liberty *in defiance*. It was intended to inaugurate a life or death struggle between Slavery and Freedom. It did its work; and the cannon which threw it will live longer in history than the torch of the wretch who burned the Ephesian Temple.

Again, and on a higher stage, the struggle was to come, to test the vital forces of Civilization and Barbarism,—of Progress and Retrogression,—of Order and Anarchy,—of Life or Death, for men and communities, for society and governments. Above all was it a final grapple between the Past whose dead had buried its own dead, and the Future which was to give life to all.

Something *like* this had been witnessed during the many thousand years of deadly strife the human race had been going through, in approaching Liberty as the road to God,—the shrine where all nations are yet to worship—for the records of human defeats, sufferings, and triumphs show little more than the heroism of the true and the good in resisting the false and the bad.

It seems to be the will of Heaven that nations must work out their own salvation *as nations*. The final Court of Appeals, to which even the uneducated conscience points its indexing finger, will judge the individual, not the community; for when nations pass away, they never return. We survey their wrecks stranded on the shore of time, merely to read some commentaries on their history,—their rise and development, their decline and fall. But civiliza-

tion—which means progression towards the just, the great, the safe, and sublime—was the law God instituted for Society.

Great thoughts never die. They go among the eternal archives of human hope and security, to which the treasures of successive ages are committed. In the literature and arts of the ancients, we have most of the finest thoughts of the finest minds,—the chief records of the noblest deeds of the noblest men. And thus the torch of light is safely transmitted from age to age.

All its effulgence was shed over us from the hour our country was born. We had inherited all the earth could give us, with the fairest and broadest field for its use and development. The Creator had looked on us benignantly, as our fathers sailed for a new home beyond the sea to find a resting-place for earth's children. Thus high did Heaven seem to fix its purpose on North America,—thus sublimely did our founders comprehend the fact.

Our history had been more wonderful than the dreams of Oriental fancy. All the images of wealth, prosperity, and power that had ever thrilled the brain-pulses of the most ideal disciple of Plato, vanished into thin air before the form of Young American Liberty, rising from this fresh continent, proclaiming to the race freedom, order, and happiness for all. No such treasure had before been committed to men. When He spread this festival, He asked all nations to come. Hardly a day went by, but some winged messenger came from the Old World, freighted with hearts that were weary, seeking a new roof-tree,—with muscles that were over-strained by the unpaid toil of Europe; but all ready to carry out the dreams of personal, manly, ennobling social life.

The best minds and the warmest hearts on the other side of the water understood America. They knew our history, and they burned with enthusiasm to mix their fortunes up with our earlier settlers. They did; and even this tide of national disaster hardly arrested their coming. They were arriving still; and they found fertile soil and free institutions for their free possession, till at last all Europe and Asia will together rejoice in the triumph of the thoughts and desires of the brave and humane men who constructed our system of civic life.

And thus we went on till 1860, pressing our free course to wealth without limit, to prosperity beyond our own comprehension, and to happiness so complete that we forgot the sources of it all—when we made the dreadful discovery for the first time, that our career was arrested for a while, if not forever. We were not going too *fast*; we were only on the wrong road. We were rushing madly from the sphere where our Maker had placed us, and He laid His great hand on His own work:—when suddenly thirty millions of people, under one government, stood paralyzed on the brink of ruin.

We had allowed Slavery to become the law of the land. We had dethroned the Liberty we had boasted of, and enthroned the Dagon of Human Servitude in its place. We had prostituted to the basest purpose the great

gift bestowed on us so lavishly; and in the merciless greed for gain, when we already had a thousand times more than we could use, we ran riot into every form of luxury and licentiousness which could tempt the appetite, exalt the pride, or inflame the ambition of our people.

Religion, with all its sublime traditions, and all its holy allurements to the better life we could lead, had lost much of its magic power over the great masses—over the young and the old, except the few who were mercifully removed from the great whirlpool of the heated life we were living; for the rest all clutched like birds of prey for the nearest carrion; and we ‘jumped the life to come.’

In the midst of our National Belshazzar-Feast, of pride, voluptuousness, and enchantment, the shot at Fort Sumter fell like a bolt of lightning. It struck the hearts of the revellers, and we began to take our eyes from the dust and turn them up to heaven.

By one wave of that wand which never waves twice to do its work, the handwriting was written on all the walls, and the palace of our greatness was sinking to ashes. The Republic was at stake. We had played, and lost!

We had attempted an impossibility. *We had tried to make Liberty and Slavery live together on the same soil.*

While the free North was prospering, we had allowed the enslaved to be immolated. While we could flourish under the fragrant branches of Liberty's tree, we were manuring the roots of the Upas, whose branches were spreading over our Northern communities, our homes, our hearts. Its subtle and deadly poison had already struck through the veins and arteries, and approached the springs of life.

For a moment we were like a traveller arrested in the speed of his journey, with a fevered pulse and difficult breathing. The discovery did not come all at once; nor did the nation feel it deeply enough, for a long time, to be ready to recover. To Europe it looked like the beginning of our national end—an irrevocable leap to ruin. Was it death? Or was it fever with delirium? It was both! The only question,—after two years of struggle, which blotted out all the puny strifes of other empires,—was whether there was *a resurrection and a redeemed life for the great Republic of the world.*¹

It forms no part of my plan to give even a brief history of THE WAR FOR THE UNION.² I shall describe no battle, or hardly give the statistics of the

¹ If Charles Sumner had more to do than any other man in influencing public opinion on the subject of Slavery; and, as was alleged by his enemies at the time, more to do with bringing on the Rebellion—a false and scandalous charge—it is certain that he was no less active in shaping the policy of the Senate after the war had got fairly under way. It might be a more accurate statement to say that he had more to do in shaping the opinion of the nation, than that of the Senate or administration; for, not being a politician, in the common acceptation of that term, he never sought to stand well with the politicians of his time nor with men in power. He was the great Outsider,—

the great Commoner,—the Prophet,—the Apostle,—the Teacher,—the Guide, of the American People. Sooner or later, his views on all the great measures that occupied the public mind, became public opinion. Wild, ultra, extravagant as he was often called, the sober judgment of the country, to which he always appealed, was sure in the end to come to his position.

² THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

1861. Fort Sumter attacked by the insurgents, April 11.

“ Fort Sumter evacuated, April 12.

“ President Lincoln calls for 75,000 troops, April 15.

conflict. I shall attempt nothing further than a few glances at the progress of Public Opinion and National Legislation, as the one advanced, and the other followed in its wake. The connection between the two is worthy of the careful contemplation of the profoundest students of History; for the whole secret of our Civil Code, as it appears in State and National Laws, can be solved best by tracing the progress of Public Opinion, which has been the sole origin of all our legislation. Since 1776, that Opinion had been our only Lawgiver.

- 1861. Volunteer troops attacked in Baltimore, April 19.
- " More than 64,000 more troops called for, May 4.
- " Virginia invaded by National forces at Alexandria, May 24.
- " Battle at Big Bethel, Va., June 10.
- " Battle at Romney, Va., June 11.
- " Congress met in extraordinary session, July 4.
- " Battle near Carthage, Mo., July 5.
- " Battle at Rich Mountain, Va., July 11.
- " Battle near Centreville, Va., July 18.
- " Richmond becomes the headquarters of the Confederates, July 20.
- " Battle at Bull Run, Va., July 21.
- " Battle at Wilson's Creek, Mo., August 10.
- " Capture of forts at Hatteras Inlet, N. C., August 20.
- " Battle at Carnifex Ferry, Va., September.
- " Battle at Ball's Bluff, Va., October 30.
- " Battle at Belmont, Mo., November 7.
- " Capture of Port Royal Entrance, N. C., November 7.
- 1862. Battle at Mill Spring, Ky., January 8.
- " Capture of Roanoke Island, N. C., February 8.
- " Capture of Fort Donelson, Tenn., February 16.
- " Battle at Pea Ridge, Ark., March 5, 8.
- " The *Congress and Cumberland* sunk by the *Merrimac*, March 8.
- " First appearance of a *Monitor*, March 9.
- " Newbern, N. C., captured, March 14.
- " Battle at Shiloh, Tenn., April 6, 7.
- " Capture of Island No. 10, Mississippi River, April 7.
- " Capture of Fort Pulaski, Ga., April 11.
- " Capture of New Orleans, April 24.
- " Norfolk, Va., captured by the Nationals, May 9.
- " Natchez, on the Mississippi, captured, May 12.
- " Confederates driven from Corinth, Miss., May 26.
- " Battle at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, June 1.
- " Memphis, Tenn., surrendered to the Nationals, June 6.
- " Seven days' battles on the Virginia peninsula commence, June 25.
- " The President calls for 300,000 more troops, July 1.
- " Battles between Manasses and Washington city, August 23 to 30.
- " Battle at South Mountain, Md., September 14.
- " Surrender of Harper's Ferry to the Confederates, September 15.
- " Battle at Antietam Creek, Md., September 17.
- " Battle at luka, Miss., September 19.
- " Battle at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13.
- " Battle near Murfreesboro', Tenn., December 29, January 4.
- 1863. The President's Emancipation Proclamation issued, January 1.
- " Capture of Arkansas Post, Ark., January 11.
- " Passage of a conscription act, March 3.
- " Battle of Chancellorsville, May 2, 3.
- " Grant's six battles in Mississippi, May 1 to 17.
- " Lee invades Maryland, June.
- " Capture of Confederate "ram" *Atlanta*, June 17.
- " West Virginia admitted into the Union, June 20.
- " Battle at Gettysburg, Pa., July 1, 3.
- " Surrender of Vicksburg, Miss., July 4.
- " Capture of Port Hudson by National troops, July 8.
- " Great riot in New York city, July 13-16.
- " Morgan's guerilla band broken up in Ohio, July 26.
- 1863. Fort Smith, Ark., captured by National troops, September 1.
- " Little Rock, Ark., captured by National troops, September 10.
- " Battle of Chickamauga, Ga., September 19.
- " Battle of Chattanooga, Ga., September 23.
- " Knoxville, Tenn., besieged, November 29.
- 1864. President orders a draft for 300,000 more men, February 1.
- " Grant created a lieutenant-general, March.
- " General Sherman's invasion of Mississippi, February 3, 21.
- " Battle of Olustee, Fla., February 20.
- " Capture of Fort De Russey, La., March 13.
- " Battle of Cane River, La., March 26.
- " Massacre at Fort Pillow, Tenn., by Forrest's forces, April 12.
- " Grant orders a general forward movement, May 3.
- " Battles in the Wilderness, Va., May 5, 6, 7.
- " Battle near Pleasant Hill, La., May 8, 9.
- " Passage of the Red River rapids by Porter's fleet, May 11.
- " Lee falls back to Richmond early in June.
- " The Potomac Army on the south side of James river in June.
- " Destruction of the *Alabama*, June 15.
- " Third invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, July.
- " Chambersburg, Pa., destroyed by the Confederates, September 30.
- " Petersburg and Richmond besieged, July, August, and September.
- " The Weldon railway seized by the National troops, August 18.
- " Capture of forts and dispersion of the Confederate fleet near Mobile, August.
- " Capture of Atlanta, Ga., September 3.
- " The President, by proclamation, recommends public thanksgivings for victories.
- " Nevada admitted into the Union, October 31.
- " Slavery abolished in Maryland, November 1.
- " Sherman leaves Atlanta for Savannah, November 14.
- " Hood invades Tennessee, November.
- " Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia, captured, November 20.
- " Battle at Franklin, November 30.
- " Sherman enters Savannah, December 21.
- 1865. Slavery abolished in Missouri, January.
- " Capture of Fort Fisher, January 15.
- " Act to amend the Constitution, so as to abolish slavery throughout the Union, passed both Houses of Congress, January 31.
- " Slavery abolished in Tennessee, February.
- " Capture of Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, February 17.
- " National troops enter Charleston, February 18.
- " Capture of Wilmington, North Carolina, February 21.
- " Flight of the Confederates from Richmond, April 2.
- " President Lincoln enters Richmond, April 4.
- " Surrender of Lee's army, April 9.
- " Assassination of the President, April 14.
- " Andrew Johnson inaugurated President, April 15.
- " Surrender of Johnston's army, April 26.
- " Capture of Jefferson Davis, May 10.
- " Close of the Civil War, May.

Progress of Anti-Slavery Measures in Congress.—They have been ably summed up by Vice-President Wilson—himself one of the veteran participants in their enactment—and the following citations from his elaborate History, *The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, will serve as milestones to the reader. In the time of the Cæsars, as the traveler from the East approached Rome over the Appian Way, he passed milestones—some of which are still standing, after two thousand years—telling him how near he was to the Eternal City. So, too, those who read our writings of this period, will trace with interest the Measures enacted by our Government, which successively marked the progress we were then making towards Universal Liberty.

When the Rebellion—says Mr. Wilson—culminated in active hostilities, it was seen that thousands of slaves were used for military purposes by the rebel forces. To weaken the forces of the Rebellion, the 37th Congress decreed that such slaves should be forever free.

As the Union armies advanced into the Rebel States, slaves, inspired by the hope of personal freedom, flocked to their encampments, claiming protection against Rebel masters, and offering to work or fight for the flag whose stars for the first time gleamed upon their vision with the radiance of liberty. Rebel masters and Rebels sympathizing with masters sought the encampments of the loyal forces, demanding the surrender of the escaped fugitives; and they were often delivered up by officers of the army. To weaken the power of the insurgents, to strengthen the loyal forces, and assert the claims of humanity, the 37th Congress enacted an article of war, dismissing from the service officers guilty of surrendering these fugitives.

Three thousand persons were held as slaves in the District of Columbia, over which the nation exercised exclusive jurisdiction: The 37th Congress made these three thousand bondmen freemen, and made slave-holding in the capital of the nation forevermore impossible.

Laws and ordinances existed in the national capital, that pressed with merciless rigor upon the Colored people: the 37th Congress enacted that Colored persons should be tried for the same offences, in the same manner, and be subject to the same punishments as white persons; thus abrogating the 'Black Code.'

Colored persons in the capital of this Christian nation were denied the right to testify in the judicial tribunals, thus placing their property, their liberties, and their lives, in the power of unjust and wicked men: the 37th Congress enacted that persons should not be excluded as witnesses in the courts of the District, on account of color.

In the capital of the nation, Colored persons were taxed to support schools, from which their own children were excluded; and no public schools were provided for the instruction of more than four thousand youths: the 38th Congress provided by law that public schools should be established for Colored children, and that the same rate of appropriations for Colored schools should be made, as are made for the education of white children.

The railways chartered by Congress excluded from their cars Colored persons without the authority of law: Congress enacted that there should be no exclusion from any car, on account of color.

Into the Territories of the United States—one-third of the surface of the country—the slave-holding class claimed the right to take and hold their slaves, under the protection of the law: the 37th Congress prohibited slavery forever in all the existing territory, and in all territory which may hereafter be acquired; thus stamping freedom for all, forever, upon the public domain.

As the war progressed, it became more clearly apparent that the Rebels hoped to win the Border Slave States; that Rebel sympathizers in those States hoped to join the Rebel States; and that emancipation in loyal States would bring repose to them, and weaken the power of the Rebellion: the 37th Congress, on the recommendation of the President, by the passage of a joint resolution, pledged the faith of the nation to aid loyal States to emancipate the slaves therein.

The hoe and spade of the Rebel slave were hardly less potent for the Rebellion than the rifle and bayonet of the Rebel soldier. Slaves sowed and reaped for the Rebels, enabling the Rebel leaders to fill the wasting ranks of their armies, and feed them. To weaken the military forces and the power of the Rebellion, the 37th Congress decreed that all slaves of persons giving aid and comfort to the Rebellion, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them; all slaves of such persons, being within any place occupied by Rebel forces, and after-

wards occupied by the forces of the United States,—shall be captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

The provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act permitted disloyal masters to claim, and they did claim, the return of their fugitive bondmen: the 37th Congress enacted that no fugitive should be surrendered until the claimant made oath that he had not given aid and comfort to the Rebellion.

The progress of the Rebellion demonstrated its power, and the needs of the imperilled nation. To strengthen the physical forces of the United States, the 37th Congress authorized the President to receive into the military service persons of African descent; and every such person mustered into the service, his mother, his wife, and children, owing service or labor to any person who should give aid and comfort to the Rebellion, was made forever free.

The African slave-trade had been carried on by slave pirates under the protection of the flag of the United States. To extirpate from the seas that inhuman traffic, and to vindicate the sullied honor of the nation, the Administration early entered into treaty stipulations with the British Government for the mutual right of search within certain limits; and the 37th Congress hastened to enact the appropriate legislation to carry the treaty into effect.

The slave-holding class, in the pride of power, persistently refused to recognize the independence of Hayti and Liberia; thus dealing unjustly towards those nations, to the detriment of the commercial interests of the country: the 37th Congress recognized the independence of those republics by authorizing the President to establish diplomatic relations with them.¹

By the provisions of law, White male citizens alone were enrolled in the militia. In the Amendment to the acts for calling out the militia, the 37th Congress provided for the enrolment and drafting of citizens, without regard to color; and, by the Enrolment Act, Colored persons, free or slave, are enrolled and drafted the same as White men. The 38th Congress enacted that Colored soldiers shall have the same pay, clothing, and rations, and be placed in all respects upon the same footing as White soldiers. To encourage enlistments, and to aid emancipation, the 38th Congress decreed that every slave mustered into the military service shall be free forever; thus enabling every slave fit for military service to secure personal freedom.

By the provisions of the fugitive-slave acts, slave-hunters could hunt their absconding bondmen, require the people to aid in their recapture, and have them returned at the expense of the nation. The 38th Congress erased all fugitive-slave acts from the statutes of the Republic.

The law of 1807 legalized the coastwise slave-trade: the 38th Congress repealed that act, and made the trade illegal.

The courts of the United States receive such testimony as is permitted in the States where the courts are holden. Several of the States exclude the testimony of Colored persons. The 38th Congress made it legal for Colored persons to testify in all the courts of the United States.

Different views are entertained by public men relative to the reconstruction of the governments of the seceded States, and the validity of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation. The 38th Congress passed a bill providing for the reconstruction of the governments of the Rebel States, and for the emancipation of the slaves of those States; but it did not receive the approval of the President.

Colored persons were not permitted to carry the United States mails: the 38th Congress repealed the prohibitory legislation, and made it lawful for persons of Color to carry the mails.

Wives and children of Colored persons in the military and naval service of the United States were often held as slaves; and, while husbands and fathers were absent fighting the battles of the country, these wives and children were sometimes removed and sold, and often treated with cruelty: the 38th Congress made free the wives and children of all persons engaged in the military or naval service of the country.

¹ One of them will be an Act passed the 3d of June, 1862, recognizing the independence of Hayti and Liberia. Although it seemed to concern but a handful of people on the distant African coast, founded by American-born citizens, and fostered by the benevolence of the generous and the good in our own country, and which had, above all other communities on the earth, the first claim to our recognition and friendship; and the other, a people who had successfully achieved their independence in our neighborhood, striking for the same holy cause of Liberty which our fathers struck

for; and although they had both vainly looked for official recognition by our Republic, yet the taint of color was on them—the curse of *caste* shut them out from the pale of our political charity, although they had encountered no such difficulty with any of the other nations of the globe.

Feeling that this disgrace had rested long enough on our government, Mr. Lincoln, in his first Annual Message, had proposed the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia.—*My Life Note-Book, MS.*

The disorganization of the slave system, and the exigencies of civil war, have thrown thousands of freedmen upon the charity of the nation ; to relieve their immediate needs, and to aid them through the transition period, the 38th Congress established a Bureau of Freedmen.

The prohibition of slavery in the Territories, its abolition in the District of Columbia, the freedom of Colored soldiers, their wives and children, emancipation in Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri, and by the reorganized State authorities of Virginia, Tennessee, and Louisiana, and the President's Emancipation Proclamation, disorganized the slave system, and practically left few persons in bondage ; but slavery still continued in Delaware and Kentucky, and the slave codes remain unrepealed in the Rebel States. To annihilate the slave system, its codes and usages ; to make slavery impossible, and freedom universal—the 38th Congress submitted to the people the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The adoption of that crowning measure assures freedom to all.

Such are the *Anti-Slavery Measures* of the 37th and 38th Congresses during the past four crowded years. Seldom in the history of nations is it given to any body of legislators or lawgivers to enact or institute a series of measures so vast in their scope, so comprehensive in their character, so patriotic, just, and humane.

But, while the 37th and 38th Congresses were enacting this anti-slavery legislation, other agencies were working to the consummation of the same end—the complete and final abolition of slavery. The President proclaims three and a half millions of bondmen in the Rebel States henceforward and forever free. Maryland, Virginia, and Missouri adopt immediate and unconditional emancipation. The partially reorganized Rebel States of Virginia and Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, accept and adopt the unrestricted abolition of slavery. Illinois and other States hasten to blot from their Statute books their dishonoring Black codes. The Attorney-General officially pronounces the Negro a citizen of the United States. The Negro, who had no status in the Supreme Court, is admitted by the Chief-Justice to practise as an Attorney before that august tribunal. Christian men and women follow the loyal armies with the agencies of mental and moral instruction to fit and prepare the enfranchised freedmen for the duties of the higher condition of life now opening before them.

Our Foreign Relations.—Such as they were—such as they might be—was the subject which, next to the varying fortunes of the War for the Union, now occupied the anxious thoughts of statesmen at home and abroad.

Sometimes it is as true with nations as with individuals, that an age is crowded into an hour—that the flash of a sabre may do in a second what a whole generation has waited for—that exhausted patience among men and governments, may assume the prerogatives of the Almighty, and let the bolt and the flash come together. But beware where the bolt strikes !

This had a full application in our experience. We found our enemies had become those of our own household. They attempted to break up our Government, to overthrow our Union, to destroy our prosperity, and wind up our history as a first-class Power. The Government of the United States had never deviated from the accomplishment of its legitimate objects. It was made for all, and it had protected all. No State could claim that it had been wronged in *any* measure, without instantly having its wrong adjusted by the supreme legislative, judicial, or executive power.

And thus, without any infraction of law, or any invasion of prerogative, one section of the country was arrayed in hostility against the other ; and suddenly we found ourselves threatened with the choice of two evils—a struggle to the death, if necessary, against dismemberment, if not indeed against total destruction ; or to submit tamely to inevitable ruin. This was a new spectacle for the nations of Europe to look on ; and, as might be expected, it gave them a good chance for showing how truly they had rejoiced in our prosperity, or how gladly they would exult in our misfortune.

Russia.—By all odds the grandest of all permanent European structures, without waiting an hour for consultation with other Powers, sent back her assurances of sympathy with us in our efforts to frustrate this treasonable attempt to break up a free and prosperous Government, which had proved so powerful and beneficent a shield for the protection of all its people.

Russia—as I have already remarked—is the natural ally of the United States. She has a vast territory, and all her people look to her for protection. She has, during a thousand years, been slowly but surely emerging from Asiatic barbarism, into the light and strength of modern civilization. She has, moreover, done what no other nation had attempted: *she has carried the masses of her people along with her as fast as she has travelled herself.*

Oriental in her origin, she has maintained a patriarchal government. If it has ever been a despotism in form, it was manifestly the only machinery strong enough to govern, protect, and bless all her people.

She undertook a work far more difficult than Rome had to do. She had to aggregate, harmonize, and blend together the great nomadic tribes of the East. When from the affluent social systems of Asia, bursting with crowded populations, they drifted westward on her now European territories, Russia was submerged by wild, strange, and savage races. She had the most stupendous task given to her which any nation has ever had to perform. Contending with difficulties which had never before been encountered, she has at last presented to the world the wonderful spectacle of a mighty empire, made up of countless, dissevered, and warring communities, all ferocious, all untamed, all nomadic, all speaking different tongues, and representing all the religious superstitions of the East; but now all blended in a homogeneous social and political system, which has not only eclipsed, in the culture of its upper classes, the refinement of European courts, and matched them in the arts of war and peace, but has boldly struck the shackles of slavery from the limbs of as many million men as now make up the population of all our old Free States.

That involuntary servitude should be abolished by the most despotic of nations, with the applause of the world, and the day of emancipation—March 3, 1863—be ushered in by chimes of gratitude and thanksgiving from every church-spire in the Russian Empire, while the great Republic of the world was still binding the fetters upon four million slaves, will hereafter read strangely in history. But a wiser and broader statesmanship than ours, guides the destinies of Russia.

It was from such a nation that the earliest words of sympathy and confidence came when our first domestic troubles began; and it was not forgotten by the American people when that tempest swept by. We see new storms gathering over Europe, and our aid may be invoked against Russia; it will be invoked in vain. Statesmen know that while individuals may forgive, nations never do or can.

With Mexico and Napoleon Third—not France—in 1862.—The Emperor

of the French, who had for some time been indulging in the visionary dream of establishing a Latin Empire in Mexico, had, by the subtle diplomacy of his agents, induced Great Britain and Spain to unite with France in obtaining redress and security from Mexico, for the subjects of the three Great Powers, with indemnity for claims due from that Republic. A Convention to that effect was made in London, October 31, 1861, and a month later, a note was addressed to the United States, inviting us to join in that demand. Of course, the invitation was declined. Mr. CORWIN had been sent, minister to Mexico, with instructions to report to his government the actual condition of affairs in that country, and to prevent the Southern Confederacy from obtaining any recognition there—thus cutting off all hope of augmenting the power of the South by acquisition, accompanied with Slavery, in Mexico, or any of the Spanish American Republics. He was also to use all proper means to prevent any European Power from gaining a permanent hold on this continent. On the 4th of April, 1862, in writing to Senator SUMNER, Mr. CORWIN spoke as follows :

In the first object, I have fully succeeded. The Southern Commissioner, after employing persuasion and threats, finally took his leave of the city, sending back from Vera Cruz, as I am informed, a very offensive letter to the government here. In obtaining the second end, I have had more difficulty. . . . If the French attempt to conquer this country, it is certain to bring on a war of two or three years' duration. The gorges of the mountains, so frequent here, would afford to small detachments stronger holds than any position fortified by art ; and the Mexicans have a strong hatred of foreign rule, which animates the whole body of the people. I trust our Government will remonstrate firmly against all idea of European conquest on this continent, and in such time as to have its due influence on the present position of France in Mexico.

But I am satisfied this danger may be avoided by the pecuniary aid proposed by the present treaty with us, and the united diplomacy of England, Spain, and the United States. If these means are not promptly and energetically applied, a European power may fasten itself upon Mexico, which it will become a necessity with us at no distant day to dislodge. To do this, in the supposed event, would cost us millions, twenty times told, more than we now propose to lend upon undoubted security.

When the ambitious designs of NAPOLÉON became fully known, England and Spain withdrew. The Emperor landed a large army on the Mexican soil, and in the prosecution of the mad enterprise, he ultimately witnessed the defeat of his object. The brave and virtuous MAXIMILIAN, whom he had placed upon the reconstructed throne of Mexico, was brought to a just and ignominious death,—many thousands of the finest soldiers in France left their bones on the soil—her generals reaped no laurels in the field—her ministers gained no fame in the cabinet—an enormous amount of treasure was uselessly expended ; and Napoleon discovered, only too late, that in the insane expedition, he had found his Moscow, from which dated the beginning of the decline of his power, that was effectually extinguished a few years later at Sedan.

On the 17th of December, 1861, the President, in a message, transmitted to the Senate a draft of a Convention with the Republic of Mexico, in pursuance of the plan suggested by Mr. CORWIN, and endorsed by the Secretary of State. But it was fortunately and wisely rejected by that body.¹

¹ 'That, in reply to several messages of the President, with regard to a treaty with Mexico, the Senate expresses the opinion that it is not advisable to negotiate a treaty that will require the United States to do

With England.—This matter required more attention. How did she look on this contest? Strange enough was the course she took. She has never been able to explain it to others; it is doubtful if she has ever been able to explain it to herself.¹

sume any portion of the principal or interest of the debt of Mexico, or that will require the concurrence of the European powers.

¹ England lives in America to-day, and is dying at home.

England is clinging to her sepulchres—and she may well do it; for the places where her great ones repose are the greenest spots on her island.

We Americans cheated ourselves most egregiously when we thought England—once the head of the slave-trade, and only a few years ago the front of the abolitionism of the world—would turn her slavery-hating back on the only organized band of slavery propagandism on the earth!

Poor fools we! Just as though the *British aristocracy*—the true name for the *British Government*—meant anything but interference and trouble for us when her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland chaperoned the gifted Harriet Beecher Stowe through the court of her Majesty, simply because Mrs. Stowe, by writing a great dramatic novel against slavery, could be made a cat's-paw to pull the chestnuts of the British aristocracy out of the fire!

Yes, abolitionism suited the purposes of the British aristocracy just *then*; and lords and ladies swarmed at negro-emanipation gatherings at Exeter Hall. On all such occasions three standing jokes were played off, to the infinite amusement of dukes and duchesses—duchesses more particularly.

First, there *must* be a live American negro—the blacker the better, sometimes: but they generally got one as *little* black as possible, and an octoroon threw them into the highest state of subdued frenzy admissible in the upper classes. The aforesaid negro must have escaped from the indescribable horrors and barbarities of slavery in the Southern States—gashed, manacled—if he showed the manacles, so much the better—a sample of American barbarism, and a burning shame on the otherwise fair cheek of the goddess of American liberty.

'Oh, yes,' said my Lord Brougham; 'nothing stands in your way now but negro slavery. Abolish that, and every heart in England is with you.'

Secondly, at these Exeter Hall meetings they *must* have a live American abolitionist—once a slaveholder—who had emancipated his slaves. Here they found their man in the noble Judge Birney, as in the *first* they found a splendid specimen of a runaway octoroon in Frederick Douglass, Esq.—the black Douglass—and who, by the by, made a better speech by far than any aristocrat in England.

Thirdly, and last of all, some ecclesiastic gentleman bestowed upon the proceedings the benediction.

This would have been well enough—certainly so far as the benediction was concerned—had not future events proved beyond a doubt that, at the very moment these curious things were occurring, the whole *prestige* of the British empire was invoked to sanctify and adorn

a spirit of hostility to the Government of the United States, and that the solemnities of our holy religion were also invoked in the same cause.

But to my unpractised eye it looked at the time very much as later events have shown it,—a thorough hatred of America by the ruling classes of England.

At one time Lord Brougham presided; again O'Connell; and again, the Venerable Thomas Clarkson: they even got his Royal Highness Prince Albert to do it once, on a somewhat narrower scale,—where even tender young duchesses could attend with impunity—the American negro always being present, like Tom Thumb in Barnum's chief amusements—and being fortified with a supply of highly perfumed kerchiefs, the young duchesses managed generally to live it through and revive after reaching the open air!

These farces were played off all through the British Islands; and the poor British people—who from long habit, I suppose, go where 'their betters' go, when allowed to—joined in the movement, and 'American anti-slavery societies' were everywhere established. Even chambermaids and factory-girls contributed to raise a fund to send 'English missionaries' over here 'to enlighten the *North* about the duty of the *South* to abolish slavery.'

Some of these scenes were sufficiently vulgar; but they were sometimes enacted, in some respects, in fine taste. One occasion I recall with the highest pleasure, which, although ostensibly an anti-slavery dinner, was limited chiefly in its company to the literary men of Great Britain.

Among the good things of that evening was a short poem, written for the occasion by Wm. Beattie, M.D., the gifted and well-known author of *Scotland Illustrated*, etc. I remember some of the stanzas. It is an address from 'England's Poets to the Poets of America.'

Your Garrison has fann'd the flame,
Child, Chapman, Pierpont, caught the fire,
And, roused at Freedom's hallow'd name,
Hark! Bryant, Whittier, strike the lyre;

While here hearts myriad trumpet-toned,
Montgomery, Cowper, Campbell, Moore,
To Freedom's glorious cause respond,
In sounds which thrill through every core

Their voice has conjured up a power
No fears can daunt, no foes arrest,
Which gather strength with every hour
And strikes a chord in every breast,—

A power that soon in every land—
On Europe's shore, on ocean's flood—
Shall smite the oppressors of mankind
And blast the traffickers in blood.

In 1840, Mr. Stephenson, our 'Virginia slave-holding Ambassador' near the Court of St. James, became so odious that no chance to snub or insult him was lost. Mr. Adams, holding that same post, and embellishing it with all the great and noble qualities of illuminated talents and Christian philanthropy, was treated with far more neglect and far less cordiality by the same class which pretended to despise Stephenson, and fêted Harriet Beecher Stowe.

Once England complained of our remissness or shirking in not doing our share towards putting down the slave-trade. When the Rebellion began, all her sympathies were with the supporters of Slavery itself, which was the only support of Slavery on earth; and her ship-yards and arsenals were taxed to their utmost to build fleets of the strongest and swiftest steam pirates, to help the slave-driving Confederacy in sweeping our peaceful commerce from the sea, once more to inaugurate the traffic in flesh and blood.

Oh, where should Freedom's hope abide,
Save in the bosoms of the free?
Where should the wretched negro hide,
Save in the shade of Freedom's tree?

Oh, by those songs your children sing,
The lays that soothe your winter fires,
The hopes, the hearths, to which you cling,
The sacred ashes of your sires,—

By all the joys that crown the free,—
Love, honor, fame, the hope of heaven,—
Wake in your might, that earth may see
God's gifts have not been vainly given.

Bards of Freedom's favor'd land,
Strike at last your loftiest key,
Peal the watchword through the land,
Shout till every slave be free.

Long has he drain'd the bitter cup,
Long borne the burden, clank'd the chain;
But now the strength of Europe's up—
A strength that ne'er shall sleep again.

It was a generous enthusiasm among the people and among the noble reformers of England, who are always as true as steel—otherwise it was an aristocratic sham. What cared they for human freedom! It meant hostility to the United States. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington had no part or parcel in it, unless it were through sheer courtesy to the men of their class.

This English crusade against the United States was got up by the British aristocracy in sheer animosity against our Government,—not so much, perhaps, against our people, chiefly because they cared nothing about them. It was our *system of government they hated*, because it was a standing, growing, and luminous reproof of the blighting and degrading system of England, which starves the masses of her people in order that the privileged few may die of surfeit.

Blackwood's Magazine, an authority not likely to be charged with hostility towards the British oligarchy, nor with favoritism towards our republic, said in speaking on this same subject in the same year—1840:

'It were well if some ingenious optician could invent an instrument which would remedy the defects of that long-sighted benevolence which sweeps the field for distant objects of compassion, while it is blind as a bat to the misery around its own doors.'

Well said! I saw and felt it all when I went through the streets and lanes and cellars of Manchester, where fifty thousand blanched skeleton men, women, and children were, slowly or rapidly, dying of starvation. In that city, also, vast anti-slavery meetings were got up to induce the North to put down slavery in the South. These assemblages were invariably under the auspices of the aristocracy, and they were held where the police were stationed at the doorways to drive off the famishing, lest their plaint of hunger might salute the ears of their taskmasters.

There was no lack of cotton in Manchester then. There was something worse than that. It was the same old complaint you will find in any part of England,—the poor over-worked and under-fed to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

I went up to Paisley, where more than half the population were being fed from soup-kettles,—and pretty poor soup at that. There, too, the abolition of American slavery seemed to be the only thing which drew forth the sympathies or reached the charity of the aristocratic classes.

So everywhere in England it was, 'that long-sighted benevolence, sweeping the distant horizon for objects of compassion, but blind as a bat to the misery at the door.'

It was not so in 1840 alone. I have been in England several times since, but I never saw a good year for the poor of that oppressive empire. To show that this was all the poorest of shams, and that England owed us no good-will, let us step from 1840 to 1863.

We saw all things the same in England, except in the *negro business*. Here all was changed. British sympathy was shifted from the slave, and lavished on his master,—from 'moral pocket-handkerchiefs and religious fine-tooth combs' to the overseer's lash and the unleashed bloodhound,—from the maintenance of free institutions to their overthrow,—from civilization to barbarism,—from liberty to bondage.—*My Life Note-Book, MS.*

The British Government knew, when the Alabama's keel was laid, that she was to become a pirate; and our minister protested against it in vain. Three hundred of the rich merchants of England, in broad daylight, boasted of their purpose, and exulted over its successful execution.

The British Government gave the earliest and heartiest encouragement to the rebellion, by recognizing it as a belligerent power the moment its taskmasters reached London. It allowed all the materials and munitions of war the rebels called for to be furnished, and, from the first hour, gave to the Rebellion all the aid and comfort it dared to furnish our enemies, in their atrocious attempt to immolate Liberty, and enthrone Slavery in the Western world!

No candid jurist will pretend to say that in all this England did not violate the spirit, if not the letter, of her own laws of neutrality, and the Law of Nations. No intelligent man will deny that by these acts she prolonged and inflamed that war, nor assume that England would have ventured on such a course at any period since 1815, unless she thought she could seize a chance to hurt us in the moment of our weakness. No other thought can suggest itself to impartial minds, while we were going through a domestic trouble—a *great* trouble, which filled every true heart in America with a sadness which dragged us 'down to the depths of the earth.'

Little did England then dream that within eight short years she would be forced, by the public opinion of mankind, to yield to arbitration, and be branded by an impartial tribunal as a public enemy of the United States, and condemned to pay exemplary damages for her crime.

The Trent Affair.—After the National Senate had been purged by the flight of some of the Rebel members, the quiet retirement of others, and the expulsion of the rest, Charles Sumner was appointed chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Little objection was made to the choice, for it was universally known that he was not only better qualified than any other member to fill that place, but that his familiarity with the condition of Foreign Nations, his profound and minute knowledge of International Law, and his clear conception of the position of our Government during the crisis towards the other governments of the world,—all stamped him as the ablest man in the country. It was, therefore, a most fortunate occurrence that when the *Trent* difficulty came up, the whole question would be illuminated by his knowledge, and enforced by his eloquence. Here a few words of explanation become necessary.

Soon after the Rebellion began, its leaders appointed two of their ablest men—James M. Mason, of Virginia, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, Commissioners,—the first to England, and the second to France, with instructions and despatches, the exact purport of which did not become known. But the object of their mission was to obtain a recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent State, if possible; or in any event, the recognition of the Southern States as belligerents. The rebel ports being under strict

blockade, they could cross the Atlantic only by reaching Havana, where, under a neutral flag, they might get conveyance to Europe. They took passage in the *Trent*, bound from Havana to St. Thomas, from which island a regular line of British steamers ran to England.

In Mr. Richard H. Dana's notes to Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, he says of the envoys: 'Their character and destination were well known to the agent and master of the *Trent*, as well as the great interest felt by the Rebels that they should, and by the United States officials that they should not, reach their destination in safety.'

As passengers, they were now on the high seas. Within a few hours' sail of Nassau, the *Trent* was stopped and searched by the United States war vessel *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, who, without instructions, and entirely on his own responsibility, seized the two commissioners and their secretaries, and returned with them as prisoners to the United States, while the *Trent* was left to proceed on her voyage.

The news of their seizure was received with unbounded sympathy and approbation. The press, and the public men of the country generally, not only gave their approval, but even their praise. On the 30th of November, 1861, the Secretary of the Navy wrote a letter to Captain Wilkes, congratulating the commander, the officers, and the crew on the act, applauding the intelligence, ability, decision, and firmness of the commander, and alluding to his forbearance in omitting to capture the vessel itself.

Two days later—the first day of its session—a joint resolution was offered by Owen Lovejoy, in the House of Representatives, tendering the thanks of Congress to Captain Wilkes 'for his brave, adroit, and patriotic conduct in his arrest and detention of the traitors, James M. Mason and John Slidell.' On reaching the Senate, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, although Mr. Sumner suggested its reference to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Hale, carried away by his own generous and patriotic impulses, went with the popular tide against the surrender of the Confederate Commissioners, *under any and all circumstances*. But as nothing was yet known of the course which the British Government would pursue, Mr. Sumner addressed a few calm words to the Senate, deprecating the hasty presentation of any such resolution, to which the Senate listened with great respect.

The seizure of the Commissioners was no sooner known in England than a burst of indignation was witnessed, and by the first steamer despatches were received from Earl Russell to Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, dated London, November 30th, which were read to Mr. Seward on the 19th of December. A peremptory demand was made for the liberation of the two Commissioners and their secretaries, and an apology for the aggression which had been committed, with no further delay than *seven days*; after which, if not complied with, the minister was instructed to leave Washington, with all the members of his legation, taking with him the archives of the lega-

tion, and reporting immediately in London. He was also to communicate all information in his power to the British Governors of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Jamaica, Bermuda, and such other of her Majesty's possessions as were within his reach.

All this meant war. England saw her opportunity, and she was determined to embrace it. The settlement of the difficulty was fortunately made before these latter instructions to the British Minister were made known. But being so positive and peremptory, admitting no possibility of delay, or time for arbitration, announcing the alternatives of instant surrender, with apology, or hostilities, fully showed the spirit of the British Government. We learn also from the *Annual British Register* for 1861, page 254, how promptly England was acting up to the plan of immediate war, for that official statement says :

'Troops were despatched to Canada with all possible expedition, and that brave and loyal colony called out its militia and volunteers, so as to be ready to act at a moment's notice. Our dockyards here resounded with the din of workmen getting vessels fitted for sea, and there was but one feeling which animated all classes and parties in the country, and that was, a determination to vindicate our insulted honor, and uphold the inviolability of the national flag.'

In the meantime, before Earl Russell's despatch was received in Washington, or any possibility of news of the state of feeling in England could have reached here, our Secretary of State wrote to our Minister at London an account of what had occurred, and stated that 'Captain Wilkes acted without any instructions from the Government, and he trusted that there would be no difficulty in adjusting the matter, if the British Government should be disposed to meet the case in the same pacific spirit which animated the President and his administration.' By a singular coincidence, this letter was read by Mr. Adams to Earl Russell on the very same day that Lord Lyons had read the English Secretary's demand to Mr. Seward. It was then in the power of Earl Russell to make the purport of Mr. Seward's letter known, which would at once have allayed the war fever which the British ministry had done everything in their power to inflame. But this was not done. In speaking of this, Mr. Dana remarks :

'The truth seems to be that, so long as they were uncertain whether their menace of war might not lead to war, they could not afford to withdraw the chief motive for the war spirit in the British people, and admit that their warlike demonstration had been needless. Their popular support depended upon the general belief in a necessity for their having accompanied their demand with the preparations and menace of war.'¹

But the wisest counsel prevailed in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. A very brief examination of the case showed that the act of Captain Wilkes could, under

¹ This conduct of the British Government subsequently cost her a large portion of the respect of the civilized world. In Count de Gasparin's *L'Amérique devant l'Europe*, in which that eminent publicist treats the whole question with consummate learning and ability, he remarks :

'Between great nations, between sister nations, it was a strange opening. The usage is hardly to com-

mence with an *ultimatum*—that is, to commence with the end. Ordinarily, when there has been a misunderstanding or regrettable act, especially when that act comes within a portion of the Law of Nations which is yet full of obscurity, the natural opening is to ask for explanations as to the intentions, and for reparation for what has been done, without mixing therewith an immediate menace of rupture.

'It is astonishing that a demand of apology should

no circumstances, be sustained; and that the surrender of the prisoners, with, or without a demand from the British Government, would be only in strict conformity with the precedents which had been established by our own Government. Consequently, without any regard to popular clamor, Mr. Lincoln peremptorily ordered the release of the Rebel Commissioners, who had been confined in Fort Warren, in Boston harbor; and that portion of the precious freight of which the steamer *Trent* had been relieved, was handed over to the British Government, much to the regret of the war party of Great Britain,¹ and the delight of jurists throughout the world.

The Proclamation of Emancipation, Jan. 1, 1863.—It was the first effectual blow struck at the heart of the rebellion. It shook the structure to the centre. It was the last thing the slave oligarchy had thought of. It came upon them like the trump of doom. It annihilated all hope of intervention by the Powers of Europe, in behalf of the slave-propped rebellion. This they acknowledged themselves. They saw—it was clear enough even to the blind—that the first throne in Europe which took sides with Slavery in America, would crumble to dust in the earthquake of a revolution. It banished all idea of the recognition of the Confederacy from the brain of every minister in Europe.

It was one of the grandest deeds ever enacted on the earth; it was to have more influence over the fortunes of the human race, than almost any act of any other ruler of nations. Scarcely had a short month gone by, before it was known to every sinner in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and it colored the policy of every government in Europe. Those who sneered at it as a pompous *brutum fulmen*, forget that Slavery never was *restored*, where it had, by supreme authority, once been proclaimed abolished. Liberty takes no such steps backward. Slavery had been abolished by proclamation in San Domingo; it was the attempt to *reinstate* it, that whelmed that island in blood. Anywhere else, it would have the same effect.

Lord Russell ridiculed it because it was levelled only at 'Slavery over territory beyond Mr. Lincoln's control, while all the States and Districts held by

figure in the original programme, where it was entirely out of place. Seeing such haste, and proclamation so lofty of an exigence above debate, seeing the idea of an impious war accepted with so much ease by some, and with such joy so little dissembled by others, Europe declared without ambiguity or reserve, that if England were not miraculously saved from her own undertaking—that if she went so far as to fire a cannon at the North as an ally of the South, she would tear with her own hands her principal titles to the respect of the civilized world; for from the moment that England becomes only the ally of Slave-traders, she has abdicated.'

¹ Before this had taken place, however, Mr. Sumner, who had received letters from distinguished friends of America in England, read them to the President and his Cabinet. One from RICHARD CORDEN, January 23, 1862, said:—'It is perhaps well that you settle the matter by sending away the men at once; consistently with your own principles, you could not have justified their detention.'

Mr. SUMNER's speech in the Senate—to which his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign

Affairs gave additional weight—soon followed, and it settled the opinion of the world on that subject forever. His mild rebuke of Mr. HALE's patriotic, but indiscreet motion and speech, had induced that Senator to withdraw the resolution, for he had treated the whole matter on a *hypothesis*, by assuming that Great Britain had made an arrogant demand, when he knew nothing of the sort. 'Who in the Senate,' inquired Mr. SUMNER, 'knows it? Who in the country knows it? I don't believe it—will not believe it except on evidence. I submit, therefore, that the Senator acted too swiftly.'

No quotations from this exhaustive speech are needed. The object of its delivery was fully accomplished, and England had the mortification of learning that we had acted *right*, without any reference to her threats or demands.

There was no end to the congratulations Mr. SUMNER received from his countrymen, and from the illuminated statesmen of all European countries. He showed me whole stacks of letters, journals, reviews, of which he remarked: 'The grand source of satisfaction is, that we have done right; and I shall live long enough, I hope, to read these through some time.'

—*My Life Note-Book, MS.*

Federal armies were exempt.' This would be a very flimsy objection, if it were true; but it was not. His Lordship forgot that the Proclamation was *purely a war measure*. Humane and sublime as the results were to be, it was not done as an act of humanity. Its sole immediate object was—like that of any other war measure—to weaken the enemies of the country, and strengthen its friends. In this light the measure was adopted for, and intended to apply only to, districts in rebellion; it was to take effect there, at the cannon's mouth.

Slave labor was the strong prop of the revolt. It either raised bread and meat on the plantations, or it did the heavy work of the camp; and able-bodied slaves had, from the hour the rebellion began, been as necessary, and often as efficient, as white soldiers in the field. This gave the South half a million extra soldiers. It would have been no war measure to proclaim Slavery abolished in districts which were loyal; for our friends there would thus, not only have been punished for their loyalty, but deprived of the very slave-labor aid to strengthen them in fighting our enemies, which the Proclamation was intended to rob the rebels of. Besides, thinking men knew that the Proclamation was not a mere isolated act; it was part and parcel of the imperative policy of a government charged with the responsibility of rescuing itself from imminent and appalling danger. Universal emancipation of the African race *everywhere* was embraced in the plan; for the rebellion had made it inevitable.

The Proclamation was hailed with gladness by all uncompromising friends of the Union: and intelligent men saw that, hastily as the verdict had been rendered, sanctioning the act, the approval was the solemn voice of the nation; and the ratification of the deed sounded the death-knell of African Slavery. It was the sudden beginning of a swift end.

Students of History! Let memory go gleaning over all the fields of the past:—where will she find an instance that Freedom had once proclaimed Slavery dead, where it ever lived again? Some systems of wrong, once sent to their graves, have no resurrection.

But these results were only the first steps in the march of the earthquake which had startled the world. Some events are understood just about as well before, as after, they happen. On the subject of African Slavery, the voice of no nation could be so potential as America's. When Slavery was declared abolished here, it meant that it had received its death-wound in every land. If Negro Slavery fell dead before our altars, where Liberty was born, it would carry all like systems with it to a common sepulchre.

What the African Race did to Sustain the Union.—In his *American Conflict*, Horace Greeley estimates the number of colored troops in the service, from first to last, at 180,000, of whom 39,298 died: the largest military African force we have any knowledge of in history ever mustered into the service of any government, and the proportion of loss being very much larger than among our White troops, of which only one in ten died in the service, while of the Black troops, the loss was nearly one to six.

This does not look like a record of cowardice or incapacity. It is believed that, take their record all through, it was unsurpassed in courage, fidelity, and patriotism ; while in steadiness, patience, and subordination, it was perhaps unrivalled. Nor should another thing be overlooked, although it can be easily accounted for. It improves the manner, the spirit, and the whole bearing of any man to enter a military service ; but the effect upon the Black troops was still more perceptible. Inured to obedience, and gifted with intuitive quickness and power of imitation, they became more plastic in evolution : while their former social inferiority had inspired them with an ambition they had never felt before, to improve their chances for social elevation. There was more room for improvement, it will be said. Granted. But herein is conceded all that is claimed by the friends of the Colored race—capacity for improvement, quickness of perception, and readiness to embrace chances. Certainly we have no knowledge, in human records, of a case on so large a scale, of the *sudden transition of a vast community from a state of abject servitude to one of political equality*. It was claimed to be a new and doubtful experiment—and it was. But the result surpassed the expectations of its best prophets. The change was instantly visible ; not only in the Southern districts, where shackles were struck off by a lightning blow, but it was seen everywhere, through the North, East, and West ; in every community the negro population began to show signs of resurrection. New ambition fired the general body. They all seemed to act upon their good behavior, and to feel that the better they acted, the more they helped their cause. And this hope was the inspiring angel. Vice perceptibly diminished among them. Habits of industry, sobriety, frugality, and thrift ; frequency in attending schools ; tidying up of apartments, and their surroundings ; better dressing of men, women, and children ; a quicker sympathy with all the interests of society ; grateful recognition of new kindnesses shown to them, instead of a spirit of assumption, or gratified vanity. All these signs appeared.

These were some of the fresh aspects which began to be seen wherever the Colored people were found ; and it gave good ground for encouragement to assist them. A new responsibility was rolled upon the whole rank and file of the body of White society. Even those who had been the least hopeful, not to say the most provokingly prophetic of evil omen, found themselves insensibly participating in the general feeling of sympathy and respect. And so the five millions of Americans of African descent halted suddenly on their dreary and downward road, and with a ‘right about face,’ they began their ‘forward march.’

The Immolation and Redemption of the African Race.—Nations pay dear for Liberty. Civilization—the sole object of free government—crystallizes slow. But once firmly established, it resists the untiring ‘course of all-impairing Time.’

The true civilization, in perfection, is yet to come. The world has been filled with false civilizations ; and history shows that they have not vitality enough to preserve nations from decadence.

It has been just as plainly proved that where Slavery existed it either destroyed civilization, or was destroyed by it. The two never could live together. China and Japan are the only two ancient Asiatic nations that have preserved their early civilization, or even their existence. *Slavery never existed among them.*

So in Europe: Slavery destroyed every European nation that maintained it. Greece, Rome, the empire of the Othman—where are they? But Slavery never existed among the Magyars or Slavonic nations; nor have they ever been subjugated, much less destroyed. Hungary is a vast and illuminated nation, and is advancing in civilization; while Russia has removed the last encumbrance to her progress by emancipating twenty million serfs, and is now moving on to complete civilization faster than any other people. The Swiss *never* breathed the tainted air of Slavery; her people have always been free, and in civilization they have lagged behind those of no other country.

At an early period England and France abolished villanage, and followed in the wake of Italy, which was the first of the nations to give revival to letters, commerce, and arts.

So we find that just in proportion as nations emancipated themselves from the thralldom of a system of forced or involuntary labor, just in that proportion they advanced in knowledge, wealth, and the elements of endurance. A careful survey of truthful history would establish this as a fixed and clearly-determined law for the physical and moral progress and development of states. Nations may grow strong, or rather formidable, for a while, under the sceptre of a tyrant, and the slave-lash of an oligarchy. But such strength is weakness: it does not last. It is against all the ordinances of God that it should.

This is pre-eminently true in our age, when daylight is dawning upon all peoples. Darkness has lost its power. Universal light is now asserting its dominion. No power can contend against it. Darkness must give way.

So far as my argument on the subject of Slavery in the United States or elsewhere is concerned, it matters not whether the reader accept or not the code of revealed religion which I offer as authority; for profane history coincides with it perfectly. There is no sort of conflict between the two. The plagues that wasted the vitals of dead nations are just as legibly inscribed on their tombs, for their readers, as they were on the pages of prophecy before the events took place. God alone writes history before it happens. Both records are so clear that he who runs may read; and the wise and good man who reads either will run to rescue his country from the curse which God has chained to the chariot-wheels even of the mightiest empires which dare to make war on the eternal principles of justice which support his empire.¹

¹ Go where we will, from the Pillars of Hercules to the gates of the Oriental morning—

‘Rude fragments now
Lie scatter’d where the shapely column stood.
Their palaces are dust.’

Journey through the home of the Saracens—a race
of scholars and warriors—

‘Dead Petra in her hill-tomb sleeps;
Her stones of emptiness remain;
Around her sculptured mystery sweeps
The lonely waste of Edom’s plain.

‘Unchanged the awful lithograph
Of power and glory undertrod—
Of nations scatter’d like the chaff
Blown from the threshing-floor of God.’

Let us calculate *the debt which America owes to Africa*. We can reach something like an approximation to the number of Africans or Africano-Americans who have lived and *died* on our soil. We do not propose to enumerate any considerable portion of the wrongs we have inflicted on that people,—how many we stole from their homes,—how many perished in the passage,—how many cruelties and indignities they and their descendants have suffered, and are suffering to this hour. That were a work for which any created being would find himself unequal. It will be found to occupy no inconsiderable space in the records of the last tribunal before which the human race will be cited to appear.

We will therefore determine, as accurately as we can, how many lives Africa has offered up for this nation. Beginning with the first importation of Africans in 1620 (nineteen), we find their increase till 1790, slave and free, amounting to 757,363. From 1790 (first census) to 1860 (eighth census), slave and free, 4,441,730. It is and will always remain impossible to determine the number of the African race whose ashes sleep in our soil; but, applying the ratio of increase from 1790 to 1860 to the period undetermined, it is easy to approximate the number. My most careful estimate renders it certain that the number of persons of African descent who have died in our country cannot fall short of eight millions and a half, or nearly twice as many as are now living. Thus we roll up the figures to thirteen millions, living and dead, each one of whom has felt the blighting curse of Slavery,—more or less of the miseries and degradation which are its legitimate and inevitable consequences!

This is the immolation; and it is the most appalling and stupendous in the annals of the human race. Leaving out all the barbarities attending the capture and ocean transportation; the brutal atrocities the stolen Africans suffered by a system of merciless task-labor under the lash, the maiming and torture of nerve and muscle, with the endless category of physical suffering, still each one of the mighty host of Africano-Americans—an army of *thirteen millions*, bond and free, living and dead—appears in solemn judgment against his individual oppressor and against the whole nation. The one has perpetrated the murder, and the Government has stood by and consented unto his death, and held the garments of those that slew him.

What are the counts in this terrible indictment?

1. *The Annihilation of Home*, whose charities are just as dear to the lower as to the higher classes of beings. Torn from their continental homes and transplanted to a new world, they should at least have had a chance to strike their roots into a stranger soil. But cupidity, accident, or caprice tore the plant up by the roots, and, with comparatively few exceptions, subjected it to a new and trying process of acclimation.

2. *The Annihilation of Marriage*.—This sacrilegious blow at the first, the holiest, and the dearest of all God's institutions struck the race. It cast the deadliest blight which can fall on man. It made more bastards in America than ever lived elsewhere under heaven.

3. *The Annihilation of Light*.—This means the impious inauguration of heathenism in the very garden of God. No home, no wife or children he can call his own! Can a higher insult be offered to a man made in the divine image and for whom the Son of man died? ¹

I am fully aware that a fallacy will be alleged against this argument,—that a demurrer will be entered against each and every count in the general indictment. It will be said,—

1st. That through Slavery and the slave-trade alone have any portion of the African race been introduced to the light and blessings of civilization. This is a mean and blasphemous subterfuge. Just as though any such idea ever mixed itself up with the thoughts of the slave-vampires of the African coast! Just as though the century-protracted efforts of the Saracens to overthrow the religion of Christ were worthy of praise because they roused Christendom to its feet, in the vindication of Christianity! As soon should the sight of the fair-haired Angli boys brought to Rome and sold as slaves, and thus become the occasion of the introduction of the gospel into Britain, have justified the kidnappers who did the nefarious work! As soon plead pardon for the traitor of all the ages for selling the Man of sorrows, because 'when He bowed His head on the cross He dragged the pillars of Satan's kingdom to the dust.'

2d. They have risen far higher here in the scale of physical comfort. This I deny. They have not, *as a community*, enjoyed as much physical comfort as the wild beast in his lair, or the cattle on a thousand hills. By no means has their animal condition approached that of the native African tribes.

I fully believe—yea, I certainly know, and I believe and know it more profoundly than any slaughterer of men—that the wrath of man shall be made to praise God, while the remainder thereof He will restrain. But let no man, who has ever been a willing party to the awful crime we are speaking of, come forward now, while daylight is breaking over Africa, and claim any participation in the glory which is coming. For this dawn such men never longed; they never contemplated that rising sun with any exultation.

And yet how nobly has Africa earned the boon of civilized life! She has from the earliest ages been the slave of the nations. All men who had ships went to her coasts and sailed up her great rivers to steal her children. The Egyptians lashed them to their toil, in the valley of the Nile. The Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Arabs stole them from the Mediterranean coast. The Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the English, kidnapped them by the hundred thousand on the coast of the Atlantic; and, last of all,—as late as within the memory of men now living,—the African slave-trade constituted the most profitable branch of the commerce of New England.

¹ Oh, how incomparably blessed in the contrast was the Thracian slave dragged to Rome to make, in the arena, a holiday for the slave-holders of the Eternal City! He left at least a home, wife, children.

'I see before me the gladiator lie:
He leans upon his hand; his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony.
His eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away:
He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,—

But where his rude hut by the Danube lay.
There were his young barbarians, all at play,—
There was their Dacian mother,—he, their sire,
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday!
All this rush'd with his blood: shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire.

The blessed light of civilization which had irradiated every other continent never illuminated Africa. Great empires had been founded on the African coasts,—the arts that exalt and embellish life had been carried and cultured there by the Pharaohs, the Alexanders, the Hannibals,—the Arab, the Saracen, the Moor, and the Briton; but it was not for the poor African. Light, which came to all others, came not to him. Every empire ever founded in Africa was cemented by the blood of her helpless people. But the day of her emancipation has come.

She has waited for it over three thousand years. God has accepted the sacrifice. The indications of Providence are too plain to be mistaken. No unknown portion of the globe has been so thoroughly explored during the present century. No nation has ever been so ready to receive Christianity and the arts of peace. No one can more readily be brought into the family of nations. No country ever had so many missionaries ready to carry to a benighted continent commerce, agriculture, manufactures, education, and the light of everlasting truths.

All hail, then, Niobe of the nations! Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God.¹

The Freedmen's Bureau.—Its establishment was a duty and a necessity. A Bill had passed the House of Representatives, but it was not satisfactory to the Senate. A new one was prepared by Charles Sumner, and enforced in one of his ablest speeches. The following is but one of its effective passages:—

'MR. PRESIDENT—The Senate, only a short time ago, was engaged for a week considering how to open an iron way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is now to consider how to open the way from Slavery to Freedom. . . . In what I have to offer, I shall confine myself to a simple statement which I hope will not be taken as dictated by any spirit of controversy, or any pride of opinion. Nothing of that kind could justly enter into such a discussion as this. The importance of the measure is seen at a glance; it is clearly a charity and a duty. By virtue of existing Acts of Congress, and also under the Proclamation of the President, large numbers of slaves have suddenly become free. They may be counted already by the hundred thousand; in the progress of victory, they will be counted by the million. Deriving their freedom from the United States, the National Government cannot be excused from making such provisions as may be required for their immediate protection during the present transition period. The freedom conferred must be rendered useful, or at least saved from being a burden. Reports, official and unofficial, show the necessity of action. In some places it is a question of life and death.'

After glancing at these reports from the Southern States, which showed that, wherever our arms had prevailed, the old social system had been destroyed—masters having fled from slaves, and slaves assuming a new character—released from former obligations and sent adrift in the world, rolling like eddies around military posts, and all of them looking to the victorious power to which they had fled for protection;—the exigency was pressing. It

¹ 'And we may see in all this that law of compensation which God vouchsafes the wronged and suffering for all their woes and suffering. After being afflicted by nigh three centuries of servitude, God calls chosen men of this race from all the lands of their thralldom, men laden with gifts,—intelligence and piety,—to the grand and noble mission which they only can fulfil,—

even to plant colonies, establish churches, found missions, and lay the foundations of universities along the shores and beside the banks of the great rivers of Africa, so that the grandeur and dignity of their duties may neutralize all the long, sad memories of their servitude and sorrows.'—Crummel's *Future of Africa*, p. 127.

had been alleged that most of them were idle and vicious, and indisposed to work ; but General BANKS, then having command in Louisiana, used these words in one of his despatches :—‘Wherever in the Department they have been well treated, and reasonably compensated, they have *invariably* rendered faithful service to their employers. From many persons who manage plantations, I have received the information that there is no difficulty whatever in keeping them at work, if the conditions to which I have referred are complied with.’

But the curse of Slavery was still on them—somebody must take them by the hand ; for, however generous had been the aid given by private societies organized at the East and West, their efforts, of necessity, were wholly inadequate to the work. Without Government supervision, distress would become all but universal, and thousands be left to perish. Mr. Sumner showed that the service required was too vast and complex for unorganized individuals. Nothing but the Government could supply the adequate machinery, and extend the proper net-work of assistance, with the proper unity of operation. The National Government must interfere in the case precisely as in building the Pacific Railroad. It was therefore a matter of imperative necessity that a Bridge from Slavery to Freedom should be constructed ; and call it charity, or duty, it was as sacred as humanity. The bill he had proposed would protect the Freedman from any system of serfdom, or enforced apprenticeship—an idea which many of the former slave-masters clung to as a reliance for the still unremunerated labor of those from whom it had once been exacted. To the Treasury Department had already been confided jurisdiction over ‘houses, tenements, lands, and plantations, deserted and abandoned by insurgents within the lines of military occupation.’ The Bill provided against any system of enforced labor or apprenticeship. It was constructed just as carefully as to what it should *not* attempt to do ;—the trouble being in all such cases in trying to accomplish too much. ‘It does not,’ as he remarked, ‘assume to provide ways and means of support for the Freedmen ; but it does look to securing them the opportunity of labor, according to well-guarded contracts, and under the friendly advice of the agents of the Government, who will take care that they are protected from abuse of all kinds.’

The Commission on Freedmen, appointed by the Secretary of War, in their report had already said : ‘For a time we need a Freedmen’s Bureau ; not because these people are negroes only,—because they are men who have been for generations despoiled of their rights. This Commission has already recommended the establishment of such a Bureau.’

It was a long, hard fight. It encountered at every step, whenever it came up, bitter opposition. It finally passed the Senate, on the 28th of June ; but it had a still harder struggle to go through in the House, where it did not pass until the 9th of February of the following year, and then only by a majority of two. It had the ordeal of another struggle in the Senate, when it at last passed that body without a division, and on the same day, March 3d, was

approved by the President, and the *Freedmen's Bureau* was established. For whatever abuses may afterwards have crept into the administration of the system, it was no more to blame than was the system of contracts for munitions of war, or any other department—for the war to save the Union was disgraced from beginning to end by robbery and plunder. But the historic pen which traces the first steps of millions of Freedmen to civilization, will have to record the fact that this *Bureau* was, what Mr. Sumner had first declared it to be, *the Bridge to Freedom*.

The United States Sanitary Commission.—The results of its great labors were made known by its official reports during the war; and although they constitute a record too vast even to be glanced at here, yet I am obliged to say a few words, if they serve no other purpose than to indicate the spirit of humanity which filled the heart of the great body of our people, who, while striking those dreadful blows which could alone save the nation from its destroyers, were still animated by a desire to mitigate the sufferings, and assuage as far as possible the brutal atrocities of war. Nor could I, perhaps, accomplish my purpose so well as by citing some portions of a paper which I prepared in the summer of 1863 for popular circulation, since it reflects the feelings of patriotic minds at that period.¹

Some brief account of the Commission should here be embraced for three good and satisfactory reasons. *First*, the country knows very little about the matter. It has gone along too quietly to jostle itself into notoriety, and it has been too busy with its great work to cultivate ostentation. Thank God that science never takes one step backward,—that humanity never retrogrades! *Second*, the objects of this Commission should be more fully known to our people. Blood and carnage have ruled the hour: the people of this nation and other nations have stood gazing in blank amazement at this wild drama, with no time to think of anything but the great strife itself. *Third*, *this Commission has moved sanitary science ahead.*

It is too early yet to determine the boundaries of its conquests. But it is safe to say that it has inaugurated in its own field a far better system than had ever existed before in any country. It has come up from what Lord Bacon so well denominated the source of all power,—the bosom of the people.

One evening, as nearly as I can learn, Rev. Dr. Bellows, and some other gentlemen, in a pleasant *reunion* in a private room in New York, discussed a plan which, under the sanction of their great names and through the indefatigable labors of these pioneers ever since, has resulted in the formation and superstructure a most beneficent institution.

¹ When the suggestion of a General National Sanitary Commission was presented to the President, he authorized it *at once*, and clothed the Commission with all necessary authority. It was too convincing to need arguments, and too plain to need illustration. This prompt response was one of the most striking proofs that the wisest action of a really free nation comes from the heart of its people. The President not only acted quickly, but wisely. The men he appointed commanded the confidence of the country; and they command it in a still higher measure to-day:—

The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D.D., New York; Prof. A. D. Bache, LL.D., Washington; George W.

Cullum, U.S.A., Washington; Alexander E. Shiras, U.S.A., Washington; Robert C. Wood, M.D., U.S.A., Washington; William H. Van Buren, M.D., New York; Wolcott Gibbs, M.D., New York; Samuel G. Howe, M.D., Boston; Cornelius R. Agnew, M.D., New York; Elisha Harris, M.D., New York; J. S. Newberry, M.D., Cleveland; George T. Strong, New York; Horace Binney, Jr., Philadelphia; The Right Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D.D., Providence, Rhode Island; The Hon. Joseph Holt, Kentucky; R. W. Burnett, Cincinnati; The Hon. Mark Skinner, Chicago; Frederick Law Olmsted New York.

The founders did not contemplate in the beginning the achievement of impossibilities. They undertook to do what should be done,—what it was right to do,—what was needed; and they did it at the right time. It has been a practical working machine. Its objects were to make modern sanitary science become the handmaid of the rifled cannon; to cure by the matchless agencies of humanity and learning as fast as gun-makers could mangle; to save all unnecessary loss of health or life; to improvise means of rescue and recovery; to improvise hospitals on the battle-field; to send the disciples, and sometimes the apostles, of the laboratory, the scalpel, and the kitchen, to every camp, and, through the smoke of embattled hosts, to bring away in Good-Samaritan arms the wounded, the helpless, and the dying; to lead the van and press the rear of every corps; to advise about the location of camps, the best *régime* for an army's diet and clothing, the personal habits of soldiers, and the proper cooking of their food:—in a word, how the patriot soldier may, with all the appliances of science and humanity, be able to do his full duty to his country before he falls in her cause or returns with honors to his home.

Such were the objects of the Sanitary Commission; and these objects they have quietly and successfully accomplished even beyond their best hopes.¹

The dreadful battle of Fair Oaks gave the Commission a full opportunity to test its usefulness and efficiency. Mr. Olmsted, Secretary to the Commission, in a letter dated 'Sanitary Commission Floating Hospital, Tender *Wilson Small*, White House, June 10, 1862,' writes,—

'During the week since the engagement of Fair Oaks, more than *four thousand* have passed through our hands,—half this number having been taken away on the transports of the Commission. Scarcely the slightest provision had been made for them, except on these transports; and when they were not at the landing, the weight of care for the sustenance and comforting of the poor wretches sent in from the field by railroad, during the time they necessarily remained here, fell almost wholly on those of the Commission's agents who were not at the time detailed to either of the transports, and the protracted severity of the labor which they willingly undertook would have been possible only under the influence of the be-

¹ In a circular, October 22, 1862, for general information, they more minutely unfold their objects to be to—

1. Maintain constant inspection of camps, for the dissemination of intelligence regarding the prevention of sickness.

2. Maintain the preparation and distribution of short but thorough medical and sanitary papers for the guidance of medical and other officers.

3. Relieve the wounded on battle-fields, by supplying them with condensed food, stimulants, and means of preserving life, as at the battle of Antietam, when twenty thousand dollars were expended in a few days.

4. Keep a corps of experts in constant circulation in all our hospitals, reporting defects, correcting evils, and doing their utmost to alleviate the radical sources of suffering.

5. Maintain the machinery for collecting and distributing the supplies furnished by the homes of the land,—a business of great labor, expense, and wide agencies.

6. Afford special relief at our various 'homes' for sick and wounded men who are *in transitu* from camps and hospitals.

7. Make the general wants and condition of sick and wounded men a constant study, and strive by influences on Government, on Congress, and the public, to secure such new laws, or general orders, or to make such a public opinion as will induce constant improvement in their condition.

And still further:—

The plan of the Relief Service of the Sanitary Commission is—

1. To secure, as far as practicable, reserves of hospital and ambulance supplies, in order to be prepared to act with efficiency in emergencies.

2. To cover its work, as far as practicable, the whole field of the war, dispensing supplies wherever most needed, to all in the service of the Union, without preference of State, arm, or rank, army or navy, volunteer or regular.

3. To study the whole field, by means of carefully selected and trained medical inspectors, in order to determine where supplies are most needed, and to watch against their misuse.

4. While administering to all pressing needs of the suffering, to carefully avoid relieving the officials in charge in any unnecessary degree from their responsibility, but to do all that is possible to secure his full rights to the soldier unable to help himself.

5. To cordially co-operate, as far as practicable, with the hospital service of the Government, endeavoring to supplement, never to supplant it.

Second. The necessity for the establishment of the Sanitary Commission, and what it has done.

A large percentage of the disease and weakness of our armies up to this time (in other words, the waste of many millions of our national resources) has been due to the inexperience of medical and military officers alike as to the peculiar dangers and exposures that surround the soldier in camp and on the march, and which render the money the nation has expended in putting him into the field a far more precarious investment than it would be were he kept under strict subjection to sanitary laws. The liability of soldiers to disease should be far less than it is. It would be so were they required to observe the laws of health. They and their officers, and the people and the Government, have thus far too generally overlooked those laws. But the last twelve months have taught the army and the people the immense importance of military science in war.

Our school has been costly, but it has already taught us much. For the last three months, thousands and thousands of men and wasted forms brought North by railroad and on hospital transports, stricken by no rebel bullet, but by far deadlier enemies of the nation, malarial fever and camp-dysentery—have been impressing on the people the lesson the Sanitary Commission has been endeavoring to teach ever since the war began,—viz.: that our soldiers were in far greater danger from disease than from the violence of their enemies, and that we lose ten men uselessly by preventable disease, for every man destroyed by the enemy.

lief that lives depended on the last exertion of their energies, strained to the utmost, and that with men to whom the saving of life became a passion.¹

It was utterly out of the power of the medical staff of the army to meet so frightful an emergency; and had it not been for the timely provisions of the Commission, Heaven alone knows how few of those four thousand men would have been saved! Again, July 4, 1862, in speaking of the operations of the members and agents of the Commission on James River during and after that Iliad week of heroism on the Peninsula:—

‘Thousands of brave men are now lying, without sufficient shelter, food, or attendance, in the camp and depots on James River. Very many of them are destined to perish, who could have been preserved by a blanket, a suit of hospital clothing, and a few days’ allowance of proper diet and stimulants instead of their ordinary rations. The Commission has saved hundreds, if not thousands, of men since this campaign began, by supplying these expensive wants. A very few dollars provides what can save a soldier’s life, worth in mere money value hundreds of dollars to the army and to the community. At this time, of all others, the country cannot afford to waste the lives of men trained by a year’s experience, and made veterans by the terrible week of continuous battle through which they have just triumphantly passed.

‘The transport-service of the Commission is also rendering indispensable aid to the country in bringing North men who would have perished if left in the malarious hospitals of Virginia, but who are enabled, after a short sojourn in a healthy northern climate, to rejoin their regiments. More than ten thousand sick and wounded men have thus been transported to the North by the Commission, with special attention to their care and comfort, up to this date. By thorough system, complete ventilation, attention to all sanitary conditions, and a liberal supply of comforts and appliances which Government does not yet provide, it is believed that these ‘floating hospitals’ have been made superior to those heretofore employed in the service of any country.

‘This is but a part of the work on which the Commission is engaged. But it is at this moment by far the most pressing. Its magnitude is appalling, in view of the multitude of those to whom the question whether help from the people shall reach them to-day or to-morrow is a question of life or death, and in view, also, of the moral certainty that a few days will increase that number by thousands. For the sake of this work, the Commission has thought it right to contract its other operations for the present and concentrate its resources mainly on the relief of the sick and wounded on the Peninsula.

‘It may be said that Government should do all this without help from private charity. Were this true, the default of Government would not excuse us in leaving our soldiers to perish without an effort to save them. But it is only partially true. While active operations are in progress, and especially at the close of great battles, the prompt and thorough relief and treatment of the sick and wounded require an amount of force, in men, material, and transportation, which no Government has heretofore been able to keep permanently attached to its medical department. At such times volunteer aid from without is indispensable to prevent the most fearful suffering and waste of life, however faithful and untiring the medical staff may be. Such aid must be regularly organized in order to be economical and efficient; and the Commission, with its large corps of officers and agents on the ground, experienced in their duties and in confidential communication with the military authorities, seems the best organization through which the sympathy and affection of the people can reach and relieve the people’s army.’¹

¹ The following letter to George T. Strong, Treasurer of the Commission, from Dr. C. R. Agnew, one of its eminent medical council, written from the Peninsula, July 1, 1862, gives a graphic account of scenes he witnessed:—

‘MY DEAR MR. STRONG:—I wish you could have been with me at White House during my late visit, to see how much is being done by our agents there to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded soldiers. I have seen a good deal of suffering among our volunteers, and observed the marvellous variety and energy of the beneficence bestowed by the patriotic and philanthropic in camp, in hospital, and on transports for the sick; but nothing has ever impressed me so deeply as this. Perhaps I can better illustrate my meaning by sketching a few of the daily labors of the agents of the Commission as I saw them. The sick and wounded were usually sent down from the front by rail—a distance of about twenty miles—over a rough road, and in the common freight cars. A train generally arrived at White House at nine P.M., and another at two A.M.

In order to prepare for the reception of the sick and wounded, Mr. Olmsted, with Drs. Jenkins and Ware, had pitched by the side of the railway, at White House, a large number of tents, to shelter and feed the convalescent. These tents were their only shelter while waiting to be shipped. Among them was one used as a kitchen and workroom, or pantry, by the ladies in our service, who prepared beef-tea, milk-punch, and other food and comforts, in anticipation of the arrival of the trains. By the terminus of the railway the large Commission steamboat *Knickerbocker* lay in the Pamunkey, in readiness for the reception of four hundred and fifty patients, provided with comfortable beds and a corps of devoted surgeons, dressers, nurses, and litter-bearers. Just outside of this vessel lay the *Elizabeth*, a steam-barge, loaded with the hospital stores of the Commission, and in charge of a store-keeper, always ready to issue supplies. As soon as a train arrived the moderately sick were selected and placed in the tents near the railroad, and fed, those more ill were carried to the upper saloon of the *Knickerbocker*, while the seriously ill or badly wounded were placed in the lower saloon, and immediately served by the sur-

Hardly had the smoke curled off from the battle-grounds of the red Peninsula, before the seared and blasted field of Bull Run was again to shake under the tread of two hundred thousand soldiers, and old graves were to open for another uncounted host.

During that long day of slaughter, while all Washington was listening to the distant, but distinct, roar of artillery which reverberated heavily over the Capitol, the corps of the Sanitary Commission were at their work. Messengers were flying backward and forward, over the land, up and down the river, to and from the battle-field, and the telegraph-wires were quivering unceasingly with the restless flashings of the lightning.

The awful history of that tragedy was read in the rapid procession of several hundred one, two, and four-horse ambulances, which passed down towards Long Bridge, to return freighted with the wounded, the mangled, and the dying.

Meanwhile the Sanitary Commission was doing its work of sublime mercy.

But the fiend of Rebellion, more fiendish than ever, had not yet exhausted his malice. The rebel leader had, from the beginning, promised his deluded followers the possession of the National Capital, and, once more almost in sight of its domes and towers, the infuriated horde, flushed with victory, were pressing on, determined to win the prize.

Once more the gifted but rebel 'Lord of Arlington' looked off wistfully upon his home-mansion, rising among the venerable trees of his old ancestral estate, where he had spent his happiest and noblest days. But the doors of Arlington House had been closed on him forever. Nor could the chief of the Southern Rebellion make good his promise to his desperate myriads. The city which Washington founded was not to be trod again by a foreign, nor a domestic foe. *Its soil was indeed sacred!*

Both armies had crossed the Potomac, and again they were to measure their strength. The field of Antietam was to be lost or won. Leaving to the historian of the war a description of the lurid carnival which Death held over those devoted plains on that carnage-day, let us follow the Sanitary Commission on its gentle, angel-protected path.

When night fell on the awful field of Antietam, the stars shone down on ten thousand of our wounded men. Thousands had been carried to the rear of each corps, as the fight went on; thousands of the disabled or wounded had been trampled into the earth by the march of advancing columns; but from the mingled masses of dying and dead horses and men the lacerated and bleeding were borne away by the hands or in the arms of their comrades to places of transient repose, where at least, after some hours, they might have a cup of water held to their lips.

The battle had raged over an area much larger than the island of Manhattan, and every rod and rood of that ground was covered with the wounded and the slain.

The agents of the Sanitary Commission were early on the field of Antietam,—although they had hardly rested from the wasting toils of the slaughters of Virginia, and the hardly less prostrating fatigues of forty hospitals in the District of Columbia, then containing nearly twenty thousand suffering soldiers. Not only were the agents of the Commission there; the ablest surgeons, members of the Commission itself, were on the scene, and gave themselves to the work, night and day, till, from sheer exhaustion, they laid themselves down fainting by the sides of their bleeding patients,—rebels and loyalists:—no distinction was made.

geons and dressers. During the three nights that I observed the working of the system, about seven hundred sick and wounded were provided with quarters, and ministered to in all their wants with a tender solicitude and skill that excited my deepest admiration. To see Drs. Ware and Jenkins, lantern in hand, passing through the trains, selecting the sick with reference to their necessities, and the ladies following to assuage the thirst, or arouse, by judiciously administered stimulants, the failing strength of the brave and uncomplaining sufferers, was a spectacle of the most touching character. If you had experienced the debilitating influence of the Pamunkey climate, you would be filled with wonder at the mere physical endurance of our corps, who certainly could not have been sustained in the performance of duties involving labor by day and through sleepless nights, without the most philan-

thropic devotion and the highest sense of Christian duty.

'At Savage's Station, too, the Commission had a valuable depot, where comfort and assistance was dispensed to the sick when changing from the ambulance to the cars. I wish I could do justice to the subject of my hasty narrative, or in any due measure convey to your mind the impressions left on mine in observing, even casually, the operations in the care of the sick at these two points.

'When we remember what was done by the same noble band of laborers after the battles of Williamsburg and Fair Oaks in ministering to the wants of *thousands of wounded*, I am sure nothing but feelings of gratitude and thankfulness of the most heartfelt kind can arise.—Yours sincerely, C. R. AGNEW.

'July 1, 1862.'

For the next few days, around the neighborhood of Antietam the clock did not strike an hour whose history was not crowded with scenes to which the genius of pen or pencil could impart no more grand or touching delineations.¹

Says Rev. Dr. Bellows, in speaking of Antietam,—

‘But I must stop here, by saying that the Sanitary Commission has not confined its exertions to the Potomac and its adjacent neighborhoods.

‘It is a national institution. *It moves with the war.* Wherever our armies march, or sail, or battle for the Republic, from the Atlantic coast up all its bays and rivers, around the Florida capes, along all the coasts of the purple South, from the Rio Grande to the mouth of the Mississippi, and floating with our gunboats over its ample bosom, from the yellow waters of the Missouri down towards the summer-land—everywhere our flag is carried in this crusade for the Republic, the Sanitary Commission is just as present and efficient *there* as it has been on our bloody fields of the Potomac. No organization for a similar purpose established on the earth ever covered so broad a field; no association ever existed which carried its purposes into effect so soon. No one ever commanded so completely the confidence of the world; no one ever achieved so much with such small means. No one has combined in so large and so wide a measure the highest efforts and the most earnest congratulations of so many gifted and glorious men.

‘But, while its direct object has been, and will be, limited to the practical business of saving men’s lives, its mission will not be confined even within so vast a field. It must overleap all such boundaries. HUMANITY, EDUCATED BY SCIENCE, AND GUIDED BY THE DIVINE INSPIRATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY, IS YET TO MAKE THE CONQUEST OF THE EARTH.

‘The United States Sanitary Commission has been the good genius of this bad war. Its Eddystone Light has flashed its hopeful rays all over the angry surges that have been dashing around it. It could not, like THE GREAT MASTER, say, ‘Peace, be still!’ but it could set the signal of humanity and hope, and come to the rescue when there was no one else to save.’²

‘This work it has nobly done; it is doing it still.’³

¹ Our independent means of transportation often enables us to reach the wounded with stores in advance of all Government or other supplies. The first *two* days are more important than the next ten to the saving of life and the relief of misery.

At the recent battle-ground we are able to be present in advance *two days of all supplies* (beyond the small amount in the nearly empty storehouse of the army medical purveyor), with twenty-five wagon-loads of stimulants, condensed food, medicines, and conveniences. Within a week we despatched successfully, by teams, to the scene of battle, from Washington alone, 28,763 pieces dry-goods, shirts, towels, bed ticks, pillows, etc., 30 barrels bandages, old linen, etc., 3,188 pounds farina, etc., 2,620 pounds of condensed milk, 5,050 pounds beefstock and canned meats, 3,000 bottles wine and cordials, and several tons of lemons and other fruit, crackers, tea, sugar, rubber, cloth, tin-cups, and hospital conveniences.

From the indomitable Dr. Agnew, on the field, as he saw it:—

‘I left Donning’s wagon—in fact, all the two-horse wagons and ambulances of our train—constantly going, and carrying relief to thousands of wounded.

‘The wounded were mainly clustered about barns, occupying the barn-yards, and floors, and stables, having plenty of good straw, well broken by the power threshing machine. I saw fifteen hundred wounded men lying upon the straw about two barns, within sight of each other! Indeed, there is not a barn, or farm-house, or store, or church, or school-house, between Boonsborough, Keedysville, and Sharpsburg, and the latter and Smoketown, that is not gorged with wounded,—rebel and Union. Even the corn-cribs, and in many instances the cow-stable, and in one place the mangers, were filled. Several thousands lie in the open air upon straw, and all are receiving the kind services of the farmers’ families and the surgeons.

‘I hope I never shall forget the evidences everywhere

manifested of the unselfish and devoted heroism of our surgeons, regular and volunteer, in the care of both Federal and rebel wounded. Wherever I went, I encountered surgeons and chaplains who had given themselves no rest in view of the overwhelming claims of suffering humanity.

‘We have been ahead of every one, and at least two days ahead of the supplies of the Medical Bureau,—the latter fact due to its want of independent transportation. A single item will show the value of our supplies. We have given out over thirty pounds of chloroform within three days after the battle. The medical authorities had not one-hundredth part of what was needed, and in many places important operations were necessarily neglected and life lost. *Our chloroform saved at least fifty lives, and saved several hundred from the pain of severe operations.* The want of chloroform was the most serious deficiency in the regular medical supplies, and, as the result, amputations which should have been primary will now be secondary or impossible. (The mortality from secondary amputations is very much greater than from primary.)’

² SICK SOLDIERS.—The number of soldiers registered on the books of the Sanitary Commission as having entered hospitals since November 1, 1862, and up to April 1, 1863—five months—is as follows:—

Central Office at Washington	68,000
Louisville	60,000
Philadelphia	7,000
New York	6,000
Total	141,000

³ To enumerate the services of the Commission in detail would far transcend the limits of this work; and

The Duty of the Republic to its Fallen Soldiers.—After consultation with Mr. Sumner, and many of our leading public men in Washington, I prepared the following, which was effectively used in the movement soon started, and pushed with such great vigor that it ended in the establishment of the National Cemeteries, which have reflected so much honor upon the country :

THE DUTY OF THE REPUBLIC TO ITS FALLEN HEROES.

The first duty of a Government is to protect the life of the soldier ; the second is to give him honorable burial when he has fought his last battle. This duty has been recognized by all nations, and it has been considered imperative. No nation so barbarous as to neglect the ashes of its patriots,—no family so divested of social affection as not to desire to recover the earthly relics of one of their number who died away from home.

That mysterious chain which binds the heart of the survivor to the dust of the departed is now binding the hearts of an innumerable company of our people to the graves of our fallen soldiers. To recover the ashes of the loved one is the first thought that occurs ; and the uncertainty of the spot where the body is reposing intensifies the grief. Promiscuous burial the human soul abhors.

This feeling is natural, and it cannot be repressed. Virgil has beautifully expressed it in the line we have quoted above. With his back to the earth and his eyes on heaven, the dying soldier thinks of his beloved home. It is generally among the very last wishes of those dying among strangers, that they could die at home.

Our fancies will visit the red fields of valor which have been sanctified by the baptism of patriotic blood ; they will haunt the halls of our hospitals, filled with the suffering, and steal into the countless chambers of the bereaved, where Rachels are 'weeping for their children, and will not be comforted, because they are not.'

The duties of Governments to their fallen soldiers apply with peculiar force to the soldiers and families of republics. Our grand army of a million men is a fair, full, and honorable representation of the great body of the people. There are whole regiments and brigades where there is not a man who did not leave home and kindred for the war,—kindred who watch with tenderness and apprehension the news of every battle, and whose affection spreads its drooping wings over the camp where the soldier sleeps. How many of our rank and file would not have Christian burial if they died at home, and some plain stone, at least, *in memoriam*, placed to mark the last couch of the sleeper ? How many of our army, fallen al-

yet I cannot dismiss the subject without saying one or two things more.

First:—THE MEANS OF RELIEF ADMINISTERED TO SOLDIERS THE VERY INSTANT THEY NEED HELP.—The department of Special Relief, which has been under the charge of Mr. F. N. Knapp, has done a great deal by way of *help at the moment it was needed*. More than one hundred thousand soldiers going to the war or returning from it have come within the range of Mr. Knapp's kind intervention. His 'Soldiers' Homes,' 'Rests,' 'Reliefs,' and all sorts of stopping-places, have been multiplied all over the country, just as far as the army has gone and just as fast as they were needed. The provisions Mr. Knapp has made do not include only something to eat and drink—not merely roast beef and coffee—but a comfortable bed for the tired soldier, where he can repose after his campaign and get strength to go on his way. It means any clothing he may need, any little luxury he may desire, so that when the train backs in to take him home he may, *with his full pay*, get for him without a penny discount, and a *through*

ticket, take his seat in a car at Washington and get out of that same car at Chicago.

Second:—TO SAVE SOLDIERS FROM IMPOSITION, EXPENSE, AND DELAY.—How mercilessly our poor comrades are sacrificed when they leave the camp ! To fight for the flag while they are in the ranks is the religion of the true soldier. To go home when he is honorably discharged is his next thought ;—and he wants to go home *quick*. No car can go fast enough. Mr. Knapp's arrangements suit these cases exactly.

Then these little cities of refuge are at all the grand junctions of our continental system of intercommunication. These are literally 'The Homes of the War.' The wounded or sick soldier comes : a surgeon is ready ; nurses and attendants—men and women—come. They are all welcomed and all cared for as they would be in a father's house. More than sixty thousand human beings now live to rise up and call that man blessed ; and then the grand reservation is left to him still :—'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of my disciples, ye did it unto me.'

ready, have not left friends who would part with some treasure to recover the bodies of those they loved, or at least to know the spot of sepulture?

Hundreds of instances—yes, thousands—are known of attempts, often fruitless, to find, identify, mark, the spot, or make inquiries about the graves. The Western battle-fields alone have grouped a million stricken hearts around those suddenly-created sepulchres of the brave. Our officers and soldiers put forth their last heroic exertions, in every skirmish and in every fight, to bring off our dead, or bury them on the field, preserving their identity as far as the horrible exigencies of war will allow.

But this was not enough; and the Sanitary Commission early undertook to obtain information by which 'the place of burial of the volunteers who have been killed in battle, or who had died in hospitals, may be established. They have also elaborated a system of records for those dying in hospitals, and of indications of their burial-place, by which their bodies may be identified; which has received approval, and been ordered to be carried out, blanks and tablets for the purpose being furnished to each regimental quartermaster.'

This plan was warmly embraced by Congress and the Soldiers' Relief Associations, and it was in the main adopted, and has been carried out as far as it seemed possible.

One thing more was needed. Besides having cemeteries, larger or smaller, wherever our soldiers have fallen, we should have a great national cemetery for soldiers near Washington, where all our brave men who fall in the service in this neighborhood, or who can be brought here, may have honorable graves. Each State shall have a space allotted for its own citizens; and this City of the Dead should be embellished by emblems of art and beauty, which exalt and refine civilized life. The cost of this war for one hundred minutes would munificently accomplish this.

*The Great Republic still moves on in the Consciousness of its own Security.*¹
—There is no better way to test the integrity and power of a man or a commonwealth than to watch them in periods of trouble.² At those times only does true character come out. In this respect the order of nature seems to

¹ This chapter will show that it was written during the war, and at its darkest period; I extract it from *THE LIGHT AND DARK OF THE REBELLION*, a work of mine which appeared anonymously from the press of George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, in the summer of 1863.

² In the excitements of a great civil war and the struggle for national existence, our Government still shows a sublime faith in its perpetuity, and perfects its plans for the agricultural progress of the nation. The sword and the ploughshare, the spear and the pruning-hook, have worked together upon the problem of civil liberty.

No appeal has been made by the Government for the planting of extra crops to supply its soldiers in the field, or to gain by exchanges with foreign nations the means of carrying on the war. The Government has looked calmly and confidently to the future. This faith has been strikingly manifested in the organization of the Department of Agriculture during the darkest period of the war, and in appropriations for carrying it on, small, to be sure, compared with the magnitude of the interest, but increased from \$60,000 (usually given

to the Agricultural Division of the Patent Office) to \$105,000 for the enlarged operations of the Department. No longer an appendage to a mere bureau, it has assumed the full dignity of a Department, and its establishment constitutes, on the part of our national legislators, a graceful recognition of the importance of *agriculture*, the first and most extended of our national labors. Its object is, to get and diffuse practical information upon agriculture; to perfect and put in operation a reliable system of statistics; to procure, propagate, and disseminate new and promising varieties of seeds and plants; to experiment in the acclimatizing of exotics of probable value to our rural industry; and to maintain a watchful guardianship over the interests of agriculture.

Nor is this the only benefit to the tillers of the soil, who furnish the sinews of war. The same Congress, in the same session, passed an act donating public lands to the several States and Territories, which provides for colleges for the benefit of agriculture and mechanic arts.

This initial step in aid of practical education is **not** the work of an old Government.

be reversed. The darkness of misfortune lights up the object, while the full noonday conceals it.

Neither men nor nations ever develop their native characteristics in times of florid prosperity. It is only when the storm comes that the individual, the oak, the ship, or the community show their real strength. Then there is and can be no concealment of weakness or defects. It seems to be a law of nature that everything must pass through the crucible before its qualities can be determined. There is a Mint for Governments as well as for precious metals. Governments pass through this Mint in civil revolutions, which either save or destroy them. What, then, is the surest test to apply to nations while they are going through foreign or civil wars? I would answer, *How strong is their consciousness of security, and how do they prove it?* By prosecuting their public works as in times of peace!

This rule we learn from all the great nations of antiquity. The public edifices of the Asiatic empires, those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, went on uninterrupted, in the midst of all their foreign wars and home convulsions.

It has been so with great modern nations. The Escorial of Madrid, St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's at London, the Duomo at Milan, the palaces of Paris, the wonderful edifices of Russia,—all were founded, carried on, and completed in the midst of constant convulsions at home and abroad; and yet all these nations have either filled the full measure of civic greatness, or are now in the meridian of their power.

What corresponding signs do we discover in the United States during this terrible rebellion? *Every sign of conscious strength.*¹ No public work has

'Thirty-five years ago, the annual average of our agricultural exports was fifty million dollars; when the war of the rebellion broke out, these exports were increased to nearly three hundred millions; and the astonishing fact is now manifested that, while the ports of the South are closed, and a million of laborers are withdrawn from the North, a vastly larger export has since been made of the products of loyal agriculture than ever before. The following exhibit of exports is illustrative of this remarkable increase:—

	1860.	1861.	1862.
Indian corn.	\$2,399,808	\$6,890,865	\$10,387,383
Wheat.	4,076,704	38,313,624	42,573,295
Flour.	15,448,597	24,645,849	27,534,677
	<u>\$21,925,019</u>	<u>\$69,850,338</u>	<u>\$80,495,355</u>

—*My Life-Note-Book, MS.*

¹ On the 22d of April, 1863, in the chapel of the University of the City of New York, Hon. and General Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts (Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate of the United States), who has procured the passage of the act incorporating a National Academy of Sciences, said:—

'GENTLEMEN:—I hold in my hand the Act, passed in the closing hours of the Thirty-Seventh Congress,

'To incorporate the National Academy of Sciences.' In compliance with many kind requests, I am here to call the corporators to order. In rising to perform this agreeable task, I crave for a moment of your indulgence.

'This Act, under which you have met to organize, incorporates in America, and for America, a national institution, whose objects, ranging over the illimitable fields of science, are limited only by the wondrous capacities of the human intellect. Such an institution has been for years in the thought and on the tongue of the devotees of science; but its attainment seemed far in the future. Now it is an achieved fact. Our country has spoken it into being in this 'dark and troubled night' of its history, and commissioned you, gentlemen, to mould and fashion its organization, to infuse into it that vital and animating spirit that shall win in the boundless domains of science the glittering prizes of achievement that will gleam forever upon the brow of the nation.

'When, a few months ago, a gentleman whose name is known and honored in both hemispheres expressed to me the desire that an Academy of Physical Sciences should be founded in America, and that I would at least make the effort to obtain such an act of incorporation for the scientific men of the United States, I replied that it would seem more fitting that some

been suspended except from the exhaustion of appropriations through the villany or prodigality of that Administration which, through treason or imbecility or both, ushered in the rebellion.

On Mr. Lincoln's accession, the necessity of resuming these labors received early attention, and, the means being at once provided, they all went on. Among them were the *Capitol*, the *Treasury Building*, the *Aqueduct*, and other works of vast public utility, all of which were continued, and are going on now, day by day, with the steadiness of sunrise. The matter will admit of some illustrations of the philosophy of the subject.

None but a few timid people have ever been afraid of this rebellion. Every just and good man has wept over it in bitter sorrow. But it has inspired no deep or lasting alarm among men of firmness, patriotism, and common sense. The calmness of the surface of our public and private life has been disturbed, but the deep fountain has still been sending forth unceasingly its crystal waters, speaking the language of the heart of the nation, which proclaims its unbroken faith in the eternity of the Republic.

The country came up to a level with its institutions,—to a level with its great historic acts. For some time our institutions had been superior to the acts of the people and their Administrations; but the all-engrossing cares and selfish interests of life had left the fortunes of the United States at the mercy of intriguing politicians.

But when the alarm-bell sounded, all true men sprung to their feet, and came to the rescue. Even Indians fight for our Government.

The spring mornings in Washington are as fine as they are in Italy,—finer, if possible. The other morning—June 3, 1863—just as the languishing foliage, all covered with dust and wilting with heat, seemed to be doomed to another day of drought, a glorious shower came up and baptized the whole scenery of Washington and its environs with the distilled waters of heaven.

statesman of ripe scholarship should take the lead in securing such a measure, but that I felt confident that I could prepare, introduce, and carry through Congress a measure so eminently calculated to advance the cause of science and to reflect honor upon our country. I promptly assumed the responsibility, and, with such aid and suggestions as I could obtain, I prepared, introduced, and by personal effort with members of both Houses of Congress, carried through this Act of Incorporation without even a division in either House.

The suggestion was sometimes made that the nation is engaged in a fearful struggle for existence, and that the moment was not well chosen for such a measure. But I thought otherwise. I thought it just the fitting time to act. I wanted the *savans* of the old world, as they turn their eyes hitherward, to see that, amid the fire and blood of the most gigantic civil war in the annals of nations, the statesmen and people of the United States, in the calm confidence of assured

power, are fostering the elevating, purifying, and consolidating institutions of religion and benevolence, literature, art and science. I wanted the men of Europe, who profess to see in America the failure of republican institutions, to realize that the people of the United States, while eliminating from their system that ever-disturbing element of discord bequeathed to them by the colonial and commercial policy of England, are cherishing institutions that elevate man and ennoble nations. The land resounds with the tread of armies, its bright waters are crimsoned and its fields reddened with fraternal blood.

'Patriotism surely demands that we strive to make this now discordant, torn, and bleeding nation one and indivisible. This National Assembly of Sciences will, I feel sure, be now and hereafter another element of power to keep in their orbits, around the great central sun of the Union, this constellation of sovereign commonwealths.'

Every living thing rejoiced. The birds began to twitter from every tree, and just before sunrise their anthem was warbled up into the deep-blue sky.

The scene from the east steps of the Capitol was beautiful beyond description, and strange as it was beautiful.

The contrast was grander than art and historic associations alone could make; for it grouped into one picture all that art, history, and nature can cluster.

Above, rose the gorgeous Capitol, crowned with its superb dome, slowly but securely rising to its completion,—the finest if not the largest dome yet swung in the heavens by the hand of man.

Opposite, in the Capitol Park, stood, in pure bronze, the sublime statue of the Goddess of Liberty, solemnly contemplating the great Temple of Freedom erected to her honor. The calmness of her look and the serenity of her attitude bespoke *consciousness of security* for the approaching triumph of the Republic and its worshippers.

Just beyond sat Washington, in Greenough's marble, surrounded by all the symbols of patriotism and statesmanship.

Still farther on, nearly hidden by the glistening foliage, stood the old Capitol,—once occupied by sages, now crowded with traitors.

Contrast all this with any scene at the South, where the arts of peace are going to decay, that the infernal art of war may work its desolations!

At no one moment since the insurrection began, has any act of the Government, in any of its departments, displayed the least consciousness of weakness or danger. It did not in the beginning foresee how vast the outbreak would grow to be, nor did anybody else. But it has marched with the rebellion and shown itself fully competent to suppress it.

With this object in view, Congress displayed no hesitation in clothing the President with all the authority he needed to meet the great emergency; and although, as events have since proved, broader measures could perhaps have been advantageously adopted, yet it is exceedingly doubtful if Congress or the people would readily have acquiesced in the raising of more men or more money *at the time*. It required new developments to prepare the nation for the unparalleled expenditures and legislation which were afterwards adopted with unanimity and hailed with applause. But in no act of Congress, or the people, has any sign of weakness or hesitation been shown.

With officers in the civil and military service the case has certainly been far different; for blunders without number, cowardice in the face of the enemy, secret treason, and foul intrigue have been far more formidable obstacles to the vigorous prosecution of the war than all the ferocious hordes of the armed rebellion, with the acknowledged courage of the rank and file and the admirable military genius of their desperate leaders. Before such fearful elements of discomfiture and trouble, all the mystery of the protraction of the war and of many of its repeated reverses melts away.

This, however, by no means argues any conscious weakness on the part

of the Administration, or the people, or the cause ; nor does it lessen the certainty of final success. It only causes delay. But this delay brings with it incalculable sacrifices of life, happiness, and treasure—a terrible holocaust, indeed, to be offered up on the altar of incapacity, cowardice, and treason.

How unlike all this among *mere* politicians and place-seekers, to the higher and better spirit of the masses of our people, who have no aspirations in politics except for the safety, the honor, and the endurance of the Republic !

On more than one occasion since the first battle of Bull Run have I stood on the Capitol, or the Treasury building, listening to the heavy boom of artillery that came rolling over the Potomac from a neighboring battle-field, mingled with the sharp clicks of a hundred hammers and chisels of honest mechanics, who were unconcerned for the safety of the country, believing with the firmest faith in its strength and lastingness, and wielding strong muscles in the citizen work of gaining their bread by the sweat of their brows.

Such faith and such works were characterizing at the same hour every field of labor, thought, and achievement throughout the free States—all their workshops, all their arsenals, all their district school-houses, colleges, and higher seats of science and learning. From the lowest to the highest scenes of social life, the great heart, the clear brain, and the strong arms of all true Americans were earnestly directed to the duties before them, firm, hoping, cheerful, and brave. Never did a nation before pass through any great civil war with so little shock to society, with so little disturbance to the every-day occupations, responsibilities, and prosperity of life. Civil wars have generally been unmitigated curses while they lasted, however beneficent may have been their results. With us all this is changed. We are marching through a conflict grand beyond historic parallel, but we are marching in the sunshine. All the light beams on us. The passing shadows may sometimes fall on our pathway, but the dark side is always turned on our enemies. The Red Sea of blood will soon be passed. AND THE REPUBLIC IS THE PEOPLE. THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY TRUST THE REPUBLIC.

Abraham Lincoln.—What Kind of a Man he was—What Kind of a President he would make.—How often these questions were asked at home and abroad ; for before his election he was well known to but few ; after his inauguration to fewer still ; and when his administration was half through, to nobody—not even to himself. Death alone revealed him.

The Presidency was once a post for the retirement of a statesman of well-earned fame for his coronation after he had earned the supreme honors of the state. In times of peace our great public men found their legitimate way to the Home of the Presidents—as Washington wished to have the White House called. Those honors then were always worthily won, and the laurel wreath kept green on the brows of all their wearers,—at least till the last of the primitive chieftains went to his untroubled rest. Those men lived to reap the rich rewards of peace after their battles, of repose after their toils.

But it was no pillow of down on which Abraham Lincoln was invited to lay his head. He thought he understood something of what had been committed to him; and when he stood on the eastern portico of the Capitol, all blanched before the surging sea of anxious men and women who were waiting to learn 'What of the night?' would bring from the new sentinel, he uttered words to which the events of the future were to give an astounding and unforeseen significance.

Lincoln's Presidency was a heritage of trouble from the start. No good man in his senses would have taken the honor, if he could have foreseen a tithe of its bewildering heart-achings,—the treason, the blood, the agony it would cost the noble nation, betrayed by its own children, immolated before his own eyes,—or the home troubles it would bring to his fireside.

But the men who voluntarily assume the direction of public, or even private affairs, must be ready for any emergency. Nobody has any right to assume that everything will go right. Nor is there any ground to suppose that Mr. Lincoln did. On the contrary, his inaugural address clearly proved that his eye had pierced the probable future,—not, indeed, all that future which became history, for human ken could not reach so far. But that he had to confront more surprises, and grapple with more difficulties than could have been known or anticipated by any human intelligence, will never be denied.

Some peculiar and fortunate qualities in his character enabled him not only to save the country, but also to inspire and sustain a healthy state of the body politic, in the midst of the avalanches and whirlwinds which struck and shook our whole system of civic life.

His first characteristic was *self-control*. He seldom, if ever, lost his equanimity. This gave room for the constant exercise of his judgment. His second characteristic was *good, plain, home-made, common sense*—a quality rarer than genius. So far as all the real business of life is concerned for men or nations, strong common sense is the surest and safest guide. Through this alembic all the unfriendly and dangerous elements of that terrible conflict had to pass.

Another quality mingled, by the laws of affinity in moral chemistry, with Mr. Lincoln's executive acts,—*humor, bonhomie, good nature*. Men have complained of him on this ground. They have charged him with *levity*. But those critics should remember one of the fine sayings of Malsherbes, 'A fortunate dash of pleasantry has often saved the peace of families,—sometimes of an empire.' Mr. Lincoln's cheerfulness dissipated many a cloud that lowered around the 'Home of the Presidents,' and left its fragments 'in the deep ocean buried.'

His absolute unselfishness—his all-absorbing and all-inspiring devotion to his country—the solemn sacredness with which he looked on the great trust committed to him by his brother citizens—his deep, but unaffected reverence for God, and his instinctive love for justice—made him a pure-minded and humane man, an impartial magistrate. One other quality was added—his faith in the durability of the Republic—this shaped all his policy—this made him

the great statesman. Lincoln was not understood by the politicians, but he was comprehended by the people. He was the great thinker, and master of his administration—to him alone belongs the honor of first projecting the Proclamation of Emancipation; the will to carry it out. Immeasurably superior to his cabinet and all his councilors, his fame will outlast all the men of his time.

Few men understood how heavy a burden that great and good man had to carry; and those who knew and loved him best, were more disposed to sympathize with him in the deep sadness which weighed down his spirit, than to criticise his occasional facetious remarks, in which, on his account chiefly, we were so glad to hear him indulge. He was cheerful in the bosom of his family, and there was light there till one day when the dark came suddenly, and his youngest boy died.¹

Downfall of the Rebellion.—Towards the close of his *American Conflict*, Horace Greeley gives an affecting description of the parting of General Lee from his exhausted but devoted followers:—

It was a sad one. Of the proud army which, dating its victories from Bull Run, had

¹ Washington, Feb. 22, 1862.—'Willie Lincoln is dead!' Everybody in Washington knew Willie; and everybody was sad. Sad,—for it seemed hard for the lovely boy to be taken away so early, while the sun was just gilding the mountain up which he was pressing, and from which he could look down the sweet valley, and see so far into the future! Sad for her who held him as one of the jewels of her home-coronet; dearer than all the insignia of this world's rank. That coronet was broken, now. Its fragments might dazzle, and grace still; but it could never be the same coronet again. Sad for the master of the Executive Mansion, for there was weight enough pressing on that tired brain,—sorrow enough in that great heart. With the burden of a mighty republic on his shoulders—a republic betrayed, and wounded in the house of its friends—a republic that had cost so much and become so dear to its own true children, and in whose prosperity the hopes of all men who waited for the consolation of the nations, were bound up—a republic for whose safety and triumph, God, angels, and all good men would forever hold *him* responsible, and disaster clouding almost every battle-field—it seemed to us for a moment, when we heard the news of the boy's death, that even Heaven's own sweet fountain of pity had dried up.

It was a wild winter night, but I wished to see again how far the process of Willie's embalmment had gone, and as Dr. B.—was to make one more visit that night, I took his arm at a late hour, and we walked up together. The wind howled desolately; angry gusts struck us at every corner; tempest-clouds were careering high up in the heavens; and the dead leaves of last year, as they flew cuttingly against our cheeks, seemed to have come out of their still graves to 'join in the dreadful revelry' of the death of the Republic of Washington, on the very anniversary of his birth—for it was on the eve of the 22d of February, the night in which he was born.

'Is it not among the strangest of things that this event should have happened?' 'No, doctor; I do not so regard it; still stranger events than this have

taken place in the White House. It has been no more exempt from trouble than the other dwellings of America. Poor General Harrison entered it, as a Prince goes to his palace to rule a great people; in one month he was borne from it to the grave. General Taylor, fresh from the fields of his fame as a patriot warrior, came here only to pass a few months of troubled life, and then surrender to the only enemy he ever yielded to. Fillmore, who also was summoned here by the act of God, after acquitting himself most manfully and honorably of all his duties, had scarcely vacated the mansion, before he was called to entomb the wife of his youth and the mother of his children, of whom the fair one he loved best soon after went to the same repose. He descended from his high place to become the chief mourner; and his ovation was a funeral at Buffalo. So, too, with his successor, who left the new-made grave of his only son in Concord, killed in an instant, to be inaugurated at the Capitol, and enter as a mourner, this stately mansion.'

'Yes, gentlemen,' said Edward, the chief door-keeper, 'it is all still in the house now.' We entered the Green Room; Willie lay in his coffin. The lid was off. He was clothed in his soldier's dress. He had been embalmed by the process of Susquet, of Paris, and thus Willie Wallace Lincoln's body was prepared for its final resting-place in the home of his happy childhood. One more look at the calm face, which still wore its wonted expression of hope and cheerfulness, and we left him to his repose.

In the meantime, a measured footfall had come faintly from the East Room, and the tall form of a chief mourner was passing into the sacred place. 'It is all well?—All my thanks.' Leaving the stricken President in the solemn silence of the deep night, alone with his boy, we passed out of the mansion. The coming storm was clouding the heavens with a deep mourning, and its heavy sighings wrapped the Home of the Presidents in sadness and gloom. 'God heal the broken hearts left there,' was our only prayer.—*My Life Note-Book*, 118

driven McClellan from before Richmond, and withstood his best efforts at Antietam, and shattered Burnside's host at Fredericksburg, and worsted Hooker at Chancellorsville, and fought Meade so stoutly, though unsuccessfully, before Gettysburg, and baffled Grant's bounteous resources and desperate efforts in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, on the North Anna, at Cold Harbor, and before Petersburg and Richmond,—a mere wreck remained. It is said that 27,000 were included in Lee's capitulation; but of these not more than 10,000 had been able to carry their arms thus far on their hopeless and almost foodless flight. Barely nineteen miles from Richmond when surrendered, the physical possibility of forcing their way thither, even at the cost of half their number, no longer remained. And if they were all safely there, what then? The resources of the Confederacy were utterly exhausted. Of the 150,000 men whose names were borne on its muster-rolls a few weeks ago, at least one-third were already disabled or prisoners, and the residue could neither be clad nor fed—not to dream of their being fitly armed or paid; while the resources of the loyal States were scarcely touched, their ranks nearly or quite as full as ever, and their supply of ordnance, small-arms, munitions, etc., more ample than in any previous April. Of the millions or so borne on our muster-rolls, probably not less than half were then in active service, with half so many more able to take the field at short notice. The Rebellion had failed and gone down; but the Rebel Army of Virginia and its commander had *not* failed. Fighting sternly against the Inevitable—against the irrepressible tendencies, the generous aspirations of the age—they had been proved unable to succeed where success would have been a calamity to their children, to their country, and the human race. And, when the transient agony of the defeat had been endured and had passed, they all experienced a sense of relief, as they crowded around their departing chief, who, with streaming eyes, grasped and pressed their outstretched hands, at length finding words to say, 'Men, we have fought through the War together. I have done the best that I could for you.' There were few dry eyes among those who witnessed the scene; and our soldiers hastened to divide their rations with their late enemies, now fellow-countrymen, to stay their hunger until provisions from our trains could be drawn for them. Then, while most of our army returned to Burkesville, and thence, a few days later, to Petersburg and Richmond, the work of paroling went on, under the guardianship of Griffin's and Gibbon's infantry, with McKenzie's cavalry; and, so fast as paroled, the Confederates took their way severally to their respective homes: many of them supplied with transportation as well as food, by the government they had fought so long and so bravely to subvert and destroy.

The day after the fall of Richmond, Mr. Lincoln visited the Capital of the late Confederacy, so recently and suddenly abandoned by its fugitive chief. Being recognized by the Black population as he entered Richmond, there was a rush which packed the streets, and a shout of welcome rang through the city.

On the day of Lee's surrender, he returned to Washington, and the next evening he addressed the vast multitude assembled before the Executive Mansion. In a speech characterized by two qualities so peculiar to himself—turning over to Congress the settlement of all difficulties connected with the representation of the revolted States, and expressing his desire that *some* participation in government through right of suffrage, might be accorded to that vast Colored population who had so recently come out from the house of bondage:—but, above all, without a trace of bitterness or resentment towards the late enemies of the Republic, he expressed an anxious wish that those States should be restored to all the functions of self-government, and equal power in the Union, at the earliest moment that might be consistent with the integrity, safety, and tranquillity of the nation.

The next day, April 12, the telegraph flashed through the country an order from the War Department, to put a stop to all drafting and recruiting for our armies, the purchase of arms, munitions, and provisions of war, the reduction in number of Generals and Staff Officers, and the instant removal of all military restrictions on commerce and trade.

It happened to be just four years after the surrender of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson, and a crowd of loyal citizens had sailed down to Charleston, to raise over the ruins of that historic fortress, the very flag which Anderson had borne away with him when he was driven in helplessness from his post.

Lincoln's Death.—The war had closed, and all through the country it had been a gala day. Peace had come, with victory. The President had passed some hours with his Cabinet, listening to a report from Gen. Grant, who had just returned from Appomattox, and it was proposed that the party should seek some relaxation from the labors and excitements of the day, by attending the theatre. Mr. Greeley gives the following simple account :—‘ At 8 P.M., the President and his wife, with two others, rode to the theatre, and were ushered into the private box previously secured by him ; where, at 10½ P.M., while all were intent on the play, an actor of Baltimore birth—John Wilkes Booth by name, son of the more eminent English-born tragedian, Junius Brutus Booth—availing himself of that freedom usually accorded at theatres to actors, entered at the front door, stood for a few moments, after presenting a card to the President's messenger, in the passage-way behind the dress-circle, surveying the spectacle before him ; then entered the vestibule of the President's private box, shut the door behind him, fastened it from the inside by placing a short plank (previously provided) against it, with its foot against the opposite wall, and then, holding a pistol and a dagger in either hand, stepped through the inner door into the box just behind the President, who was leaning forward, with his eyes fixed on the stage, and fired his pistol, while holding it close to the back of the President's head, piercing his skull behind the left ear, and lodging the ball, after traversing the brain, just behind the right eye. Mr. Lincoln's head fell slightly forward, his eyes closed, but he uttered no word or cry ; and though life was not extinct for nine hours thereafter, he gave, thenceforth to his death in a neighboring house, at 7 : 22 next morning, no sign of intelligence ; and it is probable that he never on earth knew that he had been shot, or was conscious even of suffering, much less of malice and murder.’

A merciful heaven, that knew his work was done, now flung open its doors to receive the Savior of the Union, and the Deliverer of the African race.

From no lips could the eulogy of ABRAHAM LINCOLN fall so gracefully, as from CHARLES SUMNER'S :—

‘ In the universe of God there are no accidents. From the fall of a sparrow to the fall of an empire, or the sweep of a planet, all is according to Divine Providence, whose laws are everlasting. It was no accident which gave to his country the patriot whom we now honor. It was no accident

which snatched this patriot so suddenly and so cruelly from his sublime duties. The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away ; blessed be the name of the Lord.

Since the death of the Father of the Republic, which filled the country with grief, and threw distant nations into mourning, there had been no funeral in America which bore even a faint resemblance to the martyred President's in the depth and extent of the public sorrow, for Abraham Lincoln held the next place to Washington in the hearts of our people, and he is now enshrined among the few beloved names which all mankind cherish. It were vain to attempt any adequate description of the tokens of respect and sorrow which were displayed throughout the country. The funeral bells went tolling with the sun in its circuit, from noon-day on the Atlantic to the noon-day of the Pacific—the two ocean boundaries of a continent stricken by a common grief.

Memorial meetings were held in every State and Territory of the Union ; everywhere Morse's lightning had made it a funeral day in America.

A hundred thousand flags drooped to his memory. He was the theme of eulogy in ten thousand universities and schools of learning ; his praises were uttered over countless work-benches, and among diversified scenes of honest toil ; the plow halted in the furrow of a million of upturning fields ; the incense of prayer for the repose of his gentle spirit, witnessed only by guardian angels, went up from myriads of closets ; his pictures were wreathed in mourning in the humble cabins of innumerable homes of his dusky worshippers ; young mothers pressed his name on the foreheads of new-born babes ; the news of his death cast a shadow over many a bridal morning, and folded the wings of love around many a scene of enchantment ; the old sank tremblingly into their easy-chairs, as they heaved their latest sighs to his cherished memory ; and the dying, with the last praises of earth, thanked the God of Liberty that its great champion had lived. And so, from the frozen gates of our Republic on the North, where the brooks had not yet begun to murmur, down to meet the blushing spring in its coming, till it reached the orange-groves of Florida, one wave of sorrow swept its gentle way ; while under the ocean the sad news was flashing to distant nations. There was not a clime where the tribute of tears was not paid to him. It was one of those few funeral days in which the obsequies of a great philanthropist were held within twenty-four hours all round the globe. He was the friend of Humanity, and Humanity wept when he was no more.

SECTION SIXTH.

THE REFORMERS OF OUR TIMES—LINCOLN, SUMNER, GREELEY.

It has generally been the fate of men heading great reform movements, to fall before the hour of triumph ; and they have as often been so far ahead of their fellows that only a few tall men could keep sight of them. It has, however, more often been the fate of such men to have to wait some time,—often long periods,—before they were understood. But time is rushing so

fast in our days that this order of things is somewhat changed. Reformers are being understood now, while they live. The strong ones are fully comprehended very soon after they die.

All this applies to the three most extraordinary men of our times. Mr. Lincoln was being rapidly understood : better and sooner by the masses of the people, than by pretended statesmen. The latter were not so well prepared for the Proclamation of Emancipation, as the people themselves. If the counsels of the cabinet had prevailed, that Proclamation would not only have been delayed, but most likely it never would have been made. There is something grander than so-called educated statesmanship,—which is often the result of maxims which, although sanctified by time, are condemned by the higher standard of integrity and justice. The highest statesmanship consists in obeying lofty ingeniousness and courageous intuitions. The throbbings of a great soul, under the inspirations of a divine humanity, are far more worthy to be trusted, than any of the guides laid down in the books of diplomacy, or treatises on the art of government. The careful readers of the lives of Metternich and Talleyrand, will nowhere find in their histories, that they were guided by loftier inspirations than the mere calculations of the chances of temporary success. Management, and not government ; diplomacy, and not open dealing ; retrogradation, and not progress ; duplicity, and not candor ; finesse, and not fair play, constituted their chief claims to statesmanship. The more we read of them, and the deeper insight we get into their motives, the less respect we feel for them. They present a poor show when they are made to stand up by the side of such men as Franklin, Washington, John Adams, among us ; and Oliver Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, Chatham, and Burke ; and in more recent times, Sir Robert Peel, Richard Cobden, John Bright, William Ewert, Gladstone, Count Cavour, and Emilio Castelar, among the Europeans.

Charles Sumner never once in his life turned his back upon what he believed to be right, long enough to inquire what would be popular, or successful. Of course, he never proposed a public measure that did not raise a shriek of alarm and horror among all the venal, the selfish, and the cowardly,—and even chill the great body of the friends of justice and progress with apprehension. And yet, of this great man it may be said,—what cannot be of but one other, whoever lived,—that, dying, he left incomplete but a single measure that had taxed his powers of argument, or excited the last resources in his well-appointed armory. Even that measure he was ready to submit to such modifications as mature deliberation might suggest. But he worked on patiently, enveloped, throughout nearly all his political life, with the thickest clouds of obloquy—his body all the while stuck full of poisoned arrows, and, to human eyes, bleeding at every pore ; and levelled, at last on the floor of the Senate by the bludgeon of a bully who professed to represent the chivalry of the South.

And yet this man lived to see every cloud dispelled ; he could look off through the fair future charged with sunshine, upon a redeemed country. **It**

dying he might almost have heard the funeral bells tolling his dirges in every State where Slavery had ceased to be. The whole nation went into deep mourning. He did not have to wait for that 'other age' which Bacon appealed to for judgment—not for one year, not for one lunar month; not even for an hour on the clock of time; for the telegraph had but one story to tell; the human heart had but one tribute to offer to the fearless, the upright statesman.

Another like man was HORACE GREELEY. For a whole generation he had been swimming against the rushing tide of unrelenting opposition. But he had been surely, though slowly, educating the people of the United States *out of the barbarism of Slavery*. So completely had this work been done, so frightfully true had his prophecies of the baleful evils of Slavery been realized, that no sooner had the curse moved off, than he began to be beloved where he had been hated; and just in proportion as he was understood, just in that proportion was he esteemed, respected, admired, and almost idolized. So quick 'does it pay' in our times, not only to speak the truth, but to live it.

But I have always regarded another aspect of this subject with greater wonder and delight. His serenity of judgment which so seldom allowed passion to disturb it, even in the heat of political campaigns; above all, in the midst of that bloody crusade which Slavery brought upon itself by attempting the atrocious battle with Liberty in the presence of her own altars; for the first words uttered by him when the news came of the surrender of Lee were, *Now for universal amnesty and impartial suffrage*. He had no wrongs to avenge, no malice had mixed itself up in his heart against the wrong-doer,—or if you will, the unfortunate and unwilling *participant* in this great crime of Slavery. He was no selfish conqueror who had passions to glut, converting the hour of triumph into one of humiliation for a prostrate people; least of all did he look with any complacency upon the policy so soon declared by the victors—I mean the politicians who held the power, and not the brave military chieftains, nor the million of soldiers on either side who had done the work. He had no thought of robbery and plunder. He knew nothing of the vampire who sucks the blood of the living; least of all, of the ghoul who rifles the narrow house.

There was another, grander thing than even all this. Before Horace Greeley died, his principles and his policy had so thoroughly pervaded the mind of the country, that the sympathies of the nation were with him. The sympathies even of the great Republican party were with him. And had not the irresistible power of completely appointed machinery, rendered its National Convention helpless to name any other man than the one proposed by the office-holders of the country, even there, the man who commanded all their respect, would have had all their votes. Something better was, however, done. There was the great Democratic party,—shorn, it is true, of its old prestige, decimated in numbers, and suffering for the crimes of its leaders—a party

alleged to have been so debauched by former terms of power, and by the all-corrupting political influence of Slavery, that a spectacle which no mortal could have dreamed of weeks before it happened, did show itself. A large section of the best men of the Republican and Democratic parties, whose hearts were nearly in the same place, and had been from the beginning, when Free Soil lit its torch, and pointed the way to the general illumination that came with the Proclamation of Lincoln—this small, but powerful body of men, greater by far in their principles and the incorruptible purity of their patriotism, than they were in numbers, but in such an aggregate of strong atoms as proved too mighty to pass unobserved;—they nominated Mr. Greeley, for they could nominate nobody else. There was no other man in the nation whose shoulders were broad enough to carry the great burden of the future hopes of the country, or represent its desire for reform. He was the completest living representative of the strifes of the last thirty years, and of the hopes of all the ages to come. Then how was it with the Democratic party proper? Still a large and formidable body of men, and aspiring at last to be once more what it had been—a party of popular principles: the representative of national feelings—the unbought, the unterrified, the patriotic,—yes, if you will, the lusty, noisy mob of patriots; looking about in all directions they saw every other road stopped up; helplessness and hoplessness were written upon every other candidate—aye, more; final extinction of a party that could not leave corrupt leaders, and launch off on its own daring way, and strike a blow that would ring over the world,—this would have been their doom. They nominated Horace Greeley in convention, when perhaps in the whole body he would not otherwise have been the first choice of a score of delegates. The old corrupters of youth; the gray engineers who had run the ship into shallow water, and left her among the breakers; the representatives of the rotten, dead past; the hoary advocates of Slavery; the last lingering mourners that could hardly be torn away from its grave,—still hugging the corpse—they were powerless in that convention. Right, about, wheel! was the word heard coming from every part of the land. There were men enough in that assembly who had the fresher and purer blood of youth in them; some of them aged men, it is true, but whose hearts had never grown old; men, whose souls longed for a better day. All their aspirations could now be gratified; and when the convention started towards the right, it went as a unit.

It was a sublime sight to look on this nation as she came up and rallied round the once contemned, but now beloved name of Horace Greeley. The office-holders were not there; they wanted the old *régime* to continue. The carpet-baggers were not there; they wanted still to prosecute their villain work. What there was left of treasure or hope in the prostrated South, they still wished to clutch. If there were one drop more of heart's blood left, they wanted to squeeze it into their cup. They were brave partisans, fine patriots, to be sure: Men who went into power by their help, must have been proud of

the achievement ! Altogether, they must have looked upon it as a brave triumph at the overawed, purchased, ballot-box ! How did they look at it two years later ? But the worst of it has never been half told—future histories will record it. So completely had the civil and military power of the country bound the chains around the emancipated negro race, and in their stolid ignorance so helpless had they become to resist the delusion, to withstand the threats of desertion by the party that had redeemed them ; money for corrupt purposes suddenly became so abundant in certain districts, and in impoverished communities, and every dollar went so far, that just votes enough were secured from such quarters—with the office-holders—to make a majority, which for a short period longer was to give sanction to a policy that only two years later the nation almost as one man repudiated. On the third of November, 1874—the off year for elections, when outsiders, as a rule, are never supposed to feel any enthusiasm, or make any strong effort ; and when this great body of office-holders, beginning to take alarm, lest by the loss of State elections in the off year, their power might be slipping away from them :—at this moment elections occurred in twenty-three States. There was no combination ; no great event had happened to help on the reform ;—still so wide-spread was the conviction that the present state of things ought not to continue ; so fully were men's minds made up that the South ought to be trampled on no longer ; that the halls of Congress ought no longer to hold representatives so corrupt, so loaded down with stolen gold, so saturated with the filth of unprincipled villainy, that the doom of men in power, and the policy that guided them, were summarily judged.

This movement was no earthquake. It was only the beginning of the reverberations of the heavy tread of the million on their way to the ballot-box, to sweep bad men and bad principles out of power. The people voted them out of existence. On that calm November day, the majority in the popular branch of the national Congress which had run riot on the spoils of corruption, was reversed.

I claim that of all other men—and I had almost said over and above all other men—Horace Greeley had educated this nation up to such a point, that it could no longer endure this system of spoliation which followed as a twin sister of the grand parasite of the War for Slavery. What other man in history has, not only worked a revolution, but educated a great people up to the point of knowing how to reap the fruits of it ? I believe that in applying this twofold test to the claimant for double honors from modern civilization, the claim of Horace Greeley will hereafter be allowed. There is no portion of America to-day, where his name is mentioned—I care not among what class, or among all classes assembled on any occasion,—that the mention of his name does not awaken an enthusiasm that is scarcely felt for any other man in our history.

Before twelve o'clock on the night of that election in 1872, the telegraph

had told all who waited, of Greeley's defeat ; and yet there was no depression. There was some sadness among the thinking and the patriotic, that so great and good a man should have been repudiated ; but the reasons were on the very face of things ; and from every part of the country came back such assurances as these to Chappaqua—' Although we have lost the day, we have won the battle '—' If we have not gained the victory, we have kept the field.'—' It has done in the cause of good government, as much for us in *our* age, as Bunker Hill did in the days of our fathers. The English claimed that as a victory ; when they had had enough of such victories, they cried peace.'

But this was to be no seven years' struggle ; for just two years to a day, from Greeley's defeat, came his triumph. The very men who had exulted over what they called their victory, and greedily hugged with one arm the treasures they had stolen, and thrust out the other for more, and still another 'grab,' had already begun to discover that the sentiment of indignation which had confronted them in 1872, was growing stronger after the defeat—that although they might by sheer force of numbers still vote money into their pockets, and bolster one another up in their iniquity, yet they saw that 'the day of reckoning' could not long be postponed. From defiance they descended to apologies ; from apologies to lies, to evasions, to shirking the question. They would not allow honest investigation. They suppressed facts. The truth would not do for them ; and between *Crédit Mobilier* robberies, and 'salary grabs'—not a polite but most excellent and proper name for such deeds—and even the audacious attempt, under thin and delusive guises, a shameless assault upon the freedom of the press—gag-law.

Pity it is that some fair names went out of this conflict so spotted ! Pitiful was the sight of strong, great, learned jurists, crawling away from the issue, and shamelessly attempting to pervert judgment, and make the people misunderstand facts, and believe in lies.

Such have been some of the aspects of politics during the last few years. It is only true to say, that good men everywhere, when they heard that a peaceful revolution had been worked, were glad that the nation breathed freer when they knew that this career of crime, and shameless prostitution in public affairs, had been checked ; that villainy had at least been shorn of some of its audacity ; that the power to do much evil in that same way, and by those same evil workers, had ceased.

The simple fact is that the Republic could well rejoice. A greater danger had been escaped than we encountered in that bold and overt attempt to break up the nation by civil war ; for, to the clear vision of men of sense and patriotism—men who had read and understood our history—there was at no period any uncertainty about the final result of a struggle in arms. This nation was too mighty to be torn asunder. In spreading, it had grown strong. It was no paradox to say that the wider it spread, the more compact it grew ; least of all in this age, in a test struggle between chattel Slavery and freedom for all mankind, was Liberty to come down.

But the period that followed this gunpowder triumph, was charged with dangers far greater, for they were subtle in their stealthy march. With all the agencies of corruption, they prostituted patriotism; they sapped the foundations of public virtue; they cheapened citizenship; they inflamed everywhere the passion for gold; they made men discontented with honest toil; they created monopolies of money; corporations of power too great for any party to overthrow—since all parties had been drawn into the folds of this frightful Laocoon. The father and his sons were dying together. I do not believe that history will misinterpret these lamentable events. The nation has been saved, and lessons have been taught to men and to parties who will hereafter come into power, which even the most stolid will be able to read; lessons the most insensible cannot help feeling. There is at all events for us now living, occasion for congratulation and hope. Something, at all events, has at least been done in the right direction. And if evil days shall come upon us, the just punishments which have been meted out to the wrong-doers of our time, will stand as landmarks of warning for the future.

SECTION SEVENTH.

THE POETS OF AMERICA.

BUT we have long enough been looking into the shadows of the past—let us come on the sunnyside of the hedge. If the reader, who has followed me through the sad scenes which I have only faintly flashed on his fancy, would not like to look on a fairer landscape, I would.

The Poets of America.—They need no better record than they have made in their own works,¹ nor shall I presume to offer to them any praise. But I think it eminently proper to cast a look over the broad fields which have been illuminated by our gifted writers in verse. Here, as in all other spheres of effort, I shall attempt little more than glances—it must be only etchings to the last. I undertook nothing else. To give the best idea of what our poets have written, I thought it well to make a convenient classification of the Departments of Poetry. If it should not be deemed by the learned in such matters, as entirely worthy of the subject, I shall be sorry; but as I shall probably be expected to say something, I may hope for charity where I display a lack of knowledge or discernment. It is quite impossible for me to find space even for the names of any except the well-recognized chieftains of American song—nor do I attempt to embrace all these of either sex; for the women of the Western continent have sung as sweetly as those of any other nation.

¹ In his captivating Lecture on Poetry, before the Girls' High School of Boston, in 1874, Mr. James T. Fields, himself a charming poet, said:—
 It was never truer than now that poetry has its own exceeding great reward. And let us never forget, my friends, when we are estimating poetry, what Longfellow himself teaches in one of his best and noblest efforts, that—
 'God sent his singers on the earth,
 With songs of sadness and of mirth,
 That they might teach the heart of men,
 And bring them back to heaven again.'

NATIONAL POEMS.—Dwight's name was long ago affixed to a poem which began with these lines—

‘Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,
The queen of the world, and the child of the skies.’

Allston.—Of whom I have already reverently spoken as the poet-painter, wrote ‘America to Great Britain,’ with that fervor of truth which invariably characterized him.

J. S. Percival.—‘It is great for our Country to Die;’ and what better illustration of the old Latin maxim written upon the heart of every one of Cæsar's legions, *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*?

Fitz-Greene Halleck.—His ‘Connecticut,’ one of the finest poems of this most gifted child of that State, which has given birth to so much of the genius which has illustrated the arts and achievements of the nation, and which is proud to mention him among her sons, and is happy in holding his ashes.

Longfellow.—His ‘Paul Revere's Ride,’ which the men who gathered on the one hundredth anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord could not help recalling, and which will have to be read in all the coming years—is praise enough for Longfellow as a national poet. His rushing fire has quickened the pulse of every reader; his sweet grace has opened every heart; his rich humor has assuaged the asperities of life. Longfellow is pre-eminently distinguished for veneration, ardent humanity, and charming rhythm.

William Ross Wallace.—Of him, Bryant said years ago, ‘Wallace's splendor of imagination, and fulness of poetic diction, show him to be a born poet.’ Of him Poe wrote, ‘He must be placed in the front rank of modern poets.’ I quote ‘The Sword of Bunker Hill.’ In the long line of his lyrics which would properly come under the title of national, are, ‘United States Anthem: God of the Free,’ ‘The American Epic.’

1 THE SWORD OF BUNKER HILL.

He lay upon his dying bed,
His eye was growing dim,
When with a feeble voice he called
His weeping son to him:

“Weep not, my boy,” the veteran said,
“I bow to Heaven's high will,
But quickly from yon anters bring
The Sword of Bunker Hill.”

The sword was brought; the soldier's eye
Lit with a sudden flame,
And as he grasped the ancient blade,
He murmured Warren's name,
Then said, “My boy, I leave you gold,
But what is better still,
I leave you—mark me, mark me now,
The Sword of Bunker Hill.”

T was on that dread immortal day
We dared the invading band,
A captain raised his sword on me,

I tore it from his hand;
And as the awful battle raged
It lightened Freedom's will,
For, boy, the God of Freedom blest
The Sword of Bunker Hill.

Oh, keep the sword, and if a foe
Again invades our land,
My soul will shout from Heaven to see
It lighten in your hand;
But if a traitor strikes at home,
Yet grander joy must thrill
When through his false heart fiercely flame,
The Sword of Bunker Hill.

“Oh, keep the sword,”—his accents broke,
A smile and he was dead,
But his wrinkled hand still grasped the blade
Upon that dying-bed.
The son remains, the sword remains,
Its glory growing still,
And forty millions bless the Sire
And Sword of Bunker Hill.

John Neal.—His wealth of sparkling metaphor, his headlong imagination and the fierce sweep of the music of his verse, are known to all readers of poetry. His 'American Eagle' comes under the poems denominated national.

John Pierpont.—His reverence, tenderness, love of right, and charm of versification endeared him to the generation of his time, and made it certain that the green grass over his tomb will in coming ages be bedewed with tender tears. 'The Pilgrim Fathers' is among his noblest productions.

William G. Simms.—It was in days that fortunately preceded the question of a divided American patriotism, that he wrote 'The Revolutionary Battle of Eutaw,' which, had he lived, would have recalled to him a better spirit than his countrymen displayed in lighting the torch of secession.

Bayard Taylor.—The wing of his fancy has flown over many scenes at home and abroad, and keenly and swiftly cut the air. But in this place I need only recall him to the American people.

Richard H. Stoddard.—In his poem of 'Valley Forge,' there was the ring of Revolutionary patriotism and chivalry.

George D. Prentice.—The nerve, elegance, patriotism, pathos, and sublimity of this genial and accomplished editor and poet, flashed out from all his poems. In his 'Washington's Birthday,' they flamed with Revolutionary fire.

J. G. Whittier.—If I began to praise Whittier, I could never stop. I have chosen, from a multitude of his national lyrics, his 'Laus Deo.'¹

¹ LAUS DEO!

ON HEARING THE BELLS RING ON THE PASSAGE OF
THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISH-
ING SLAVERY.

It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial hour of crime.
Loud and long, that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of eternity and time!

Let us kneel—
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord, forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad.
In the earthquake He has spoken;
He has smitten with His thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song:
Sing with Miriam by the sea,

He has cast the mighty down:
Horse and rider sink and drown.
'He hath triumphed gloriously.'

Did we dare,
In our agony of prayer,
Ask for more than He has done?
When was ever His right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale,
Ancient myth and song and tale,
In this wonder of our days,
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise.

Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe,
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing,
Bells of joy! On morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad!
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns,
Who alone is Lord and God!

William C. Bryant.—For half a century it has been unnecessary for an American to praise him; among his national writings, however, I must mention the 'Song of Marion's Men,' for it rings itself in here. Among the chief characteristics which pervade his poetry, no reader can fail to be impressed with his broad philosophy, deep tenderness, quiet strength, and dignity of movement.

Lydia S. Sigourney.—She who has been so commonly called the Hemans of America, will long be remembered for 'The Mother of Washington.'

HEROIC.—*Philip Frenau.*—The lyre of this grand old poet was among the first to be struck in the New World, in a way that would send its notes down through the future. He wrote one immortal poem. 'The Indian Death-Song' has the spirit of a period which witnessed most of the heroism of those races which have since been fading beyond sight, and life, and all but tradition, towards the setting sun. Campbell, the author of 'Gertrude of Wyoming,' told me, if he had read it before, it would have prevented him from writing the death-song of Outalissa.

Bryant's 'Battle-Field,' if it contained nothing else, would live forever, were it only for these words,

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
While error wounded writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.

Longfellow's 'Excelsior.' This is stereotyped on the memory of every boy that goes to a Common School, or that school is an uncommon one, and it ought to put every such teacher who reads this book to the blush.

Wallace's 'Fight Above the Clouds' is probably the description of 'The Battle of Lookout Mountain,' which will outlive all others.

W. D. Gallagher's 'Mothers of the West' has a permanent place in the heroic poetry of America.

T. Buchanan Read.—In his 'Passing the Icebergs' he truthfully paints the grandeur of the arctic zone, and crowns it with a fine moral of human struggle.

Bayard Taylor's 'Arab Warrior;' from every line flashes out the heroism of Oriental bravery.

O. W. Holmes.—He won some portion of his popularity by the 'Battle of Lexington.' The power of description which he so gracefully wields, stirs the reader's feeling and imagination.

Whittier's 'Rantoul' burns with the fire of holy freedom for all men. It

is not only a tribute to the earnest friends of liberty, but a satire upon al oppression ; from it goes up incense to the God of Freedom.

Lucy Hooper.—Her 'Osceola' is a touching tribute to an Indian chief, whose capture and death are so brimful of melancholy, as to touch a chord in every sensitive heart.

Elizabeth Stoddard.—Her 'Colonel's Shield' fairly glows with chivalry and love.

FREEDOM AND ITS POETS.—Bryant's 'Antiquity of Freedom' has all the mastery of his genius, and quenchless love for human liberty.

Halleck's 'Marco Bozzaris.' The reader will find it in another portion of this work quoted entire, as the most brilliant and effective offering from this side of the Atlantic, to the chivalry of the old world.

Prentice's 'Prophecy of Freedom' is an exultant trumpet-tone in advance of man's final redemption from all thralldom.

Whittier's 'Toussaint L'Ouverture,' 'The Slave Ships,' 'The Yankee Girl,' 'To Faneuil Hall,'—all come in here ; and above all 'The Prisoner for Debt,' for it breathes a humanity that has already opened the prison doors of all civilized nations to men who used to be sacrificed to the spirit of merciless greed and gain.

Wallace's 'Ode on the passage by the Congress of the United States of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, 1865,' is elsewhere quoted.

LABOR AND ITS SONG.—*G. W. Cutter.* His 'Song of Steam' is a surpassing lyric on this tremendous agent of man in his subjugation of the material forces of nature.

Alfred B. Street's 'Settler' is a vivid song of the queller of the forest, and planter of civilization.

Francis S. Osgood's 'Labor' fervently marries honest toil, and the nuptials are consecrated with the divinest tenderness of woman.

Mrs. Sigourney's 'Western Emigrant' might well have given renewed courage to strangers from the Old World, who landed here, and followed the guiding star to the Pacific.

Longfellow's 'Village Blacksmith' will always live with its homely religious thought, picturesqueness, and pathos.

Whittier's sonorous music in 'Shipbuilders' and 'Lumbermen' will forever ring with the winds of the ocean, and the sound of falling trees in the forest.





OSCEOLA, CHIEF OF THE SEMINOLES. (*From Catlin's "North American Indians."*)

Wallace.—What has often struck us as one of his grandest lyrics, is his 'Ode to Labor,'¹ sung at the opening of the New York Crystal Palace, of which I give three stanzas.

EMOTIONAL.—*Samuel Woodworth.*—'The Old Oaken Bucket,'² which has for a generation been a cherished song in the life of primitive American homes; for 'the old oaken bucket' can never be confounded with the modern pump, whose convenience will excuse its presence; but which will always be looked on as an innovation upon the swinging well-sweep.

J. Howard Payne.—There was only one more charm left to sanctify the dearest spot on all the earth, and this poet furnished it in his 'Home, Sweet Home:' and so grand a contribution did it seem to be to the associations of the spot which holds for so many all they love and cherish, nearest and dearest, that it has flown on its angel wings of poetry and sentiment from nation to nation, till it has been translated into more languages than the Declaration of Independence.³

Charles Sprague.—'The Family Meeting.' This poem supplements beautifully 'Home, sweet home,' for his family met where the well-sweep which held the oaken bucket had not gone out of fashion.⁴

Let Napoleon's fire heart thunder;
Only from a cloudy horde!—
Labor's Son shall melt the cannon,
And the plow outlive the sword.

New-born Shakespeares then will greet us,
Newtons glorify the sod,
Miltons stand with rapt souls chanting
Opposite the Throne of God.

Then for them prepare the Temple;
Brace the arm, and bare the brow;
After times may write the Epic—
We will *live* the Epic now.

² THE OLD OAKEN BUCKET.

How dear to this heart are the scenes of my childhood!
When fond recollection recalls them to view;
The orchard, the meadow, the deep tangled wild wood,
And every loved spot which my infancy knew;
The wide-spreading pond, and the mill which stood by
it,
The bridge, and the rock where the catarract fell;
The cot of my father, the dairy-house nigh it,
And e'en the rude bucket which hung in the well.
The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-cover'd bucket which hung in the well.

That moss-cover'd vessel I hail as a treasure,
For often at noon, when returned from the field,
I found it the source of an exquisite pleasure,
The purest and sweetest that nature can yield.
How ardent I seized it with hands that were glowing,
How quick to the white pebbled bottom it fell,
Then soon with the emblem of truth overflowing,
And dripping with coolness, it rose from the well.
The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-cover'd bucket arose from the well.

How sweet from the green mossy brim to receive it,
As, poised on the curb, it inclined to my lips;
Not a full blushing goblet could tempt me to leave it,
Though filled with the nectar that Jupiter sips.

And now, far removed from the loved situation,
The tear of regret will intrusively swell,
As fancy reverts to my father's plantation,
And sighs for the bucket which hangs in the well.
The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-cover'd bucket which hangs in his well.

³ HOME, SWEET HOME.

'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Still, be it ever so humble, there's no place like home;
A charm from the skies seems to hallow it there,
Which, go through the world, you'll not meet with else-
where.

Home, home,
Sweet home!

There's no place like home—
There's no place like home.

An exile from home, pleasure dazzles in vain,
Ah! give me my lowly thatched cottage again;
The birds singing sweetly, that came to my call—
Give me them, and that peace of mind, dearer than all
Home, home, etc.

⁴ THE FAMILY MEETING.

[These lines were written on occasion of the accidental meeting of all the surviving members of a family, the father and mother of which, one eighty-two, the other eighty years old, have lived in the same house fifty-three years.]

We are all here!
Father, Mother,
Sister, Brother,

All who hold each other dear.
Each chair is filled—we're all *at home*,
To-night let no cold stranger come;
It is not often thus around
Our old familiar hearth we're found.
Bless, then, the meeting and the spot;
For once be every care forgot;
Let gentle Peace assert her power,
And kind Affection rule the hour;
We're all—all here.

Edgar A. Poe.—‘The Raven,’ weird as it is, and unclassable in any list yet drawn—because it is so unique—and ‘Annabel Lee,’ after whom so many children have been so tenderly called—Poe’s name shall not escape my praise, because of some human infirmities which God, who created such a genius, could easily forgive, and be my apology what Whittier says of Burns :

Let those who never erred forget
His worth, in vain bewailings ;
Sweet Soul of Song !—I own my debt
Uncancelled by his failings !

Whittier’s ‘Maud Müller’ is beyond my praise.

James T. Fields.—His ‘Last Wishes of a Child’ is above criticism—it was written only for mothers.

Prentice.—‘To my Mother’s Grave,’—One of the saving influences of life, which has outtrode the storms of all oceans and survived all the gibbets of earth, surpassing everything in power, even the ministry of angels, has been the love of mothers. Prentice has told the whole story.

George P. Morris is a beloved writer. Morris enjoyed great popularity, and the rubiest lips in our clime have sung his songs : among the sweetest is ‘Woodman, Spare that Tree,’ and as a more passionate expression of love, ‘Near the Lake where Droops the Willow.’

Pierpont.—‘To my Boy.’ His parting words still linger in the memory of all readers of true poetry.

E. C. Stedman.—‘A Mother’s Picture’ has entranced everybody who read it, and among his latest effusions, his ‘Bohemia’ is the most touching.¹

We’re *not* all here !
Some are away—the dead ones dear,
Who thronged with us this ancient hearth,
And gave the hour to guiltless mirth.
Fate, with a stern, relentless hand,
Looked in and thinned our little band ;
Some like a night-flash passed away,
And some sank, lingering, day by day :
The quiet graveyard—some lie there—
And cruel Ocean has his share—
We’re *not* all here.

We are all here !
Even they—the dead—though dead, so dear.
Fond memory, to her duty true,
Brings back their faded forms to view.
How life-like, through the mist of years,
Each well-remembered face appears !
We see them as in times long past ;
From each to each kind looks are cast ;
We hear their words, their smiles behold,
They’re round us as they were of old—
We are all here.

We are all here !
Father, Mother,
Sister, Brother,
You that I love with love so dear.
This may not long of us be said ;
Soon must we join the gathered dead ;
And by the hearth we now sit round,
Some other circle will be found.

O, then, that wisdom may we know,
Which yields a life of peace below !
So, in the world to follow this,
May each repeat in words of bliss
We’re all—all *here* !

¹ Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton thus heralded ‘Bohemia,’ as it soon afterwards appeared :

Every young writer who has sought to push his way in that crowded, busy city, where the laborers are more plenty than the harvest, can divine the wearing anxiety of his early struggles there—a handsome, delicate, cultured boy of 22, with a pretty, childish, inexperienced girl for his wife—‘two babes in the wood,’ as he himself has said. He has sung all the romance of it—leaving out the sordid care—in his poem of ‘Bohemia,’ one of the most touching of his lyrics, when we recall the circumstances under which he dwelt in

That proud and humble, poor and grand,
Enchanted, golden Gypsy-Land,
The Valley of Bohemia.

In one verse he alludes to a little experiment they tried toward Communism :

And once we stopped a twelvemonth, where
Five score Bohemians began
Their scheme to cheapen bed and fare,

Halleck.—‘His Woman,’ if not praised, as I suppose it must be by the beings to whom it was addressed, and all whose charms his lyre sounded, then it has been reserved for my own sex.

Wallace's ‘The Hand that Rocks the World,’ with its refrain, ‘For the Hand that Rocks the Cradle,’ is worthy of a subject so sacred and universal.

R. W. Emerson.—The poems of this man can add little to the fame of his prose, which will outlast the poetry of myriads who swarm around Parnassus. But in the Emotional, he wrote a very graceful little piece called ‘To the Humble Bee,’ and among his philosophical rhythms, his ‘Each in All’ should not be forgotten.

Maria Brooks.—In her ‘Marriage’ she shows such an appreciation of its sacredness, that it seems to throw a new halo of consecration around the nuptial altar.

Albert Pike.—In his ‘Hymn to Venus,’ while he does not lose sight of the ‘Divine Aurora,’ around the brow of a goddess, humanity seems to be his chief inspiration.

William Leggett.—This gifted writer, so beloved in his time, and greatest of the editors of his day; so refined in sentiment, so mature in scholarship; a man who, although found in the front of the battle, and mixed up with all the passions of his age, never soiled the purity of his soul, and died with the love and honor of all good men who knew him—he sometimes wrote poems. Among them, one I allude to with admiration,—‘Love and Friendship.’

Robert C. Sands.—‘His Green Isle of Lovers’ is an exquisite poem.

E. C. Pinckney.—‘Picture Song’ abounds in the charm of two arts—Painting and Poesy.

Emma C. Embury.—‘Heart Questionings’ could alone have been inspired by the soul of a noble woman.

Ann S. Stephens.—‘The Old Apple Tree.’ While her prose writings are

Upon a late discovered plan;
‘For see,’ they said, ‘the sum how small
By which one pilgrim’s wants are met!
And if a host together fall,
What need of any cash at all?’
Though how it worked I half forget,
Yet still the same old dance and song
We found—the kindly, blithesome throng,
And joyance of Bohemia.

But there came a time when the dancing feet were
still, and the singers sang only dirge notes; for Death
entered even among the butterflies—even into Bohemia.

—There past
A mystic shadow o’er our band,
Deeper than want could ever cast,
For, oh, it darkened little eyes!
We saw our youngest darling die,

Then robed her in her palmer’s guise,
And crossed the fair hands pilgrim-wise;
And one by one, so tenderly,
Came Ambrose, Sibyl, Ralph, and Rose,
Strewing each sweetest flower that grows
In wildwoods of Bohemia.

But last the Poet, sorrowing, stood
Above the tiny clay, and said:
‘Bright little Spirit, pure and good,
Whither so far away hast fled!
Full soon thou tryest that other sphere;
Whate’er is lacking in our lives
Thou dost attain; for Heaven is near,
Methinks to pilgrims wandering here,
As to that one who never strives
With fortune, has not come to know
The pride and pain that dwell so low
In valleys of Bohemia.

pervaded by poetic inspirations, yet, sometimes she has seemed to let her pen glide into rhythm and rhyme, because the poetic art, and forms of poetry are more exalted than those of prose. In brief, I need only say that the highest literature of nations and of all the ages has demanded poetical form of expression.

William Story.—Under the head of *emotional*, certainly his poem 'Love' must come. When he drops the chisel of the sculptor, the harp seems to lend its strings just as willingly to his genius.

William Wallace Harney.—He is among our more recent poets, and has begun to make his mark in some lyrics; 'Jimmy's Wooing' is full of graceful nature, and sparkles with new hopes in poetry.

RELIGIOUS.—*Eliza Townsend.*—'The Incomprehensibility of God' she has treated with the exquisite sentiment of woman, and the imagination of masculine genius.

Richard H. Dana's 'Immortality' has already taken its place in the literature of the language.

Bryant's 'Forest Hymn' I have placed under the title religious, because it is so full of reverence.

Prentice.—'Sabbath Evening,' written away off on the banks of the silver Ohio, brings back to the heart of every New Englander the charms of the finest day of the whole week.

Longfellow.—This must be the spot for his great 'Psalm of Life,'¹ which will live when half his poems are forgotten.

James Russell Lowell.—The characteristics of this strong and great man, are breadth, aspiration, humor and satire; for he has written in the vein of all; but under the title *religious* I only speak of 'Act for Truth'—a poem which inculcates heroism among men, and adoration for God.

¹ A PSALM OF LIFE.

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream!
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each to-morrow
Find us farther than to-day.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still like muffled drums are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,

Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, howe'er pleasant!
Let the dead Past bury its dead!
Act,—act in the living Present!
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sand of time;

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwreck'd brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us, then, be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Wallace's 'Mahomet-El Amin.'¹ It is a bold, but truthful vindication of the great Arabian reformer, whom liberal America can comprehend.

Willis.—Among the religious poems which first won for him reputation as a poet, and which will outlast all his other reputations, is 'Absalom.' It depicts the grandeur of the Hebrew religion, which under his plastic genius is gracefully molded into English forms, and will serve as few poems can, to the end of time,—a funeral ode, either for a Hebrew or a Christian; for the worshippers of the Jehovah of the Jews, and the believers in Jesus of Nazareth, will never grow tired of his song.

Alice Cary.—If I had more space, I should enumerate more of her poems, and say more kind words of her cherished memory. Her 'Visions of Light' could have been written only by a woman on whose heart shone pictures of a better life than have often flashed on the beclouded orbs of most of the 'weary and heavy-laden.'

Holmes.—'Living Temple' is fit to be breathed in every closet of prayer, and in every temple of praise.

Rev. Dr. Muhlenburg.—'I would not live always' sounds even in English ears, and far away in the valleys of Scotland, more like one of the divine

¹ MAHOMET-EL AMIN.

Who is this that comes from Hara not in kingly pomp
and pride,
But a great, free son of Nature, lion-souled and eagle-
eyed?

Who is this before whose presence idols tumble to the
sod?

While he cries out—'Allah Akbar! and there is no
god but God!'

Wandering in the solemn desert, he has wondered, like
a child

Not as yet too proud to wonder, at the sun, and star,
and wild.

'Oh, thou moon! who made thy brightness? Stars!
who hung ye there on high?

Answer, so my soul may worship: I MUST worship, or
I die!'

Then there fell the brooding silence that precedes the
thunder's roll;
And the old Arabian Whirlwind called another Arab-
soul.

Who is this that comes from Hara not in kingly pomp
and pride,

But a great, free son of Nature, lion-souled and eagle-
eyed?

He has stood and seen Mount Hara to the Awful Pre-
sence nod;

He has heard from cloud and lightning—'Know there
is no god but God!'

Call ye this man an Impostor? He was called 'The
Faithful,' when,

A boy he wandered o'er the deserts, by the wild-eyed
Arab men.

He was always called 'the Faithful.' Truth he knew
was Allah's breath;

But the Lie went darkly gnashing down, down, down
the deeps of Death.

'He was fierce?' Yes! fierce at falsehood—fierce at
hideous bits of wood,
That the Koreish taught the people made the sun and
solitude.

But his heart was also gentle, and Affection's graceful
palm
Waving in his tropic spirit, to the weary brought a
balm.

'Precepts!' 'Have on each compassion:' 'Lead
the stranger to your door!'

'In your dealings keep up justice;' 'Give a tenth
unto the poor.'

'Yet ambitious!' Yes! ambitious—while he heard
the calm and sweet

Aiden-voices sing—to trample conquered Hell beneath
his feet.

'Islam?' Yes! 'Submit to Heaven!' 'Prophet?'
to the East thou art!

What are prophets but the Trumpets blown by God to
stir the heart?

And the great Heart of the Desert stirred unto that
solemn strain,

Rolling from the trump at Hara over Error's troubled
main.

And a hundred dusky millions honor stix' El Amin's
rod,

Daily chanting 'Allah Akbar! know there is no god
but God!'

Call him then no more 'Impostor.' Mecca is the
Choral Gate

Where, till Zion's noon shall take them, nations in the
morning wait.

lays of Isaac Watts,—and is quite often attributed to him,—than as though it sprang from the sanctified genius of a great poet in the heart of Pennsylvania. How few are the Americans who know that this beautiful hymn was not written two centuries ago. When the pen dropped these words, ‘and the smile of the Lord is the feast of the soul,’ Muhlenburg could afford to cease writing poetry.

Stoddard's ‘New Christmas Carol’ is another Bethlehem song, dear to everyone who knows it.

Leggett's ‘Sacred Melody’ must be quoted.¹

S. S. Fairfield, ‘An Evening Song of Piedmont,’ is remarkable for its veneration and pathos.

Sarah Helen Whitman's ‘David’ is a grand tribute to the old poet-warrior-king of Israel.

Albert Welles.—His ‘Life of Jesus the Messiah’ is indeed what he calls it, ‘A Sacred Poem.’ I give only ‘Christ Blessing Little Children.’²

1 A SACRED MELODY.

If yon bright stars which gem the night
Be each a blissful dwelling sphere,
Where kindred spirits reunite,
Whom death has torn asunder here;
How sweet it were at once to die,
And leave this blighted orb afar—
Mix soul with soul, to cleave the sky,
And soar away from star to star.

But O, how dark, how drear, how lone
Would seem the brightest world of bliss,
If, wandering through each radiant one,
We failed to find the loved of this.
If there no more the ties should twine
Which death's cold hand alone can sever
Oh! then these stars in mockery shine,
More hateful, as they shine forever.

It cannot be! Each hope and fear
That lights the eye or clouds the brow,
Proclaims there is a happier sphere
Than this bleak world that holds us now!
There is a voice which sorrow hears,
When heaviest weighs life's galling chain;
‘Tis Heaven that whispers ‘Dry thy tears,
The pure in heart shall meet again.’

² Although this volume has only recently appeared, it seems to be rapidly finding its way into the homes and the Sunday-schools of America, regardless of sects. It seems more like the Saviour's Life in rhyme, as ‘the beloved disciple,’ in his childlike love of his Master, would have written it, had he resorted to rhyme, which in all ages has been the language of infant nations (especially in the Orient), as well as of childhood itself. Children cannot commit prose to memory without hard effort, and then it is soon forgotten. *The lays of childhood outlast everything else.*

It has no imagery that was not borrowed from the Bible, and it is a wonder that the author preserved the sacred nomenclature with such fidelity, without the sacrifice of grace and harmony.

This poem will be a new and powerful ally to the mother over the cradle, and the teacher in the Sunday-school, and will be likely to live as the best poetical life of the Saviour. Through it millions of children may become familiar with the history of Jesus, long

before they can reach Bunyan, or the New Testament, or even learn to read. The rising generation should learn the divine life of Jesus as the *Gospel gives it*, before they get old enough to read any of the many elaborate Biographies of Christ as mere *Literature*.

CHRIST BLESSING LITTLE CHILDREN.

The many scenes where Jesus' love for children was made known,
His language so remarkable, where'er that love was shown,
All demonstrate that Christ designed it should be understood
That each created soul from God was holy, pure, and good.

When Jesus called a little child and placed him on the ground,
In the midst of his disciples, who were standing all around,
He said to them, in earnest tones, ‘Converted you must be,
And like this little child become, or heaven you'll never see.

‘Whoever, therefore, as this child, himself shall humble be,
Shall be the greatest in the heaven my Father shares with me;
Bring little children unto me, forbid them not to come,
Who when from earth they pass away dwell in my heavenly home.’

Then to the Saviour many brought young children to be blessed,
And Jesus took them in His arms, and to His bosom pressed;
‘Now therefore say I unto you, whoever will not share
God's kingdom as a little child, he shall not enter there.

‘And whoso one such little child in my name shall receive,
I here ordain, receiveth me—such promise here I give.
Let none offend these little ones who shall believe in me.
‘Twere better far that he be drowned within the deepest sea.’

AFFECTIONAL.—Among the many fine poems of *Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton*, 'The Spring is Late' finds its appropriate place here.¹

Mrs. Adeline D. T. Whitney's 'Second Motherhood' could find no better place.²

Thomas Bailey Aldrich's 'Babie Bell' must find a place among our meagre selections.³

1 THE SPRING IS LATE.

She stood alone amidst the April fields—
Brown sodden fields all desolate and bare—
'The spring is late,' she said, 'the faithless spring,
That should have come to make the meadows fair

'The sweet South left too soon, among the trees
The birds, bewildered, flutter to and fro;
For them no green boughs wait—their memories
Of last year's April had deceived them so.

'Beneath a sheltering pine some tender buds
Looked out, and saw the hollows filled with snow;
On such a frozen world they closed their eyes—
When spring is cold how can the blossoms blow?'

She watched the homeless birds, the slow, sad spring,
The barren fields, and shivering, naked trees;
'Thus God has dealt with me, his child,' she said—
'I wait my spring, and am cold like these.

'To them will come the fulness of their time—
Their spring, though late, will make the meadows
fair;
Shall I, who wait like them, like them be blessed?
I am His own—doth not my Father care?'

2 THE SECOND MOTHERHOOD.

'He shall gather the lambs in his arms, and carry
them in his bosom; and shall gently lead those that
are with young.'

O hearts that long, O hearts that wait,
Burdened with love and pain,
Till the dear life-dream, earth-conceived,
In heaven be born again.

O mother-souls, whose holy hope
Is sorrowful and blind,
Hear what He saith so tenderly,
Who keepeth you in mind.

Of all His flock He hath for you
A sweet, especial grace;
And guides you with a separate care
To his prepared place.

For all our times are times of type,
Foretold on the earth;
And still the waiting and the tears
Must go before the birth.

Still the dear Lord, with whom abides
All life that is to be,
Keeps safe the joy, but half is fulfilled
In his eternity.

Our lambs He carries in His arms
The heavenly meads among;
And gently leadeth here the souls,
Love-burdened with their young.

3 THE BALLAD OF BABIE BELL

I.

Have you not heard the poets tell
How came the dainty Babie Bell
Into this world of ours?

The gates of heaven were left ajar:
With folded hands and dreamy eyes,
Wandering out of Paradise,
She saw the planet, like a star,
Hung in the glistening depths of even—
Its bridges, running to and fro,
O'er which the white-winged angels go,
Bearing the holy dead to heaven!
She touched a bridge of flowers—those feet,
So light they did not bend the bells
Of the celestial asphodels!
They fell like dew upon the flowers,
Then all the air grew strangely sweet!
And thus came dainty Babie Bell
Into this world of ours.

II.

She came and brought delicious May.
The swallows built beneath the eaves;
Like sunlight in and out the leaves;
The robins went the live-long day;
The lily swung its noiseless bell,
And o'er the porch the trembling vine
Seemed bursting with its veins of wine.
How sweetly, softly twilight fell!
O, earth was full of singing birds,
And opening spring tide flowers,
When the dainty Babie Bell
Came to this world of ours!

III.

O Babie, dainty Babie Bell,
How fair she grew from day to day!
What woman-nature filled her eyes—
What poetry within them lay!
Those deep and tender twilight eyes,
So full of meaning, pure and bright,
As if she yet stood in the light
Of those oped gates of Paradise!
And so we loved her more and more:
Ah! never in our hearts before
Was love so lovely born.
We felt we had a link between
This real world and that unseen—
The land beyond the morn.
And for the love of those dear eyes,
For love of her whom God led forth,
(The mother's being ceased on earth
When Babie came from Paradise).
For love of Him who smote our lives,
And woke the chords of joy and pain,
We said, *Dear Christ!*—our hearts bent down
Like violets after rain.

IV.

And now the orchards, which were white
And red with blossoms when she came,
Were rich in autumn's mellow prime;
The clustered apples burnt like flame,
The soft-cheeked peaches blushed and fell,
The ivory chestnut burst its shell,
The grapes hung purpling in the grange;
And time wrought just as rich a change
In little Babie Bell.
Her lissome form more perfect grew,
And in her features we could trace,
In softened curves, her mother's face!
Her angel-nature ripened too.

And in a wilderness of ravishing beauty how can I classify such poems as these? I must find a limit somewhere.

Elizabeth Oakes Smith.—Her 'Guardian Angels' is very delicately treated, and breathes hope to the heart in every stanza.

Elizabeth F. Ellet.—'Abide With Us' strongly enforces trust in the Creator—a theme woman can best treat.

Margaret Fuller.—'The Sacred Marriage' is characterized by much strength in a religious atmosphere; and through the whole poem recalls the remarkable power so generally displayed in her prose, and especially in her poetical writings.

Amelia M. Welbey.—In 'Pulpit Eloquence' she exhibits not only much religious fire, but power of graphic delineation of sacred oratory.

Mrs. Sigourney's 'Niagara' displays a broad grandeur of thought, with profound veneration for the God of the floods.

Phoebe Cary.—'The Followers of Christ' breathes the same devoted spirit that characterizes her sister.

W. H. Burleigh.—'Let there be Light' is a grand and solemn tribute to its Author.

NARRATIVE.—*Dana's* 'Buccaneer' is a powerful story of crime at sea, and the moral is intensely expressed.

James Rodman Drake.—'The American Flag' I have already copied where the banner itself had birth. 'The Culprit Fay' is an exquisite poem, and unequalled in Fairydom.

Lowell's 'Vision of Sir Launfal' was founded on the 'Search for the Holy Grail,' and sparkles throughout with the author's fine idiosyncrasies.

We thought her lovely when she came,
But she was holy, saintly now . . .
Around her pale angelic brow
We saw a slender ring of flame!

v.

God's hand had taken away the seal
That held the portals of her speech;
And oft she said a few strange words,
Whose meaning lay beyond our reach.
She never was a child to us,
She never held her being's key;
We could not teach her holy things:
She was Christ's self in purity.

vi.

It came upon us by degrees:
We saw its shadow ere it fell,—
The knowledge that our God had sent
His messenger for Babie Bell.
We shuddered with unlanguage'd pain,
And all our hopes were changed to tears.

And all our thoughts ran into tears,
Like sunshine into rain.
We cried aloud in our belief,
'O, smite us gently, gently, God!
Teach us to bend and kiss the rod,
And perfect grow through grief.'
Ah, how we loved her, God can tell;
Her heart was folded deep in ours.
Our hearts are broken, Babie Bell!

vii.

At last he came, the messenger—
The messenger from unseen lands;
And what did Babie Bell?
She only crossed her little hands—
She only looked more meek and fair!
We parted back her silken hair,
We wove the roses round her brow,
White buds, the summer's drifted snow—
Wrapped her from head to foot in flowers!
And thus went dainty Babie Bell
Out of this world of ours!

Whittier's 'Mogg Magone' and 'The Bridal of Pennacook' are strong with the poet's characteristics.

Robert C. Sands' 'Yamoyden' forcibly exhibits the Indian character in American scenery.

Willis.—His 'Melanie' is an elaborate effort, starred with his peculiar graces of feeling in the uniform delicacy of his verse.

Longfellow's 'Hiawatha' well sustains aboriginal character in the freshness of the forest; and has so completely exhausted a charming theme, that no imitation, however often attempted, will ever be endured.

NECROLOGICAL.—In 'Thanatopsis' Bryant has confessedly sung the funeral hymn of all the race, for it may forever be invoked over the forms of the departed.

Holmes' 'Dead of Pittsfield' is well known for its sustained trust in the future.

Stedman.—His 'Abraham Lincoln' is a worthy tribute to the great and good man whose virtues inspired the lines.

Stoddard.—'After the Funeral' is one of his impressive pieces.

Prentice's 'Closing Year' is marked by deep thought, sweet pensiveness, and solemn grandeur.

Hannah F. Gould.—Her 'Winter Burial' wraps the funeral train in Arctic gloom, but sheds over it beams of the star of Resurrection.

Katharine A. Ware.—'Loss of the First Born,'—the intensity of the young mother's grief can find no tears.

Theodore O'Hara.—'The Bivouac of the Dead,' and 'The Old Pioneer, Daniel Boone,' are very noble lyrics.

HUMOROUS AND SATIRICAL.—*Franklin's* 'Paper'; *John Trumbull's* 'Fox'; *Clement C. Moore's* 'Visit from St. Nicholas'; *J. G. Saxe's* 'The Proud Miss McBride,' 'Phaeton, or the Amateur Coachman'; *O. W. Holmes'* 'Music Grinders,' and 'Old Grimes'; *William Allen Butler's* 'Nothing to Wear'; *Trowbridge's* 'Vagabonds'; *Dr. Holland's* 'Bitter Sweet'; *Lowell's* 'Bigelow Papers'; *John Hay's* 'Little Breeches,' and 'Religion and Doctrine'; *Bret Harte's* 'Plain Language from the truthful James'; *Halleck's* 'Fanny,' and 'The Recorder'; *Stedman's* 'Pan in Wall Street,' are a few of the vast number of poems in the Humorous and Satirical vein, which have become most widely known, and still enjoy the greatest popularity. But here as elsewhere, I fear I may incur the imputation of partiality which I should be very glad to escape; for of all species of censure, that is the one

I should most readily deprecate. I shall have given some pleasure I hope, to my readers, by quoting a few poems of remarkable power and beauty, and only regret that I have room for no more. They are at best only a few blossoms that have strewn the by-paths which have beguiled me in leisure moments of joy or sadness.

SECTION EIGHTH.

SOME OF THE PROSE WRITERS OF AMERICA.

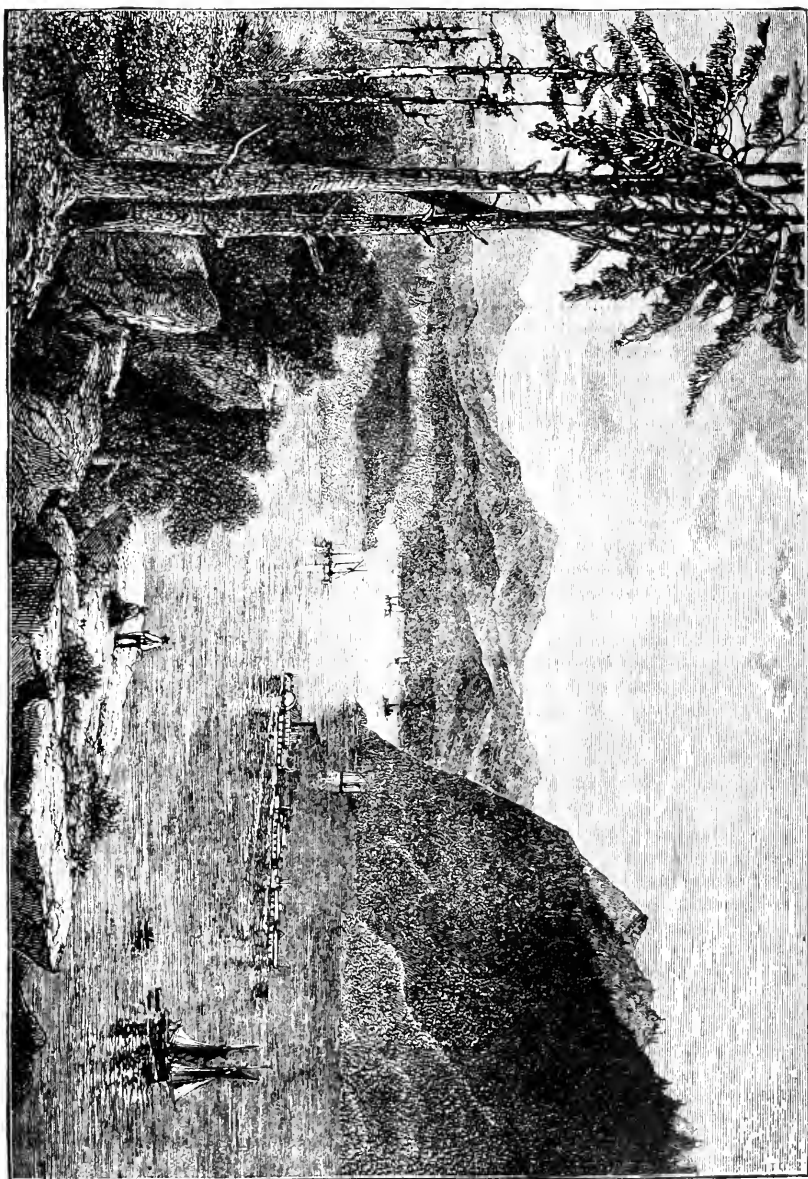
THE first successful attempt to present an elaborate survey of the intellectual history, condition, and prospects of the country, was by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, in his *Poets and Poetry of America*, which appeared in 1842, and the *Prose Writers of America*, published in 1846. They were imperfectly executed; less perhaps because of the incompleteness of the author's knowledge, than from certain ill-disguised prejudices which distorted his judgment. But they were valuable at the time, chiefly because we had nothing else, and they led the way to something better. They were followed by a work measurably free from such faults, and much broader in its scope:—*Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature*. Dr. Griswold's works have recently appeared in new editions.—*The Prose Writers*, revised and enlarged, with a discriminating supplementary essay by Professor John H. Dillingham; and *The Female Poets*, by R. H. Stoddard; while Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia* has just been reissued, greatly enlarged, and brought down to the present day, under the able editorship of M. Laird Simons,—which I have already had occasion to praise.

It would far transcend my design, even to enumerate the long roll of the writers who have enriched the literature of the nation. The utmost I can do will be to offer a brief guide to those who would at a single glance, contemplate some portion of the literary labor which has been performed in this country. The whole department of Journalism I must omit altogether. It is a subject which the writer best qualified perhaps of all his countrymen, to perform, found himself restricted even by a large historic treatise.¹ It will not be understood that, because I pass this grand field of American literature with only some brief allusions, I do not attach to it supreme importance; for the Free Press of America has been the highest agent of our civilization and culture; and it is likely to continue to wield the chief power of the nation in the future; but I have space only for a word. Side by side with the progress of the settlement of America, has traveled the printing press. It has been the civilizer,—the exponent, rather than the creator of public opinion.

¹ *History of Journalism*, by Frederic Hudson, Harper Bros. I should here also mention a work of very great value, *The Periodical Literature of the United States of America*. Mr. Steiger has analyzed

and classified all the departments of journalism, with a degree of fullness and care which has never been displayed before even by our most careful writers.

THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS.





From a few brown, narrow, single sheets, containing little more than advertisements, American Journalism has advanced within a hundred years to such proportions, that the statistics seem almost incredible.¹

I am well aware that neither the value nor the importance of American Journalism can be justly estimated by the number of the journals, nor the amount of their issues. Many of them are conducted with little ability, and still more have a small circulation. But it requires no profound reflection to make some reasonable estimate of the intelligence that is conveyed through these myriad channels, to the masses of the people. Every department of knowledge is represented by the ablest and most learned writers, not only of America, but of all foreign countries; every school of theology, every department of science, every party in politics, every interest of society are fully represented in American Journalism. Every profession and pursuit has its organs; not a speech, an oration, a debate, an invention, or discovery, that does not at once become known to the whole nation. It is not too much to say that, in this manner, the great body of the people are abundantly supplied with the means of information, of which the people of other countries have but a very faint conception.

There has always been a large number of high-toned and able journals in America; but the number of that class has, within the last twenty-five years, been steadily and rapidly augmenting. The demands for higher excellence—however exacting they became—have been responded to, and the amount of profound thinking, improved scholarship, and ripened culture has kept pace with the times.

Fresh indications of the advance of Journalism are now multiplying more rapidly than ever. *First.* INDEPENDENCE in Journalism is the growth of our more recent times. Until within a few years, it was a thing almost unknown, that any newspaper should even hint the advocacy of a measure that was not the shibboleth of its party. A journal was nothing, if not an organ which expressed the opinions of the leaders of its party, regardless of the judgment or conscience of the editor. No measure was expected to encounter opposition inside of the ranks of its adherents. But that day has gone by; political organs have ceased to sway public opinion, and the air of freedom of thought and independence of judgment, is now breathed for the first time by political writers.

Second. EMANCIPATION FROM SECTARIANISM IN RELIGION.—Here the

¹ Steiger's *Periodical Literature of the United States* brings the record up to the latest period—1873-74. The Journalism of the country commencing with Alabama, giving to that State 85 Periodical Publications; Arkansas expands it to 152; California to 378; Connecticut to 490; Delaware to 513; Florida to 537; Georgia to 670; Illinois to 1,323; Indiana to 1,652; Iowa to 2,014; Kansas to 2,186; Kentucky to 2,311; Louisiana to 2,436; Maine to 2,521; Maryland to 2,636; Massachusetts to 3,053; Michigan to 340; Minnesota to 3,470; Mississippi to 3,573; Missouri to 3,958; Nebraska to 4,055; Nevada to 4,071; New Hampshire to 4,147; New Jersey to 4,339; New York to 5,517; North Carolina to 5,612; Ohio to 6,152; Oregon to 6,188; Pennsylvania to 6,918; Rhode Island to 6,957; South Carolina to 7,038; Tennessee to 7,194; Texas to 7,363; Vermont to 7,445; Virginia to 7,752; West Virginia to 7,652; Wisconsin to 7,910. The ten Territories and the District of Columbia swell the aggregate to 8,081.

change has been, if possible, still greater. While religious periodicals which are specially devoted to the interests of their patrons, remain loyal to the cardinal doctrines and principles on which they were founded, still the old spirit of ISM has yielded to the higher sentiment of candor. Bitterness between sects has been softened by the spirit of charity. Forms have lost much of their charms, and dogmatism nearly all its power. A spirit of humanity now breathes through our religious literature, and is warmly greeted by the people. Among the great masses of enlightened Christians, theology has been gradually giving way to the Gospel; sectarianism to charity; creeds to brotherhood. The proof of all this is seen in growing alliances of sects which not long ago were bitter in their hostility to each other, but which are now joining hands to build up the kingdom of their common Master. We witness no more violent discussions between the leaders of contending sects, all of which signs are hailed with increasing satisfaction and delight by all good men.

Last not least:—The antagonism which had long existed between Theology and Science is fast disappearing. Theologians are giving over the battle against Science, and Science is growing more content to limit itself to the discovery and illustration of physical phenomena. At first, an attempt was made to draw the lines, so imperiously defined between knowledge and faith, that no scope was allowed for freedom of thought or expression. Dogmatism ruled the day in Theology, and it was justly scouted by the cultivators of Science. They of course, treated all theological *ipse dixit*s with contempt, and often with an irreverence little worthy of the great cause of physical knowledge, which was as dear to the Creator as any other portion of his illimitable universe of truth. At last both sides began to see that both a blind and unquestioning faith—which was another name for bigotry on the one side, and irreverent blasphemy against all the revelations of the Almighty which they did not happen to understand—were both unphilosophical and unreasonable, and of course impious. There is no doubt that this spirit, which so long prevailed in the priesthood, brought contempt upon the Christian religion, and inspired a spirit of hostility towards it, which Christianity never should have incurred or provoked.

But the day has gone by when any persecutions can be inflicted in this country—at least as a penalty for independent thinking. The only instruments of power which public teachers, either of science or religion, can depend upon, are demonstrated facts, and appeals to the reason and the hearts of men. This great battle has been fought, and the lion of modern science can peacefully lie down by the side of the Lamb of God—both being children of the same universal and beloved Father. Atheism, infidelity, irreverence, blasphemy, and all the foul brood—which was the growth of superstition, of bigotry, of dogmatism, of ecclesiastical oppression,—they will all flee from the glowing light that beams out from a knowledge of *all* the works of nature, which are all the works of God.

Third. The last great point in the progress of American Journalism which I can speak of is CRITICISM, of which in its pure sense, we have had so little, and not only special criticism of books and all literary performances, but of men, of parties, of principles, of inventions, of problems, and theories, of all individuals, and all alleged facts that come before the public with claims to be heard, to be examined impartially, intelligently, and in a spirit of large and liberal views.

We have been prolific in literary Periodicals; and in some of them we have been particularly fortunate. They have first introduced to us nearly all our best writers, and through them many of their best things have appeared. *The North American Quarterly Review* was the first periodical of high character established in the country. It was modeled chiefly after the *Edinburgh Quarterly*. There, the writings of the two Everetts, and of the men of culture and talent of New England of the time, first appeared. Its contributions to American subjects were of great value. In fact, many of its papers were exhaustive historical essays; their authors often expending on single articles, as much labor, investigation and study, as has since been considered sufficient for ponderous volumes. It filled a great and worthy place, and has maintained through all its changes of editorship a noble reputation. It was read by scholars, and sought for in the public libraries, by the same class that had been the admirers and students of the *Edinburgh and Quarterly*.

But the *North American* was always limited in its circulation, and less racy and diversified than the taste of a large and growing class of literary people required. Something more modern, less cautious and conservative, was called for, and the want was very quickly supplied. But the *North American* still holds its place, and is likely, under its present vigorous management, to render in the future a still higher service to the cause of Letters, History, and Science, than it has in the past.

A great service was rendered to the literary culture of the country, by the publication of the choicest periodical literature of Great Britain. Here the highest credit is due the late Mr. Littell, whose *Living Age*, from its first appearance down to the present time, has been the chief and most valuable medium through which our great reading community have been made familiar with the best periodical literature of Great Britain—which is the same as saying, the best current literature of this or any age. The seed thus sown sprang up in all directions. Many American writers, in the different fields of culture, gained their earliest literary impulses from the *Living Age*.¹ It is still conducted with vigor and taste. Next came Dr. Bidwell's *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature* and Leonard Scott's *Republication of the great British Reviews entire*.

¹ MR. GEORGE RIPLEY AS A CRITIC.—Soon after the foundation of the *New York Tribune*, Mr. Ripley took charge of its literary department, which has always been intelligently and carefully cultivated. For a young man who had no facilities for classical education, Mr. Greeley early displayed great capacity for the acquisi-

tion of knowledge, with an enthusiasm for literature quite uncommon under such circumstances. Until he was diverted into political journalism—chiefly through his idolatry of Henry Clay—he gratified his taste for literary pursuits in publishing *The New Yorker*, which became a popular literary journal, a large proportion of

But in *literary criticism*, we have made a not very reputable show. As an art, it has not been cultivated as it will be hereafter. In fact, only one man has made criticism his life business, and consequently only one man has won fame in this department. The *New York Tribune* has been the best literary guide-book we have had. Not a work worth mentioning, from the thinnest pamphlet to the heaviest volume, of our times that has not received from Ripley's pen through the *Tribune* some attention, and, as a rule, fair play. It has been commendably free from that all-pervading vice which has contaminated the whole system of American journalism. I speak of the *system* with just honorable exceptions enough to confirm the rule. On all sides it has been puff, or condemnation. *Justice* is the last thing an American writer has looked for from the American press. By justice, I mean thorough, discriminating, careful, painstaking, analytical reviewing. There has been, indeed, very little of that kind of criticism in Great Britain; for many of their ablest reviewers have been justly open to the charge of unfairness and partiality; but by no means so often amenable to the accusation of ignorance, favoritism, and above all, a mercenary spirit. Many a cruel and bitter review has appeared on rising or risen authors, in the great Quarterlies, Monthlies, and

whose articles were written by himself. In establishing the *New York Daily Tribune*, he still displayed the same tendency; and he made large and liberal arrangements for maintaining a department of reviews and criticism, which has been sustained with more uniform ability than by any other journal in the country.

In this field Mr. Ripley has had no equal. He stands out by himself. There are not men enough that resemble him, even faintly, to constitute a class, however small. When he began, he had what nature gives the great critic, and what he can never acquire—the intuition which sees, and the heart which feels the drift of every strong book he touches. He has never had to cultivate any maudlin sentimentalism to meet the demands of his readers; he did not want readers who required it, nor did they want him. He never had to cudgel his brain to reach conclusions—they came legitimately, with all their appertaining illustrations. His pen never goes halting through tedious labyrinths to reach results—they come to it. While his style is never studied, his nomenclature is always felicitous. In making a nice distinction—where everything hangs upon a point—the pivotal word falls as naturally into the place it adorns, as though—which is generally the case—it were the only word in the language that could fill the gap. Let the reader who has not observed this, take up the *Tribune* some morning, and try one of Ripley's more important passages, and see if he can substitute any of the so-called synonyms [for there are no such things—this nonsense does not exist in any matured language] and he will soon find out what work he will make of it, and then he will learn what I mean. When you least suspect it, you feel the strength of the blacksmith's muscle in the ringing blow; while the next sentence may glow with the warm blood of a hearty, healthy yeoman. You are amazed at the simple clearness of his thinking, and the apparent artlessness of his style. But it is all very easily accounted for by the fact—

none too prominent with intellectual men of culture—the habit of mental refinement as a normal condition. He has evidently never won polish at the price of strength—he made no such miserable barter. In his best moods his pen is like Saladin's blade—it could sever the down pillow without shedding a feather, or cleave a bar of iron without turning the edge.

It was very different with Jeffrey and Sidney Smith, both of whom were forever straining to say clever things. Jeffrey, in these moods, reached the *altissimo* of the scold; and Macaulay was always ready to purchase a rounded period, or a startling paradox, at the expense of truth. Ripley is the only lifelong critic we ever heard of, who had not lost the milk of human kindness. As Thomas Campbell once said to me, 'The professed critic is a professed scold.'

In Mr. Ripley I therefore find the rarest, and the best combination of qualities to make up the useful censor of the intellectual world. Encumbered by none of the heavy weights of the old-fashioned reviewer, and free from the slovenly intellectual habits that prevail so lamentably among professed literary journalists, he holds the whole field of intellectual exertion under his eye, and marks every sign of progress. If his best writings that have appeared in the *Tribune*, should be collected, they would constitute a great encyclopædia of useful and fascinating knowledge. It is hard for those who are most familiar with his writings, to say where his *forte* lies; towards what point he has directed his most learned efforts, or where he has written the best. The fact is, he has no speciality, except cyclopædic knowledge symmetrically classified. He is a man of universal culture, and seems to more than answer the description which Chesterfield gave of an educated man, 'The man who knows something of everything, and everything of something.' Ripley is the only universal man in America.—*My Life-Note Book*. MS.

Weeklies of London and Edinburgh; but with few exceptions they have done their victims more good than harm. It lashed Lord Byron into his mightiest achievements, although it sent poor Keats to his early grave. But with all this, the periodical literature of England during the last half-century, has been inspired by the ripest learning, and illumined by the most brilliant genius of the empire. Her daily press may be quite as corrupt through political influence, but it is infinitely abler than our own.

The Literary Crime of America.—The denial of an International Copyright.—We have piled statute upon statute to protect every invention, trade and branch of American industry, from baby-jumpers and rat-traps, up to a sewing machine, or an improvement in the steam engine, under the pretext of encouraging home production, till every nerve of American enterprise is paralyzed by exorbitant and almost prohibitory tariffs,—and we have denied to our authors—the noblest of all inventors—the title to their copyrights abroad, because we wish to be free to pirate the authors of foreign countries at home.¹

This has been the crowning infamy of the United States; for aside from the great crime of robbing the laborer of his hire, and debauching the public sentiment of our people, we have set ourselves before the world as a spectacle to foreigners, of the robbery of the whole literary class in America, and the corruption of the public morals of the nation.

In 1769 a judgment was rendered from the King's Bench, by Chief-Justice Lord Mansfield, recognizing a perpetual property at common law in the author of any book or intellectual production; and in England and other European nations these rights, within reasonable limitations, have been confirmed. In compliance with the demands of a broader sense of justice, Great Britain many years ago made provision for international copyright with all nations that might extend reciprocal protection to her own authors. This was readily responded to by France, Belgium, Prussia, Italy, Spain, and other powers. But every attempt to reach the conscience or honor of the Congress of the United States on this subject, has resulted in mortifying failure. And yet these efforts were made in good faith by our most eminent statesmen, Clay,

¹ A short time before Mr. Washington Irving was appointed Minister to Spain, he undertook to dispose of a production of merit, written by an American who had not yet established a commanding name in the literary market, but found it impossible to get an offer from any of the principal publishers. 'They even declined to publish it at the author's cost,' he says, 'alleging that it was not worth their while to trouble themselves about native works, of doubtful success, while they could pick and choose among the successful works daily poured out by the British press, for the copyright of which they had nothing to pay.' And not only is the American thus in some degree excluded from the audience of his countrymen, but the publishers, who have a control over many of the newspapers and other periodicals, exert themselves, in the way of their busi-

ness, to build up the reputation of the foreigner whom they rob, and to destroy that of the home author who aspires to a competition with him. This legalized piracy, supported by some sordid and base arguments, keeps the criminal courts busy; makes divorce committees in the legislatures standing instead of special; every year yields abundant harvests of profligate sons and daughters; and inspires a pervading contempt for our plain republican forms and institutions. Injurious as it is to the foreign author, it is more so to the American, and it falls with heaviest weight upon the people at large, whom it deprives of that nationality of feeling which is among the first and most powerful incentives to every kind of greatness.'—*Preface to Griswold's Prose Writers of America.*

Webster, Calhoun, and Everett ; and the noblest and best of their associates in both Houses, pled in behalf of a measure so necessary and so just. Nor would it be true to attribute the failure of so righteous a measure to the book publishers of the United States, for the largest American houses have always favored it. It is traceable chiefly to a single cause ; a majority of men in both Houses of Congress, have, through ignorance, or a base desire to catch popularity amongst their constituents, invariably raised a clamor that to give to the foreign author a copyright would be a tax upon knowledge—an assumption so far from the truth, begotten in such stolid ignorance, and prompted by so low a motive, and one which has been a thousand times so fully answered, it deserves no further consideration. It should have been enough to urge the plea of simple *justice*, and acknowledge the claim of the author of a book to the fruits of his labor, as much as an inventor's for some new idea in mechanism or chemistry. But better days are coming on us ; and it is safe to say that ere long the American people will demand that the right of a foreign author to his book here be respected, and of an American author to his book there, be as readily recognized, as the claim of the author of a new rat-trap to protection on either side of the Atlantic.

¹ *The charge of a lack of Originality in American Authors.*—It might appear to apply somewhat appropriately to our Cis-Atlantic writers ; but this ought to be a matter of congratulation among mankind. The founders of this nation were men of large attainments in every field of intellectual achievement. They knew what they had learned in the countries they left, as well as the scholars who have emigrated as missionaries of light from its fountains through all periods history ever knew. It is a great and glorious fact, that the founders of the colonies of Phœnicia, and Greece ; of Rome, and France ; of Italy, and Spain, of England, and of Germany ;—in fact, of all the nations it may be said, that wherever their torch-bearers went, they carried their home-light with them.

If the founders of the American system of government had been small men—narrow in their views, illiberal in their feelings, unchristian and inhuman in their inspirations—they would have made a small country out of this hemisphere in spite of its magnificent territorial proportions. It is a very significant fact, that no party has ever yet been founded here which prospered, by violating these fundamental principles. Such parties have always been short-lived. To the historic student, one lesson above all others to learn, in scanning our records is this—that wherever any attempt has been made in a social, civil, or religious organization, to infringe upon this sentiment of broad, generous principles, it has had a sickly life, and unregretted funeral ; and so may it ever be ! We hope and believe that all attempts to make America too small for such thoughts ; that all designs of circumscribing liberty, humanity, and justice on this continent, will always be destined to a most ignominious defeat. The earth has worn shackles so long, that the time has come for them to fall off by sheer force of friction, which should have worn

them out long ago. I would think that all good men and women were ready to greet the day, when this forging of shackles upon the bodies or minds of men should go out of fashion—and in the future be paraded among the Lost Arts.

The wonderful start our fathers made can be accounted for only by this law of the transmission of light and knowledge. The cause of general imitations of this kind, is clearly traced by Sismondi.¹

And beyond all question for a considerable time, what might be called in a strict sense the Literature of America, was under this species of *servilience*. Many of our authors willingly assumed the yoke, and bore it most servilely. The earliest of them who became popular as a *littérateur* in Great Britain, and received patronizing notices from English critics, was Washington Irving. He went to London, and accorded, as he richly deserved, the *entrée* to good society, wrote and published his *Sketch-Book*, which, if it had appeared at home would never have been noticed in England, for at that time they considered no American book worthy of attention. Thus that series of charming Sketches found a hearing: and literary America, which was then wearing the literary yoke of Britain, accepted the judgment of the English press, and Irving was encouraged to go on and write what, will perhaps outlive all his other productions, 'Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York.' Charles Brockden Brown, 'the first American who chose literature as a profession, and the first to leave an enduring monument of genius in the fields of the imagination,' had up to that time received no recognition on the other side of the Atlantic.

This was all well enough, for the excellent reasons that: *First*. We had no nobler models of literature in the wide world to consult, nor was the entire literature of the world capable of inspiring the genius of America with higher aspirations. *Second*. Most of our traditions in literature and science, with a long array of treasured souvenirs for liberty and human rights, had been connected with the noble achievements of our British ancestors. *Third*. It was equally fortunate also, that when our fathers left their homes, they brought with them all the treasures which civilization had been able to amass, up to that time,—as I have already shown in speaking of that race of eminent scholars who became the fathers of the colleges of the Thirteen Colonies.

Thus far they were copyists. But I wish to impress this simple thought,—that these copyists were not satisfied with merely imitating their masters.²

¹ The literature of other countries has been frequently adopted by a young nation with a sort of fanatical admiration. The genius of these countries having been so often placed before it, as the perfect model of all greatness and of all beauty, every spontaneous movement has been repressed in order to make room for the most servile imitation, and every national attempt to develop an original character has been sacrificed to the reproduction of something conformable to the model which has been always before its eyes. Thus the Romans checked themselves in the vigor of their first conceptions to become emulous copyists of the Greeks; and thus the Arabs placed bounds to their intellectual efforts that they might rank themselves

among the followers of Aristotle. So the Italians in the sixteenth, and the French in the seventeenth century, desirous only of imitating the ancients, did not sufficiently consult, in their poetical attempts, their own religion, manners, and character.—*Literature of the South of Europe*.

² The first pilgrims from the elder nations, brought with them to these wild shores, something besides their sturdy, humane, God-fearing manhood, priceless as this great treasure was. They brought the Arts of a then ripening civilization, and one by one they have been perfected here. It was not enough for the

Like the pupils of Giotto, and the early painters and sculptors of their time, they went beyond their teachers,—and from what is now called the Pre-Raphael style, they broke into new realms of art, and became the founders of schools, which, springing from the genius of Michael Angelo, Raphael, and their contemporaries made the most brilliant period of artistic triumphs, which had been witnessed since the time of the Greeks.

So too, would I hint that America early showed these same two qualities. *First.* Of comprehending whatever had been known of learning,—and in its broadest sense,—up to the times of their embarkations, they appreciated and brought with them. I tried in the brief sketches of our colonial days, to trace the sources of the civilization we then possessed, and of the progress which we have since made. *Second.* Our ancestors were not satisfied with servile copying, and in a few words, I propose to show how they left the old models behind them, and won most fairly, the fame which has been accorded them, of having in diversified fields displayed an originality of genius which has made their names imperishable—not as copyists but as original builders.

I. *In Government.*—The earliest colonial structures in the Thirteen Colonies, not only embraced every fundamental principle of human rights which had been incorporated into the written or unwritten law, or Constitution of England, or were fully recognized and incorporated; but they took a leap far into the future, which England has not reached till this hour—they recognized grander principles than had been known. DEMOCRACY:—the government of the whole people clearly defined, and wrought into a symmetrical system of public law, by which civilized society was made to rest upon the broadest structure ever reared or that ever could be. My European reader will find the clearest delineation of our political system that has been written abroad in De Tocqueville's great work, *Democracy in America*.¹

Founders of American Institutions—the authors of American life—to emancipate themselves from civil and religious despotism; but they went on, step by step, adding to what was known before, whatever the inventive genius of our New Hemisphere could contribute to the knowledge and wealth of mankind. FRANKLIN'S electricity has been pressed into the service of all the nations, while MORSE'S threads of lightning thought are quivering around the world, and FULTON'S steamboats are ploughing every sea and river. WHITNEY'S cotton gin is whirling on the plains of Africa and Asia, and HOR'S presses are printing the daily journalism of the world. One COLLINS shortened distance on the ocean, and another is supplying the world with axes, side by side with AMES' shovels. An invention for heading pins stopped their importation from London. HOWE'S sewing machine clothed Von Moltke's army in three days. The American clocks and watches turned out by machinery, have given mankind the cheapest and best keepers of time. DIXON'S AMERICAN PENCIL is driving all others out of the markets of this country, and soon will from all the great markets of the world.

¹ Edward Everett, Am. Rev., vol. xlii., p. 178, considered De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, 'as by far the most philosophical, ingenious and instructive work which had then been produced in Europe on the subject of America.'

'He came to this country to study with impartiality its institutions, to ascertain its condition, and to trace the existing phenomena to their principles. There is no eulogy in it, and no detraction; but throughout, a manly love of truth. . . . It would be underrating the importance of M. de Tocqueville's work to regard it as merely a book on America. It is a work of deep significance and startling import for Europe and for the modern civilized world.'

Mr. Everett had good reason for this opinion, for the key-note to De Tocqueville's whole treatise is handed to the reader in the opening sentences:

'Among the new objects which attracted my attention during my residence in the United States, nothing struck me more powerfully than the *equality of conditions*. I easily discovered the prodigious influence which it exercises on the march of Society. It gives a certain direction to the public mind, a certain character to the laws; new maxims to rulers, and peculiar habits to the ruled. . . . Thus, then, in proportion as I studied American Society, I saw more and more, in the equality of conditions, the *parent fact* from which every other fact seemed to proceed; and I continually met it as a

Here was a field so original that the world looked with astonishment on these enunciations by American statesmen, in Bills of Rights, and Constitutions: all of them breathing the same spirit, and like the separate stones which, under the direction of the master architect, may be hewn in a hundred different quarries, into a thousand forms, and yet all go together and complete a symmetrical structure—as the hewn pieces of state-builders were found to come harmoniously together into the edifice which was afterwards known as the Republic of the United States of North America. I venture little in saying that Burke expressed, even at that early period, a conviction which the whole world has since come to, that in this stupendous work of all the ages, the models of antiquity had been surpassed. I might go further, and appeal to the oratory of those days; for although the art of preserving extemporaneous eloquence had not been perfected, yet enough remains of the utterances of those great men who established our institutions on such enduring bases, to show that they were masters of language and argument, as well as of the principles of free civil government. The best proof of the eloquence of those times is found in the solid structures they reared, with the assent and hearty convictions of the great body of the people. There was little journalism then except in the form of pamphlets containing dissertations, essays, arguments and written orations or official reports, declarations, resolutions, and proceedings of conventions and legislative assemblies. Of such were the State papers which amazed and delighted such statesmen as Burke, Fox, Pitt, and Frederick the Great. They displayed originality enough to make good the point I have taken.

II. *Theology, Philosophy and Metaphysics.*—I have already shown that the

central point, in which all my observations terminated. I then directed my mind toward our own hemisphere. It seemed to me that I distinguished there something analogous to the spectacle presented in the new world. I saw the equality of conditions, which, without having reached its extreme limits, as in the United States, was daily approaching them; and that the same democracy, which bore sway in the American communities, seemed to me to advance rapidly toward power in Europe.

‘From this moment the idea of my work was conceived. A great democratic revolution is going on among us; all see it, but all do not estimate it alike. Some, considering it as a novelty, as an accident, hope to be able to arrest it; while others judge it to be irresistible, because it seems to them the fact the most constant, the most ancient, and the most permanent, known in history.’—Everett adds: ‘Well may M. de Tocqueville remark, as he presently does, that his mind is solemnized at the statement of the subject. He regards the government of this country, as founded on great ultimate principles which lie deep in the nature of man; as a bold and noble experiment to apply these principles. He farther considers the civilized world, which looks on, the spectator of the experiment, as itself profoundly interested in the result; nay, more, that a similar experiment, in earlier stages and under other conditions, is proceeding at the same time in Europe; and that between the great experiments, going on in the two hemispheres, there is a constant action and reaction. . . . This is essential, everything else is accidental, in the constitution of political Societies.’

On the subject of religion, the Frenchman says: ‘The philosophers of the 18th century had a very simple explanation for the gradual decline of religious belief.

Religious zeal, said they, must be extinguished in proportion as liberty and knowledge increase. It is unfortunate that the facts do not accord with the theory.

‘There shall be a European population whose incredulity is equalled only by its brutality and ignorance; while, in America you shall see one of the freest and most enlightened nations of the world fulfil with ardor all the exterior duties of religion.’

‘On my arrival in the United States, it was the religious aspect of the country which first arrested my attention. In proportion as I prolonged my stay, I saw the great political consequence which flowed from these facts.’

‘I had seen at home the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty proceed almost always in opposite directions. Here I found them intimately united the one to the other; reigning together on the same soil.’

I omitted to mention the greatest labor of Mr. Ripley,—the chief editorship of Appleton's Cyclopaedia. His reputation will be likely to rest chiefly upon this stupendous work, which is prepared with great care and ability and fully meets the exigency of the new period which the world, and particularly this country of electric progress has reached. If Mr. Ripley had chosen to concentrate his efforts and devote his rare powers to the production of some great original work all his own, he might have built up for himself a colossal fame. But it seems that he made a more disinterested choice, and has been satisfied with diffusing among the multitude, the blessings which, if displayed at a private magnificent feast for the few, would have won for him a more brilliant fame with them; but probably have done less good to the world.—*Author.*

motives which influenced the founders of our Colonies in their emigration, were of a religious character. Dr. Griswold well says that the spirit which animated them in coming here was religious; and their literature—the permanent expression of their character—was a religious literature. ‘Their first works were quaint and curious; many of them were original and profound. They were acute, powerful, and independent, in argument and conclusion. They commanded the admiration of those who thought with them, and startled the defenders of old and false opinions by their thunders heard and echoed across the seas. In theology from the first, our writers were unshackled by foreign models or authorities. They acknowledged no infallible head but God Almighty, and no patristic guides to faith and practice but the holy company of the prophets and apostles.’

Dr. Griswold further adds:—“The history of Newman, whose Concordance of the Bible, made by the light of pine knots in his cottage at Rehoboth, was for more than a century admitted to be the most perfect work of its kind in existence; of the pious and learned Eliot, greatest of all uninspired missionaries, who reduced a barbarous language to order, and labored year after year to translate into it the Scriptures; and of Cotton Mather, the first American Fellow of the Royal Society, and one of the greatest scholars of his times, of whose three hundred and eighty-two works one at least is preserved in the standard religious literature, prove that from the beginning there was in America no deficiency of scholastic learning or literary industry.

“Early in the eighteenth century appeared Jonathan Edwards, styled by Dr. Chalmers ‘the greatest of theologians;’ of whom Sir James Mackintosh says, that ‘in power of subtile argument he was perhaps unmatched, certainly was unsurpassed among men.’ ‘If literary ambition had been the active element of his mind,’ remarks Taylor, ‘what higher praise could a scientific writer wish for than that of having, by a single and small dissertation, reduced a numerous and powerful party in his own and other countries, and from his day to the present time, to the sad necessity of making a blank protest against the argument and influence of his book?’ But there are some questions which are always to vex the brains of thinkers. Human pride and ambition will never permit a universal acquiescence in any conclusions. Newton’s *Principia* and the doctrines of Edwards have been attacked with equal earnestness by our living scholars. Dr. Tappan, Mr. Bledsoe, and others, have labored with ingenuity and candor to establish the self-determining power of the will. The antagonists of Edwards became weary of saying ‘his reasoning must be sophistical because it overthrows our doctrines.’

The same writer also says:—‘Among the contemporaries or immediate successors of Edwards were the eloquent and independent Jonathan Mayhew, Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of the American Episcopal Church; Dr. Hopkins, whose name is so closely identified with the New England theology of the last century; President Styles, famous for acquirements in almost every

¹ *Essays to do Good*, ‘which,’ says Franklin, ‘perhaps gave me a tone of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.’—*Memoirs*, p. 16.

department of profane and sacred learning; the younger Edwards; Bellamy, and Dwight, and Emmons, all of whom were men of great abilities and scholarship, whose works have still a powerful influence on opinions.

'In the present day no country can boast of a list of theological writers more justly distinguished for learning, logical skill, or literary abilities, than that which includes the names of the Alexanders, Albert Barnes, George Bush, Charles Hodge, John Henry Hopkins, Samuel Farmer Jarvis, Charles P. McIlvaine, Andrews Norton, Edward Robinson, Moses Stuart, Henry Tappan, William R. Williams, James Walker, Leonard Woods, and others whose talents and acquisitions have secured to them a general influence and good reputation.

'James Marsh deserves particular and honorable mention in every survey of our intellectual advancement and condition. He was a calm, chaste scholar, an earnest and profound thinker, and a powerful and eloquent advocate of the highest principles of religion and philosophy, whose life had the simplicity and grandeur which are constituted by a combination of the rarest and noblest of human virtues. His principal published writings are devoted to those elevated and spiritual principles of philosophy of which Coleridge and Kant were the most celebrated European asserters. Though nearly agreeing with these great men, he was not less original than they; and before the works of the Englishman or the Prussian were known on this continent, by the independent action of his own mind he had found theories similar to theirs and taught them to his classes.'¹

¹ In Professor Dillingham's Supplement to Griswold's Prose Writers, he says, 'Other distinguished names of those who have passed away, may now be added, as Lyman Beecher, some of whose sermons and addresses are of extraordinary ability and eloquence; John McClintock, whose name, made prominent heretofore by his useful religious and philological writings, is now likely to be long regarded with high esteem and gratitude for his labors in that excellent work, McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, a great library in a compact form; Theodore Parker, whose extraordinary genius, learning, and destructive free-thinking, made him the most eminent of American rationalists, so-called; George W. Bethune, shown to be of rare scholarship, eloquence, and vigor of thought, by his various discourses. Among his larger works, his 'Expository Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism,' have gained him, perhaps, a permanent distinction as a doctrinal writer.—Robert Baird, 'the international preacher,' whose earnest writings, as well as other labors, have been widely spread over Europe and America; George W. Burnap, Lyman H. Atwater, Prof. B. B. Edwards, Samuel H. Turner, Hubbard Winslow, Nathaniel West, Hiram Mattison,—on all whose names, of good esteem in literature, it would be worth while to linger longer than is here allowed. There remain to us Albert Barnes, the most popular of modern commentators; George P. Fisher, whose able essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity stand well in scholarship and philosophy; William G. T. Shedd, a writer of valuable essays and treatises, among which his History of Christian Doctrine is in deservedly high reputation; Philip Schaff, who has eminently fulfilled the prediction of his teacher, Neander, in the fame of profound learning, evinced in many important works, among which his great History of the Christian Church deserves especial mention; Andrew P. Peabody, whose beautiful, impressive, and vigorous style worthily clothes earnest, clear, and abundant thought; James Walker, whose writings, though few of them have yet come into print, are widely respected in apprecia-

tion of the lucid, impressive, simple language of deeply penetrating thought, and, as it were, oracular wisdom; Henry Ward Beecher, a wonderfully fruitful worker and writer, whose sermons, now for several years past published every week, and read by thousands, to say nothing of his essays, lectures, and other works, make his genius too well known to be dwelt upon here; Henry A. Boardman, a writer of many eloquent, vigorous, clear, and interesting discourses and books; Horace Bushnell, whose productions have commanded remarkable attention for power, originality, ingenuity, and masterly style; William R. Alger, the chief of whose learned works, a 'Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life,' is well pronounced 'a monument of learned industry;' besides others, whose literary eminence calls for more especial mention than our space allows: as, Charles Hodge, Joseph P. Thompson, James Freeman Clarke, Gardiner Spring, Austin Phelps, Howard Malcom, Richard S. Storrs, Cyrus A. Bartol, Edmund H. Sears, Robert J. Breckenridge, Frederick Hedge, Leonard Bacon, Edward A. Park, Stephen H. Tyng, B. F. Crocker.

It is important to add also some mention of writers on *Morals*, or subjects connected with the *second* commandment, and the list would properly include a great number of writers on political, social, and educational reform. We may here name Joseph Alden, Leonard Bacon, Henry B. Bascom, J. Bascom, H. W. Belows, Francis Bowen, Elihu Burritt, Henry Ward Beecher, William Ellery Channing, J. T. Champlin, Caroline H. Dall, Orville Dewey, Ralph Waldo Emerson, R. G. Hazard, J. G. Holland, Mark Hopkins, Francis Lieber, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Thomas C. Upham, James Walker, Francis Wayland, Hubbard Winslow. Valuable writers in the cause of Education have been Horace Mann, some of whose remarkable writings deserve a permanent place in literature; Warren Burton, J. S. Hart, Stephen Olin, J. P. Wickersham, and many others.

To this mention of Ethics we may append an allusion to American *Metaphysics*, if only for the sake of

III. *History*.—The severest critics of literature have held that History was the last field in which the authors of a new nation would be successful. I cannot conceive that this opinion is well founded, for History was the next department of letters after Poetry, which was cultivated by the Greeks, Herodotus, the Father of History, being one striking illustration; Adam Bede another. But in our own case the rule may apply, and with special force; for within the last thirty years America has produced a more brilliant succession of writers of History than can be found during a single generation in any other nation. George Bancroft in his learned 'History of the Colonization of the United States'—a title which from the beginning should have been given to his work, since he has not yet reached the subject which his title would indicate, even at the end of the tenth volume, which is supposed to be the last—it was the first elaborate and scholarly attempt to write our annals on the model of a modern history. While his work was being issued, several other historians appeared like new stars in the constellation which is now flashing over us. Jared Sparks, President of Harvard College, in writing the lives, and collecting the correspondence of Washington and Franklin; and in bringing out his long series of Biographies of distinguished Americans, conferred an immense service on the cause of History. Of Prescott and his splendid productions, I have spoken in another place. Hildreth's 'History of the United States' has taken its place as a standard work, and will always be esteemed for the clearness and integrity with which it was written. Pickering's 'Political History of the United States' may be classed with Hildreth's, neither of which will cease to be consulted by scholars and statesmen, although their lack of vivacity and imagination banishes both from the popular libraries. George Tucker's 'Political History of the United States' belongs to the same class. Thomas H. Benton's noble records of American Constitutional History will outlast all other works of a similar kind. George Ticknor's 'History of Spanish Literature' is the finest work on that subject in any language. Irving's 'Life of Columbus' was the first History which made us familiar with the life and achievements of the grandest of all discoverers; while in his 'Life of Washington' he has done more than any other man, except Marshall, to bring the chief founder of the Republic within the popular comprehension of readers. Motley's contributions to History are among the most brilliant and original in the language. His 'Rise of the Dutch Republic,' and 'History of the United Netherlands' made those fascinating themes as familiar, within a few years, to the readers of the English tongue as other writers had required generations to do. Palfrey has given us the best 'History of New England' yet written; while Parkman's contributions to our early History, in connection with the Indian tribes of the West, supplemented McKinney's 'Memoirs of the Indians,' Stone's 'Life of Brandt,' and Judge Campbell's 'Annals of Tryon County,' and the 'Border Wars of New York.'

naming Noah Porter's great treatise on the 'Human Intellect,' which is an honor to the country. Haven, Wayland, and Upham have written well concerning Mental Philosophy. *Logic* also has found able exposi-

tors in Francis Bowen, Charles C. Everett, H. N. Day, and, if we may now proudly claim him as made over to America, James McCosh.

Such are a few of the vast number of valuable contributions made by American writers to this department of Literature.

IV. *Law ; Constitutional, Common, Admiralty, and International. The Bench and Bar of America.*—The Republic of the United States was established under most favorable auspices in many respects ; but in none perhaps so pre-eminently fortunate, as in the complete comprehension which its founders had of the sacredness of civil rights—rights, which, as defined by the chief jurists of England, placed impregnable bulwarks around the dwelling of every subject—making life and property secure—converting every Anglo-Saxon's home into a castle. All this came with the Magna Charta, and the Trial by Jury. These two castellated guarantees of personal liberty,—whose demolition in those green islands has sometimes been attempted but never effected,—have been planted securely here, where they have never been threatened.

When the time came for our fathers to construct the political fabric, which they reared as a permanent city of refuge, there were not living in the whole British empire better jurists or barristers, or interpreters of the broad principles of Common law than were the founders of our institutions. Hence our primitive Judicial System, which has remained complete to this day. The decisions of the King's Bench are still quoted before our tribunals, as authorities, in all cases of Common law, as the decisions of our supreme tribunals in all our States, and pre-eminently of our Court of final appeal, are by the Bench of England.

It would be a hopeless attempt, and vain and useless in such a work as this to trace the footsteps of the long line of jurists who have illustrated the principles of Common law which England had the glory of fully establishing, at least throughout the English-speaking world. I shall not attempt it. But I cannot withhold my homage as a humble student of law, from the legal profession of the United States : much less my veneration for the great lights that have shone over the jurisprudence of this country.

I am not sure but there may be a very enticing field left open to writers of legal literature, for a history of the illuminated jurists who, far back into colonial days pronounced righteous judgments, and whose records, if carefully scrutinized, might, in spite of the devastations of time, still leave treasures of learning, equity, and law that would well pay for the most vigilant explorations. That work I would suggest to some future writer. It will be enough for me to hint at the long neglected, and more than half forgotten mine, to which somebody will yet ply the pick and spade.

Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut, drew up the chief part of the judicial act which was incorporated into the Constitution of 1789—an act which constituted the basis of our judicial system as it exists substantially to-day. If John Rutledge of South Carolina—who was Washington's first choice as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—could have devoted his fine talents and ripe learning for the rest of his life to that purpose,

it would have been well. But John Jay of New York, while he consented as Rutledge's successor to hold that place, atoned in part for the lack which Rutledge might have supplied; but for all that Jay was more in love with politics than with jurisprudence, and perhaps nothing was lost in coming down to Chief Justice Marshall, who really was the first great national jurist we had. He dedicated his life to the solemn and sublime business of jurisprudence, and I believe that it is the settled opinion of the bench and bar of the United States, that he was not only by far the greatest man who ever occupied that high position, but the profoundest and safest jurist of modern times.

Marshall is the colossal figure in American jurisprudence. Fortunate in his own majestic powers, fortunate in the unrivaled Bar,—Webster, Wirt, Pinckney, Dexter, Jones and their compeers who poured their crowded cornucopiæ at his feet: thrice happy in the era over which his judicial sway extended; calling for a construction of the first written Constitution known among men; the harmonizing of the revolving Federal and state orbs in our stellar system; his guiding hand laid on our principles of government as it started off on its career, gave it an impulse it was ever after to feel! Such opportunities in conjunction with such capacity to embrace and fulfill it, happens only once in an era. A corresponding figure at the Bar was that of Daniel Webster. Fit advocate at the feet of such a tribunal! No grander scene in any forum of time than to have heard Webster plead, and Marshall listen.

When Marshall's labors began we had a new government and a Constitution not yet interpreted, and his rulings were of necessity numerous and original. Except in maxims and authorities of common law, Marshall had no guide except his own supreme judgment, and this proved all but infallible. His rulings on constitutional points have seldom if ever been disturbed. The whole bar and judiciary of the United States think that when they quote a clear ruling of Marshall, they have something they can tie to.

Next to Marshall we suppose Judge Story to stand. He was a man of immense industry. It is said that Marshall would think out the original proposition, and either announce or write it, and then say, 'Brother Story, here is the law, won't you find the authorities.' Story's reputation rests chiefly on his legal writings. He went farther than any other writer has gone in collecting the literature of the conflicts of laws and contracts, which has been everywhere received as authority.

Kent is the American Blackstone. Although he had not the difficulties to encounter which beset Blackstone, he had to eliminate and bring out of chaos authorities and principles, and he did this work in a masterly manner.

Ambrose Spencer, Chief Justice of New York, established a great reputation. In breadth of comprehension, in clearness of perception, in lucid analysis, in a profound sense of justice, he hardly had an equal in his times. As a pure lawyer probably the greatest the State of New York ever had was Samuel L. Talcott, Attorney-General, while Elisha Williams was beyond question the greatest jury lawyer of America. New York has been famous

for her bench and bar, Columbia County particularly having contributed far more than her share of judicial learning and eloquence.¹

Utica furnished three attorney-generals in succession, Talcott, Bronson, and Beardsley; even now two of her citizens are in the Senate of the United States, and one on the bench of the Supreme Court.

"Among our writers in jurisprudence," says Dr. Griswold, "have been many of great ability. Our books of Codes, Statutes, Reports and Essays on Rights, Crimes and Punishments, have had a powerful influence on the common and positive laws of Christendom. Bradford and Livingston, with many others, entitled themselves to gratitude by efforts to overthrow the tyranny of Revenge, which until recently has been the first principle in criminal legislation. Their influence has been widely acknowledged in Europe as well as in America. I need but refer to the great Marshall, to Hamilton, 'the first of our constitutional lawyers;' to Parsons, who had no superior in the common law; to Kent, whose decisions are 'more signally entitled to respect than those of any English chancellor since the American Revolution, with the single exception; perhaps, of Lord Eldon;' to the voluminous and able works of Story,² or to those of Livingston,

¹ In a very carefully prepared work, entitled *Biographical Sketches of the Distinguished Men of Columbia County*, by William Raymond, published in 1851, an astonishing array of great lawyers and statesmen is presented. The author says: 'This county is greatly distinguished for the number and exalted talents of her lawyers and statesmen; and she is equally so for her military and naval heroes. The names of WORTH and ALLEN are known throughout the world. This county has produced one President of the United States, one Vice-President, four Governors of States and Territories, three Foreign Ministers, one Secretary of State of the United States, one Secretary of the Department of War, one United States Attorney-General, one Judge of the United States District Court, five Supreme Court Judges, several Circuit Judges, four Attorney-Generals of the State of New York, and two United States Senators; besides many distinguished Members of Congress, and other officers, both of the State and General Governments. Several of the offices named were filled in the person of Martin Van Buren. If any other county has done as much, it has not come to our knowledge.'

After a fine sketch of Elisha Williams, Mr. Raymond portrays the career of Judge William Van Ness, and the other distinguished members of the same family, John P., William P., and Cornelius P., all of whom achieved great honors—Peter Van Schaack—Thomas P. Grosvenor—Robert R. Livingston—Daniel Cady—Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer, and his son John C. Spencer—Martin Van Buren, President of the United States—Benjamin F. Butler—Judge John W. Edmonds—Ambrose L. Jordan—Jacob Rutzen Van Rensselaer—Nathaniel Potter Tallmadge, and his son Daniel Bryant Tallmadge—Judge John C. Hogeboom—Judge Vanderpoel and Aaron Vanderpoel—Peter Van Allen—Peter Sylvester and John Van Buren. This is

by no means a complete list of the great jurists which Columbia County has produced.

² CHARLES SUMNER paid the following high tribute to this great man:—

As the exalted jurist, he is to take his place in the history of the world, high in the same firmament whence beam the mild glories of Tribonian, of Cujas, of Hale, and of Mansfield. It was his fortune, unlike many who have cultivated the law with signal success on the European continent, to be called as a judge practically to administer and apply it in the actual business of life. It thus became to him not merely a science, whose depths and intricacies he explored in his closet, but a great and god-like instrument, to be employed in that highest of earthly functions, the determination of justice among men. While the duties of the magistrate were thus illumined by the studies of the jurist, the latter were tempered to a finer edge by the experience of the bench.

Independent of the incalculable labors, of which there is no trace, except in the knowledge, happiness, and justice which they helped to secure, the bare amount of his written and printed works is enormous beyond all precedent in the annals of the common law. His written judgments on his own circuit, and his various commentaries, occupy *twenty-seven* volumes, while his judgments in the Supreme Court of the United States form an important part of no less than *thirty-four* volumes more. The vast professional labors of Coke and Eldon, which seem to clothe the walls of our libraries, must yield in extent to his. He is the *Lope de Vega*, or the *Walter Scott* of the common law.

Called to administer all the different branches of law, which are kept separate in England, he showed a mastery of all. His was Universal Empire; and wherever he set his foot, in the wide and various realms of jurisprudence, it was as a sovereign; whether in the ancient and subtle learning of real law; in the criminal law; in the niceties of special pleading; in the more refined doctrines of contracts; in the more rational systems of the commercial and maritime law; in the peculiar and interesting principles and practice of courts of admiralty and prize; in the immense range of chancery; in the modern but important jurisdiction over patents; or in that higher region, the great themes of public and constitutional law. There are judgments by him in each of these branches, which

Wheaton,¹ Stearns, Duer, Verplanck, Philips, Greenleaf, Binney, and others whose names are associated with these in the memories of the legal profession."

Lord Chief Justice Campbell said of our jurists: 'I really hardly know any name which we can so much boast of as the Americans may of that of

will not yield in value to those of any other judge in England or the United States, even though his studies and duties may have been directed to only one particular department.

His judgments are remarkable for their exhaustive treatment of the subjects to which they relate. The common law, as is known to his cost by every student, is to be found only in innumerable 'sand-grains' of authorities. Not one of these is overlooked in his learned expositions, while all are combined with care, and the golden cord of reason is woven across the ample tissue. Besides, there is in them a clearness, which flings over the subject a perfect day; a severe logic, which, by its closeness and precision, makes us feel the truth of the saying of Leibnitz, that nothing approached so near the certainty of geometry as the reasoning of the law; a careful attention to the discussions at the bar, that the court may not appear to neglect any of the considerations urged; with a copious and persuasive eloquence which invests the whole. Many of his judgments will be landmarks in the law; they will be columns, like those of Hercules, to mark the progress in jurisprudence of our age. I know of no single judge who has established so many. I think it may be said, without fear of question, that the Reports show a larger number of judicial opinions, from Mr. Justice Story, which posterity will not willingly let die, than from any other judge in the history of English and American law.

In the history of the English bench there are but two names with combined eminence as a judge and as an author—Coke and Hale; unless, indeed, the Orders in Chancery, from the Verulamian pen, should entitle Lord Bacon to this distinction; and the judgments of Lord Brougham should vindicate the same for him. Blackstone's character as a judge is lost in the fame of the Commentaries. To Mr. Justice Story belongs this double glory. Early in life he compiled an important professional work; but it was only at a comparatively recent period, after his mind had been disciplined by the labors of the bench, that he prepared those elaborate Commentaries, which have made his name a familiar word in foreign countries. They who knew him best observed the lively interest which he took in this extension of his well-earned renown. And truly he might; for the voice of distant foreign nations seems to come as from a living posterity. His works have been reviewed with praise in the journals of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and Germany. They have been cited as authorities in all the courts of Westminster Hall; and one of the ablest and most learned lawyers of the age, whose honorable career at the bar has conducted him to the peerage, Lord Campbell, in the course of debate in the House of Lords, characterized their author as 'The first of living writers on the law.'

¹ SUMNER also wrote the following on Wheaton:—

He was long and widely known in various official relations; devoted for many years to the service of his country; studious always of literature and jurisprudence; illustrious as a diplomatist and expounder of the Law of Nations; with a private character so pure as to incline us to forget, in its contemplation, the public virtues by which his life was filled.

In 1815 he appeared as an author of a Treatise on Jurisprudence. This was a *Digest of the Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes*. In the judicial inquiries incident to the administration of the *laws of war*—still maintained by the Christian world—such a treatise was naturally of much practical utility. It may also claim the palm of being among the earliest juridical productions of our country. Nor indeed has it been without the disinterested praise of foreign nations. Mr. Reddie, of Edinburgh, in his recent work on Maritime International Law, says: 'That although it cannot be strictly called a valuable accession to the legal literature of Britain, it gives us much pleasure

to record our opinion, that, in point of learning and methodical arrangement, it is very superior to any treatise on this department of the law which had previously appeared in the English language.' No American contribution to jurisprudence so early as 1815 has received such marked commendation abroad. Kent and Story had not then produced those works which have secured to them their present freehold of European fame.

In 1816 he became the Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which office he held till 1827. His Reports are in twelve volumes, and embody what may be called the *golden judgments* of our National Judicature, from the lips of Marshall, Livingston, Washington, Thompson, and Story.

From literature he passed again to jurisprudence, where he has won his surest triumphs. His *Elements of International Law* appeared in London and the United States in 1836, and again in 1846, much enlarged. This was followed by a *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Washington*, which first appeared in French, at Leipzig, in 1844.

His career as a *Diplomatist* abroad has been one of the longest in our history—longer even than that of Mr. Adams. It was not his fortune to affix his name to any treaty, like that of 1783, which acknowledged our Independence, or that of Ghent in 1815, which restored peace to England and the United States. But his extended term of service was filled by a succession of wise and faithful labors, which have rendered incalculable good to his own country, while they have impressed his character upon the public mind of Europe.

Justly eminent as a practical diplomatist, his works derived new value from the high place of their author, while even his official position was aided by his works. His was a solitary example in our age—perhaps the only instance since Grotius—of an eminent minister, who was also an expounder of the science of the Law of Nations. His works, therefore, have been received with peculiar respect. They may be said already to have become *authorities*. Such they seem to be regarded by the two British writers on this subject, who who have since appeared, Mr. Manning and Mr. Reddie. The former, in his interesting Commentaries says, 'Dr. Wheaton's work is the best elementary treatise on the Law of Nations that has appeared'; while Mr. Reddie declares, in his *Treatise on Maritime International Law*, that 'This work, although not by a British author, was certainly, at the date of its publication, the most able and scientific Treatise on International Law, which had appeared in the English language.' It is admitted that the arrangement is superior to that of Martens, Chitty, Schmalz, or Klüber.

Others may have done better in the high art of history; but no American historian has, like him, achieved European eminence as a writer on the Law of Nations; nor has any other American writer on the last great theme been recognized abroad as an historian. He was a member of the Institute of France; and I cannot forget that, at the time of his admission, the question—so honorable to the double fame of Mr. Wheaton—was entertained by the late Baron Degeando, the jurist and philanthropist, whether he should more properly be received into the section of History or of Jurisprudence. To the latter he was finally attached. Prescott and Bancroft belong to the former.

It is, however, as an expounder of the *Public International Law* that his name will be most widely cherished. In the progress of Christian civilization, many of the rules, now sustained by learned subtlety or unquestioning submission—shaping the public relations of States—may pass away. The Institution of War, with its complex code, now sanctioned and legalized by nations, as a proper mode of adjusting their disputes, may yield to some less questionable Arbitrament. But

Professor Story, and Chancellor Kent, and others of very great distinction.' Professor Dillingham remarks of Francis Lieber's works: 'They have received the highest eulogies from men eminent in jurisprudence in Europe and America. John Bouvier, George T. Curtis, Theodore Woolsey, William Whiting, J. N. Pomeroy, Timothy Walker, and several others at least as profoundly learned and of as high authority in law, but whose treatises are chiefly professional rather than national, have produced legal works of great merit.'

V. *Mathematics and Natural Science*.—Under these rubrics the Americans have, for more than a century, been distinguished by their original contributions to the common stock of knowledge.

Franklin.—I need not speak further of his invaluable discoveries, nor the impulse which he gave to the cause of science throughout the world. Rittenhouse, Bowditch, and Nulty became distinguished in mathematics. Bowditch's translation of the *Mécanique Céleste* was a vast labor. It was published in four quarto volumes in 1829, 1832, 1834, 1838. It was something greater than a translation, for more than half of it was devoted to an exposition of the original, which from being obscure and complex, required illuminating annotations; and it also embraced a record of new discoveries. *The London Quarterly Review*, on the appearance of the first volume, said, 'it savored of the gigantesque.' It seemed to be too great ever to be completed; 'but to have even commenced it,' the reviewer said, was 'highly creditable to American science as the harbinger of future achievements in the loftiest fields of intellectual prowess.'

Nathaniel Bowditch, the son of a cooper, after learning his father's trade, and mastering the business of ship chandlery, went to sea; where an English sailor taught him the elements of navigation. He learned Latin by himself, that he might read the *Principia* of Newton, and afterwards taught himself Spanish, Italian, and German. Becoming a superior navigator by long voyages, he published in 1802 his *New American Practical Navigator*, which was printed at home and abroad, and was everywhere esteemed the best work of the kind ever published.¹

a profound interest will always attach to the writings of those great masters who have striven to explain, to advance, and to refine that system which, though incomplete, has helped to constrain in the bonds of Peace the wide Christian Commonwealth. Among these Mr. Wheaton's place is conspicuous. His name is already inscribed on the same table with that of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel.

¹ On the close of his seafaring life, he was elected president of the Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Company, which situation he held till 1823. His attachment to his native place made him decline the chair of mathematics in Harvard University in 1808, in the University of Virginia in 1818, and at West Point in 1820. Among his productions were a chart of remarkable beauty and exactness of the harbors of Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, and Manchester; many contributions, chiefly on astronomical subjects, to the 'Transactions' of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the article on modern astronomy in vol. xx. of the 'North American Review'; and many articles in the American edition of 'Rees's Cyclopædia.' He com-

pleted between 1814 and 1817 the great undertaking on which his fame chiefly rests, a translation of the *Mécanique Céleste* of Laplace (4 vols., 1829-'38); the fifth volume, which Laplace had added to his work many years after the other, was subsequently issued under the editorial care of Prof. B. Pierce, accompanied by an elaborate commentary. It was estimated that there were at that time but two or perhaps three persons in America, and not more than twelve in Great Britain, who were able to read the original work critically. The French astronomer, thoroughly master of the mighty subject, very often omitted intermediate steps in his demonstrations, and grasped the conclusion without showing the process. It was the design of Dr. Bowditch to supply these deficiencies. Another object was to record subsequent discoveries, to continue the original work to the latest date, and to subjoin parallel passages from geometers who had treated of the same subjects. A third object was to show the sources from which Laplace had derived assistance. The elucidations and commentaries form more than half the work as produced by Dr. Bowditch. In 1823 he became

Professor Dillingham well says: 'In Mathematics many new names have arisen, from whom are departed H. N. Robinson, William M. Gillespie, John Gummere, A. D. Bache, Benjamin Greenleaf. Benjamin Pierce has produced great fruits of the profoundest mathematical gifts. Other distinguished names are Davies, Loomis; Chauvenet, Mahan, Maury—and, indeed, we know not where to end our list of them.

'In no country has the study of meteorology been cultivated with so much success as in the United States, for here the results have been most brilliant and practical. Among the early propounders of original theories, were Redfield and Espey. They attracted great attention among scientists of Europe, and led the way to the production of "Winds and Currents," by Matthew F. Maury, which was at once adopted by shipmasters. The last edition of this work is considered final authority, so far as the phenomena had been observed. It led to the foundation of the 'Bureau of Signal Service,' which was only a just recognition of its rank in the progress of meteorological science.'

'Doctor Hare, Mr. Loomis, and many others have advanced this science; but it should never be forgotten, that to Franklin alone is due the credit of having published the first acute, philosophical observations which afforded the germs of the recent doctrines of storms.

Professor Dillingham thus supplements the record:

'In chemistry it is necessary only to refer to the labors of Rumford, Webster, Silliman, Hare and Henry; ² in Mineralogy, to those of Cleveland, Dana,

Actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company in Boston. During the latter years of his life he was a trustee of the Boston Athenæum, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the corporation of Harvard College.—See 'Memoir of Nathaniel Bowditch,' by his son N. J. Bowditch (Boston, 1839).—*Appleton's American Cyclopædia*, vol. iii., p. 103.

¹ The Signal Service Bureau, and the great work it has already performed, are worthy of more extended notice than I can give. I must limit myself to the following passages in a letter to the *New York Tribune*:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 28.—The report of General A. J. Meyer, chief signal officer of the army, having in charge the subject of national meteorology, for the year 1874, has just been presented to the Secretary of War, and is a document of unusual interest, as showing the vast extent of the operations of the Signal Service, and the thoroughness and efficiency with which they are prosecuted, together with the great economical and scientific value of the results attained. It is a great mistake to suppose that the publication of the probabilities of the weather in the daily papers is the end and aim of the organization of this branch of the Government service. This is, to be sure, one feature of it and of great practical moment, involving as it does a careful record several times a day of variations of temperature, barometrical pressure, the direction of the winds, condition of the sky, the rain and snow fall, etc., with observations of the meteorological phenomena, and those recurring periodically in the animal and vegetable kingdom. It likewise embraces a careful study of the condition of the waters in our Western rivers, by means of which announcements of threatened rises in any part of their extent are transmitted to their lower portions in time for the protection of property and life against their dangers.

Nor are meteorological investigations limited merely to the older portion of the United States, as the proper

appreciation of weather phenomena involves a much wider field of investigation. Stations have been established on St. Paul's Island in Behring Sea, at St. Michael's in Norton Sound, not far from Behring Straits; at Fort Yukon, and across the northernmost portion of the Hudson's Bay Territory, with the concurrence of the Hudson's Bay Company. Even Greenland, Labrador, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Russia have combined to form a line of posts encircling the globe, at which observations are taken at the same absolute moment of time, corresponding as nearly as possible to 7.35 A.M. at Washington. Furthermore, the more southern observatories in Europe and Asia are co-operating in the same general plan of observatories, while, beside the stations of the Signal Service in the West Indies, not a few first-class establishments in South America render their assistance also. Thus the entire scientific resources of the world have been called into play by General Myer in his plan of simultaneous observations, not merely for the purpose of advancing our knowledge of the atmospheric physics of the globe generally, but with the very purpose of making such generalizations and deductions as will allow the prediction of atmospheric changes far in advance of what is now possible from facts noted by telegraph within the immediate vicinity of the United States.

² It has been a source of ever recurring regret during the preparation of this work, that I was bound by such restrictions as rendered it utterly impossible to give anything like a satisfactory portrayal of the labors of my illustrious countrymen in any one field of achievement. I have felt this more deeply, perhaps, in the department of scientific progress, than in any other; for next to those who devote themselves to works of pure philanthropy in relieving the sufferings of their fellow-man, the cultivators of pure science command our highest regard.

and Beck, in Geology, to those of Maclure, Hitchcock, Silliman, Mather, Emmons, Vanuxem, Rogers, Jackson, Troost, Percival, Houghton, and Hall, and in Botany to those of Bartram, Barton, Elliott, Bigelow, Gray, Torrey and Darlington. There have been no European Ornithologists during this century to be ranked before or even with Wilson and Audubon. The works on Entomology by Mr. Say and Mr. Le Conte, on Herpetology by Dr. Holbrook, on Ichthyology by Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Holbrook and Dr. Storer, on Mammalogy by Dr. Bachman, and on Conchology by Mr. Lea, have very great

Professor JOSEPH HENRY, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, is worthy of a better sketch than I can give him. I do not know of any American who started at an earlier period in life with a more absorbing passion for knowledge, who pursued it with greater earnestness and enthusiasm, or who reaped richer harvests in more fields of investigation than this chieftain in science.

Being invited by the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, then just about to be organized—1846—to recommend the best method of carrying out the Will of the founder, from the beginning to the present time, he has been the life and soul of that Institution, which has accomplished more than any other of its kind during the first quarter of a century of its existence. He has been its life, comprehending more completely perhaps than any other man, the mind of Smithson; he has executed his Will so completely, that the spirit of the immortal donor must look down upon him with admiration and love, while still in the prime of life, he enjoys a fame which is not often acquired in so brief a period. I can find space only for a brief enumeration of his more prominent scientific investigations and discoveries.

1. A sketch of the topography of the State of New York, embodying the results of the survey before mentioned.

2. In connection with Dr. Beck and the Hon. Simeon De Witt, the organization of the meteorological system of the State of New York.

3. The development, for the first time, of magnetic power, sufficient to sustain tons in weight, in soft iron, by a comparatively feeble galvanic current.

4. The first application of electro-magnetism as a power, to produce continued motion in a machine.

5. An exposition of the method by which electro-magnetism might be employed in transmitting power to a distance, and the demonstration of the practicability of an electro-magnetic telegraph, which, without these discoveries, was impossible.

6. The discovery of the induction of an electrical current in a long wire upon itself, or the means of increasing the intensity of a current by the use of a spiral conductor.

7. The method of inducing a current of quantity from one of intensity, and *vice versa*.

8. The discovery of currents of induction of different orders, and of the neutralization of the induction by the interposition of plates of metal.

9. The discovery that the discharge of a Leyden jar consists of a series of oscillations backwards and forwards until equilibrium is restored.

10. The induction of a current of electricity from lightning at a great distance, and proof that the discharge from a thunder cloud also consists of a series of oscillations

11. The oscillating condition of a lightning-rod while transmitting a discharge of electricity from the clouds causing it, though in perfect connection with the earth, to emit sparks of sufficient intensity to ignite combustible substances.

12. Investigations on molecular attraction, as exhibited in liquids, and in yielding and rigid solids, and an exposition of the theory of soap bubbles. [These or-

iginated from his being called upon to investigate the causes of the bursting of the great gun on the United States steamer Princeton.]

13. Original experiments on and exposition of the principles of acoustics, as applied to churches and other public buildings.

14. Experiments on various instruments to be used as fog signals.

15. A series of experiments on various illuminating materials for light-house use, and the introduction of lard oil for lighting the coasts of the United States. This and the preceding in his office of Chairman of the Committee on Experiments of the Light-House Board.

16. Experiments on heat, in which the radiation from clouds and animals in distant fields was indicated by the thermo-electrical apparatus applied to a reflecting telescope.

17. Observations on the comparative temperature of the sun-spots, and also of different portions of the sun's disk. In these experiments he was assisted by Professor Alexander.

18. Proof that the radiant heat from a feebly luminous flame is also feeble, and that the increase of radiant light, by the introduction of a solid substance into the flame of the compound blowpipe, is accompanied with an equivalent radiation of heat, and also that the increase of light, and radiant heat in a flame of hydrogen, by the introduction of a solid substance, is attended with a diminution in the heating power of the flame itself.

19. The reflection of heat from concave mirrors of ice, and its application to the source of the heat derived from the moon.

20. Observations, in connection with Professor Alexander, on the red flames on the border of the sun, as observed in the annular eclipse of 1838.

21. Experiments on the phosphorogenic ray of the sun, from which it is shown that this emanation is polarizable and refrangible, according to the same laws which govern light.

22. On the penetration of the more fusible metals into those less readily melted, while in a solid state.

Besides these experimental additions to physical science, Professor Henry is the author of twenty-five [1846-71] reports, giving an exposition of the annual operations of the Smithsonian Institution. He has also published a series of essays on meteorology in the Patent Office Reports, which, besides an exposition of established principles, contain many new suggestions; and, among others, the origin of the development of electricity, as exhibited in the thunder-storm; and an essay on the principal source of the power which does the work of developing the plant in the bud, and the animal in the egg.

He has also published a theory of elementary education, in his address as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Education, the principle of which is, that in instruction the order of nature should be followed; that we should begin with the concrete and end with the abstract, the one gradually shading into the other; also the importance of early impressions, and the tendency in old age to relapse into the vices of early youth. Youth is the father of old age rather than of manhood.

He was successful as a teacher, and never failed to impart to his students a portion of his own enthusiasm. His object was not merely to impart a knowledge of facts, but mainly to give clear expositions of principles, to teach the use of generalizations; the method of arriving at laws by the process of induction, and the inference from these of facts by logical deduction.

merits, which have been universally acknowledged. The writings of Godman, Hays, and other zoologists have likewise merited and received general applause.¹

'Astronomy has parted with George P. Bond, William C. Bond, O. M. Mitchell, and Olmstead. Well-known writers in this science are Hannah M. Bouvier, W. A. Norton, B. A. Gould, and C. H. Davis. Bache, Newtor, Maury, Wilkes, Blodget, and Loomis have also rendered distinguished service to *Meteorology*, which has lost that of Redfield, Espy, and Dr. Hare. In *Natural Philosophy*, eminent names are Olmstead, Snell, Ewbank, Renwick. The chief ranks of noted names in *Chemistry* before given have been refilled by Cooke, Storer, Eliot, Hosford, Youmans, Rodgers, Knapp, Biddle, Porter, Wells. The last named was, until recently, the highly competent editor of the 'Annual of Scientific Discovery.' His able successors are Samuel Kneeland and John Trowbridge. Professor Dana is still left, the Nestor of American Mineralogists and Geologists. Overman, Shepard, Hitell, and Alger have also added greatly to the knowledge of *Mineralogy*. *Geology* has lost the following master-laborers, Hitchcock, Silliman, Emmons, Vanuxem, Rogers, Woost, Maclure, Houghton, Cotting; and has happily gained, besides Dana, a Whitney, Hall, Owen, Percival, Jackson, Mather, Adams, Foster, Isaac Lea, Loomis, Lynch, Trask, Blake, Norwood, Lieber, Winchell, Hayden, and many more. Gray has continued making admirable additions to the literature of *Botany*. Wood's botanical treatises are also widely useful. Nuttall, Leavenworth, and others have contributed valuable knowledge of this 'amiable science.' *Zoology* can now hardly be thought of without the great name of Agassiz; and a noble company of other zoologists have highly exalted American science, among whom are Gould, Leidy, Cope, Hagan, Stimpson, Hall, Clark, Lea, Walter, Harvey, Holmes, Kneeland, Conrad, Morse, Orton, Hart, De Kay. Alexander Wilson, the great *Ornithologist*, and his successors, Bonaparte, Audubon, Nuttall, and Cassin, are gone; Elliot and Spencer Baird remain. Excellent works on *Entomology* have been written by Harris, Packard, Trimble, and Verrill. Baird and Gill are noted in *Ichthyology*; Adams, Binney, and Bland in *Conchology*. *Ethnology* has lost Schoolcraft, Gallatin, and Morton. Other contributors thereto are J. R. Bartlett, Squier, Brace, Brinton, Gliddon, Nott, and Hayden. *Geographical literature* is indebted first to Guyot, and also in an eminent degree to Colton, Mitchell, Page, Pickering, and Marsh.²

VI. *Explorations by State Authority*.—Within recent times, not only the National Government, but all the States have instituted surveys in the geology and general natural history of their territories; and these surveys have been for the most part so thorough and reliable, that their Reports, now extending over several hundred volumes, may be fairly regarded as among the proudest achievements of our times, and as Professor Agassiz³ remarked not long be-

¹ Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*, Introduction, pp. 27, 28.

² Dillingham's *Supplement to Griswold*.

³ THE OUTLOOK FOR SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES—DEATH OF AGASSIZ.

Little did the postman of North Tarrytown-on the

fore his death, 'altogether unparalleled in other countries, but the most splendid monuments which enlightened enterprise has reared in the cause of science. How valuable,' he said, 'will this vast body of facts be to the student and inquirers of the ages that are to come.'

VII. ROMANTIC FICTION.—My words must now be brief. It was not many years after the *Edinburgh Review* had asked 'who reads an American book?' that the following strange tribute to the genius of Cooper appeared

Hudson know how much he was doing on the morning of the 13th of March, 1873, when he rang the bell, and threw into the doorway of a tiny villa the New York papers, and hurried away to complete his rounds. Many a cathedral has rung out its glorious chimes over a great capitol on some festival day, without awakening such glad responses from listening spirits, as were stirred by the silver notes of that little cottage bell.

The eye of its master glanced over the following paragraph from Boston: 'To-day Professor Agassiz addressed the Massachusetts Legislature on their visit to the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, and asked for aid for a Summer School at the Seaside for the instruction of teachers in Natural History'—*He asked in vain*. The State which boasts an Athens for its capitol 'cared little for preserved toads,' as one of its Athenian legislators said.

A flush came over the reader's face, and in a moment of generous inspiration he exclaimed: 'Is it possible that the people of Massachusetts can turn a deaf ear to the appeals of a man who was the friend, and enjoyed the confidence of Humboldt, who is, himself, at this day the very Nestor of Science, and who has devoted so many years of his life to the advancement of learning in that State?—Well, I know what we will do. We will give to Professor Agassiz, if he will accept it, the Island of Penikese with all attached to it, and, if necessary, funds to enable him to found his Summer School, let Massachusetts do as it may.'

It was all settled on the very spot where the inspiration was born. A despatch brought the legal adviser and man of *affaires* from New York, to arrange preliminaries, and that night the two were on the fast train for Boston. On the following day the strangers formally tendered the donation to Professor Agassiz. When the great *savant* heard the purpose of their mission, the thought seemed too grand to be taken in all at once.

It was a coronation for the king of Modern Science, 'and from an unpretending New Yorker, too!'

The news was flashed under the oceans and over the Continents to the friends of Science, and that night the name of JOHN ANDERSON was inscribed forever on the roll of honor of every University in the world, and the foundation laid for a School, bearing the name of the Donor, which is destined to take the front rank, and to receive the recognition of the most eminent scholastic institutions on earth. It was one of the noblest offerings ever made to *pure science*, and it was most gracefully accepted by one who is recognized as among the greatest of living scientists.

It is unnecessary to trace the generous gift, supplemented as it was by a still more munificent endow-

ment, through its intermediate stages. Suffice it to say, that in the early summer we find *The Anderson School of Natural History* established on the Island of Penikese, which had been thus devoted to its uses, and the great Apostle of Science surrounded by his disciples diligently pursuing the studies contemplated in its foundation.

It can hardly be a matter of too much congratulation, that Natural Science has thus at last begun to claim some share of the benefactions of the rich, and more prominence in the curriculum of liberal education. We do not decry classic learning. Its chaste light will always illumine our path. Our Universities will never fail to transmit the ancient torch from age to age. But hereafter, the mind of this country will live more and more in the sunlight of Natural Science. The Classics are behind us with their benedictions. Science is beckoning us into the future, with its vast possibilities. We go out to meet her in her shining robes.

But for the straitness of our space, we should gladly speak of other munificent gifts, from Smithsonian and Cooper, to Peabody and Sheffield, and the now rapidly swelling list of men, who, although shut out by other absorbing pursuits from the *penetralia* of the Temple of Learning, still feel its value to the nation, and send their offerings to its altars.

And how much better it is for them to do it, as Anderson and others have done, while they are yet in the vigor of a fine manhood, 'while the eye is yet undimmed, and their natural force yet unabated.'

When the paralysis of death begins to relax the millionaire's grasp on his gold, and over his slowly glazing eyeballs the horrible truth flashes that, in buying the world, he has paid for it with his soul, what poor comfort for him then to give away what he can no longer keep! This is not an American way of doing things. Our hero-workers are teaching the world better lessons. We are a nation of working men, marching over a continent of gold; and Science is to receive such honors in this land, as have never before been paid at her shrine, by bankers, nobles and kings.

The great Apostle of Science has ceased from his mighty labors in the flesh. But his noble spirit will long hover over the haunts of learning, and inspire her worshippers. Much as the generous ANDERSON may lament the loss of his friend, it will always be grateful to remember that his munificent gift came in time for AGASSIZ to organize his school, which was the last great labor of his life. Hereafter the beautiful island will be the Mecca of science where its disciples will gather in veneration and love, and Penikese receive a new consecration.—*My Life-Note Book*. MS.

in the same periodical :—‘The empire of the sea has been conceded to him by acclamation ; in the lonely desert or untrodden prairie, among the savage Indians or scarcely less savage settlers, all equally acknowledge his dominion. Within this circle none dares walk but he.’—cxxxiii.

His first book, ‘Precaution,’ was a failure, an utter failure. It deserved to be. One of his weaknesses was to persist in republishing it. It was a feeble, jejune effort, written by a man who was ignorant of everything but the life of the frontier and the sea. On his first appearance in the literary world he stumbled over the threshold and fell flat upon the floor. But the book attracted no attention, and left him as obscure as it found him. Discovering that he had mistaken the bent of his genius, and that this species of writing was a hopeless business, he launched off into the American Revolution, and brought out the ‘Spy.’ It was the first American romance of any talent whose scene was founded in, and whose associations belonged to the times, the men, and the events of 1776. It was a bold, straightforward story, filled with generous feelings, honestly and artlessly told, and withal dealt in events which must always stir the deepest fountains of American feeling. It is not to be wondered at that it should have struck the heart of the American people, and created a reputation for its author at once. This was in fact the case, for the ‘Spy’ had not been published six months before the name of Cooper was mentioned with pride in all the literary circles of this country, and even the reviewers of Europe began to bestow some attention upon his work. Criticism has pronounced the book to have been nothing very extraordinary, and no young writer could hope in 1875 to rise from obscurity on any such performance. But it was the first attempt in romance to picture the sufferings and heroism of the American Revolution. WASHINGTON himself was one of the characters of the ‘Spy,’ and there was something fine in the conceit of introducing that lofty and generous being under the quaint guise in which he is veiled in COOPER’S book. The literary tastes of the nation at the time were rude. Journalism had hardly begun to exist. Except in a few of our cities, there was no class of leisure and fortune, and what at that time electrified the American people, would now fall unnoticed into oblivion. The early authors of every nation have an advantage over all their successors. The fame of Mr. IRVING would not have been achieved so readily, had he not written upwards of fifty years ago. Then, there were not five American authors of recognized talent. Even MARSHALL was quoted as one of our standard literary authorities, because he had written a remarkably calm, impartial history of the life of WASHINGTON. FRANKLIN was almost as great an antiquity as he is now, perhaps more so, to most of the population. Neither Judge KENT nor Judge STORY had brought out their principal works. The days of PRESCOTT and TICKNOR, and BANCROFT and MOTTLEY had not come ; and IRVING and COOPER had the whole boundless continent open for their literary achievements. They chose different fields, and each acquired eminence, and they did it worthily.

The 'Spy' then was just the book that was needed. A work of very high literary finish would not have been so well appreciated by the mass of the people. It could not have gone into general circulation in a more ornate dress. It appealed in an unsophisticated manner to the heart of the nation. The name of Washington was sacred. His achievements were regarded with unlimited veneration. The generation which read the 'Spy' for the first time, had many of them looked upon the face of Washington. Many of their fathers had served under him during the Revolution. Ten thousand glorious traditions had been wreathed around the firesides and homes of their fathers, and transmitted to them as precious legacies, as in the Old World the deeds of Robert Bruce, William Tell, and other political deliverers, are still chronicled in the memories of surviving generations. Mr. Cooper had an earnest heart in his bosom. He loved his country, and although he was not a scholar, much less a philosopher, and still further, perhaps, from being a linguist, and destitute in a word, as he must have been, of almost all scholastic attainments, he still in the earnestness of literary aspirations, undertook to write a book to stir the heart of his countrymen. This was his object, and he achieved it. He was not severely criticised at the time, nor has that work *ever* been put into the crucible of severe criticism. It probably never will be, since it will never be in the power of an American who has any pride in the literary character of the country, or any sympathy for the founders of our institutions, to treat the work with the coolness and impartiality which ought always to be united in the man who handles the pen of the just critic.

After the 'Spy' Mr. Cooper could afford to write something not so good, and yet in the estimation of impartial critics he deserved great credit for having felt a still loftier aspiration, for he seems to have determined to excel himself; and he did, for he escaped many snares into which his literary inexperience and incapacity had first led him, and avoided many of those blunders which had excited the sneers of a few ill-natured critics, and the rudeness of his former production was somewhat atoned for by the artistic delineations of his new novel. He now began what resulted at last in the '*Leatherstocking Tales*,' of which there are five. He brought out the '*Pioneer*,' the object of which was to illustrate the hardihood, the daring, and the noble virtues of the foremost of the adventurers into the wild green woods. The scene was laid not far from the home of his father. Brought up as young COOPER had been, on the very ground his book covered, and familiar as he must have been from childhood with the associations he wove into his romance, he wrote with freedom, naturalness, and effect; and although his 'attempt at romance,' as one of the European reviews called it, may have excited a sneer in some quarters, as it did a smile in many parts of Europe, where society had already been reduced to an art in which propriety had taken the place of nature, and artificiality usurped the prerogative of feeling, still the fact was left for the consolation of the author that Europe had condescended to look at him at all, and at that period this was glory enough for an

American writer. To be abused even was better than not to be noticed at all.

Then came the '*Last of the Mohicans*.' In this story he led the reader still deeper into the forest, and wove into his tale the wildest elements of the romance of the woods. The Red Man, in all the terror of his painted face, his copper skin, his shaven head, his remorseless revenge, his insatiable malignity, his bloody and treacherous deeds, were all pictured with graphic power and even artistic skill ; for the writer improved as he went on, and in writing himself out, the very earnestness of his nature and the clearness of his perception atoned for the lack of study and scholarship. In these two novels Mr. COOPER had interested his readers most deeply in an outré, strange, but admirable character. He was a man of the woods, but not a man 'without a tear.' He had a warm and generous heart. He was so brave that his nerve never trembled in the presence of the most frightful and appalling danger. His heart never was made cruel by his intercourse with the savage Red Man. He never became treacherous by his familiarity with the wiles of the wily Indian, and he preserved his deep sympathies for the white race, from which he was descended. *Natty Bumppo*, *Leatherstocking*, the *Trapper*, the *Deerslayer*, the *Pathfinder*, the world never furnished nobler samples of manhood than the generous fellow who, under all circumstances, from the time the *Deerslayer* became the *Pathfinder*, and the *Pathfinder* piloted the way for the *Pioneer*, and went with his beloved Uncas through the bloody scenes of the *Last of the Mohicans*, and followed his trapping into the wild and desolate fields of the 'Prairie,' was always the same generous character.

And so Mr. COOPER went on. Having struck a rich vein, like a good California digger he worked it to the end, and even carried it so far that the gold-digger himself mistook a baser metal for the glittering ore he once brought up in lumps. Having exhausted his character at one end, and killed him on the Western Prairie, there was nothing to do but to come out of the other end, and begin at the beginning again—so he made the *Deerslayer* fall in love. It was a funny transition ; and yet, considering that in the *Trapper* the poor fellow was brought to an end, everybody was glad to have this imaginary resurrection, for he was one of the best beloved of any of the American people. The Americans felt more interested in him than in any man except WASHINGTON ; and when he came up once more on the shores of Lake Ontario as a lean young man, rude, warm-hearted, cool, quiet, unobtrusive, but brave as Cæsar, everybody was delighted. They extended to him the hand of a fresh welcome, and a God-speed to the author, seeing that his hero had gained a new lease of life. But before the author went back to the beginning of poor *Natty Bumppo*'s existence, he had made other attempts, in some of which he had succeeded, in establishing for himself the most brilliant fame. From the trackless forests and their painted, remorseless denizens, he had launched out upon the sea, another element with which he was familiar ; for Mr. COOPER was in his youth for some period a midshipman in the American Navy ; and although he saw but little actual service, the little he did see

was full of significance to him; and when he came in the *Pilot*, *Red Rover*, *Bravo*, *Water Witch*, and other sea stories to wield his pen, he established his reputation at once, and even stirred the jealousy of Walter Scott, who was then mounting to the meridian of his fame. The great novelist of Scotland had entered almost every field, and borne from it laurels whose brilliancy and beauty have enchanted mankind. Scott did not hesitate to say that in his judgment, Cooper had written the best sea stories ever produced. He told Washington Irving so, and he made this remark freely to all his friends; and, we believe, in some of the principal Reviews he awarded Mr. Cooper the same claim. But still the great novelist was disposed to launch out his craft upon this fickle element, and afterwards thank his fortune that he had succeeded in escaping utter shipwreck. He never thought much of his *Pirate*, as a sea story, nor did anybody else. There is no scene in it that will compare with Cooper's best descriptions, and the entire interest of the story hangs upon the moment when the vessel touches the land, and on the characters who never went upon the water at all.

Mr. COOPER had now written his best works, although he had not at the time become a very voluminous novelist. With the example of Scott before his eyes, he might hope to write reputably through a hundred volumes; but Cooper had nothing but his native genius, and what he had seen in life to draw from, while Scott had the unbounded field of universal learning. Cooper always was an ignorant man. He never wrote a line which breathed the spirit of the Academy, which flashed with the wit of the Portico, or glowed with the philosophy of the Lyceum. If he be platonic it is because he is cold; if he be learned, it is because he makes a quotation from an author who wrote in the black-letter age, and extracted it from somebody who extracted it before.

Mr. Cooper has written a hundred volumes. There are about ten of them that will live. The others never had any existence at all except in his own fancy, and the writer outlived most of his works. But there are some of Cooper's works that will live as long as the forests of America wave their green foliage to heaven, for he has sanctified the early heroism of the Pathfinders of our empire. He has shed a glory as well as a gloom over the sufferings and the endurances of the first settlers. He has made many a spot sacred over which the ploughshare is now driven by men who read his 'Leatherstocking Tales;' and he has done something we are all proud of—he has made the whole world look at his works. He has been translated into all the modern languages of Europe. He is read on the banks of the Seine, and on the shores of the Danube. His works are found on the shelves of Russian scholars along the base of the Ural mountains. The Spaniards have accorded to him the honors of their universities, and the Italians know his writings by heart. Above all is he cherished in the hearts of his countrymen.¹

¹ While the author of 'The Spy' receives the applause of Europe; while the critics of Germany and France debate the claims of Scott to be ranked before him or even with him, his own countrymen deride his

pretensions, and Monikin critics affect contempt of him, or make the appearance of his works occasions of puerile abuse. I shall not discuss the causes of this feeling, further than by remarking that Mr. Cooper is a man of

Hawthorne.—The second great writer of fiction who has taken rank among the best novelists in the English language, is Nathaniel Hawthorne. He first became known by his 'Twice-Told Tales,' which were followed by 'Mosses from an Old Manse,' a collection of exquisitely written papers that had appeared in the magazines. From that time he has been winning his way to the hearts of the best readers of the English tongue. His later productions rose above the narrow sphere of contributions to periodicals, and he began to issue a series of romances which delighted the world. *The Scarlet Letter* was the most artistically executed romance that had appeared in America. It was in itself a weird tragedy of the social life of New England in the colonial period. He cast a glory and shadow around the homes of the descendants of the Puritans, which more perfectly interprets the spirit of the sad, earnest, and yet heroic life those brave, solemn, and yet warm-hearted people led, than had ever been cast before. This work was followed by *The House of the Seven Gables*, much in the same vein; and yet differing as widely from *The Scarlet Letter*, as new actors in different scenes could present. In all his works the reader is borne along by the fascination of a strange but gentle spirit, on the current of a story, which is ever moving with the surprises of unexpected turns, and perplexing eddies, through a landscape fearful with transitions of light and shadow, disturbing and yet soothing the soul. There is a nameless charm about all Hawthorne's writings, which goes only where the brightest gifts attend the power of graphic delineation of scenes and characters, the symmetry of a completed conception in each work harmoniously carried out to the end; a heartfelt sympathy with the bravest souls in the hardest trials; unwavering faith in the loyalty of every true heart to virtue and honor; unshaken faith in the presence and protection of divine power and love, with the interweaving of web and woof into the drama he presents to his reader. Among the class of highest culture, he has taken a place as a writer of fiction, which no other writer in the English language had taken before. It was a vacant seat that had been waiting for so exquisitely constituted a genius. He is in no danger from imitation, any more than Collins in his imperishable Odes, or Grey in his immortal Elegy.

The third writer of fiction who has put forth the greatest power during a lifetime in this country, is Harriet Beecher Stowe. Few, if any, works ever

independence; that he is aware of the dignity of his position; that he thinks for himself in his capacity of citizen; and that he has written above the popular taste, in avoiding the sickly sentimentalism which commends to shop-boys and chambermaids one-half the transatlantic novels of this age. In each of the departments of romantic fiction in which he has written, he has had troops of imitators, and in not one of them an equal. Writing not from books, but from nature, his descriptions, his incidents, his characters, are as fresh as the fields of his triumphs. His Harvey Birch, Leatherstocking, Long Tom Coffin, and other heroes, rise before the mind each in his clearly defined and peculiar lineaments as striking original *creations*, as actual coherent beings. His infinitely varied descriptions of the ocean; his ships, gliding like beings of the air upon its surface; his vast, solitary wildernesses; and indeed all his delineations of nature, are instinct with the breath of

poetry. He is both the Horace Vernet and the Claude Lorraine of novelists. And through all his works are sentiments of genuine courtesy and honor, and an unobtrusive and therefore more powerful assertion of natural rights and dignity. I shall not pretend to say how far a good plot is essential to a good novel. Doubtless in a tale, as in a play, the interest, with the vulgar, is dependent in a large degree upon the plot; but the quality of interesting is of secondary importance in both cases. It must be confessed that Mr. Cooper's plots are sometimes of a common-place sort, that they are not always skilfully wrought, and that he has faults of style, and argument, and conclusion. But he is natural, he is original, he is *American*, and he has contributed more than any of his contemporaries to the formation of a really national literature.—Griswold's *Prose Writers*.

written, have so magnetized a nation. True, much of the effect was due to the condition of the public mind at the time of the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Had it appeared ten years before, it would have passed unnoticed by the great mass of readers. In fact, it had appeared in an organ of the Anti-Slavery party, published in Washington in weekly numbers, for many months, and attracted no attention, except from some of the early body-guard of freedom.¹

Uncle Tom's Cabin had stamped itself like a hot iron on the brow of Slavery. It was a terrible satire on the business of trafficking in human flesh and blood. The world was hardly prepared for *Agnes of Sorrento*, which seemed to be as wide asunder from its predecessor as though written not only by another hand, but in another age. The reader was swiftly whirled into another sphere. From the revolting atrocities and barbarism of the slave-driver's lash, auction-block, and the heartless immolation of humanity, he was transported to the ravishing scenery of the Bay of Naples, with the fascinations and blandishments of the sweetest clime on earth. The entranced reader could hardly believe his own senses in the rapturous surprise that came on him, as those exquisite paintings of love and beauty stole over his soul.

Next the curtain lifted on our eastern coast shrouded in fogs; and yet the marvellous genius of this woman clothed the island where her scene is laid, with strange witchery; for *A Minister's Wooing* blended the graces and power of the same genius which had enchanted us in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *Agnes of Sorrento*. If some artist of the pen wished to make a drawing of the two female writers of our times and of our tongue, who best represent the intellectual power and culture of this age, of the two women who have commanded the most admiration from the world, and most deeply stirred the souls of men, he would be likely to choose on the one side the author of *Agnes of Sorrento*, and on the other the author of 'Romula.' If he went outside of the English world, he would have to choose 'George Sand.' If I went beyond these three American writers of fiction, Cooper, Hawthorne and Stowe, I scarcely know what limits could restrict me; I should lose myself in the charms of a score of other American novelists of both sexes. But I must dismiss the subject. I know how imperfectly I have treated it, and how much more worthily it might have been done by other hands. But if I have helped the reader to some idea of the intellectual progress and condition of the nation, I have done all I attempted. It will never be said hereafter, that this country is without a national literature. It is growing richer

¹ The following account of the history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been furnished me by its publisher, John P. Jewett, and although it is perfectly authenticated over his own honored name, sounds more like romance, than even the book does at this day:—'*Uncle Tom's Cabin* was originally issued as a serial in *The National Era*, at Washington, D. C., in 1851. In the spring of 1852 it was published by John P. Jewett, of Boston, in two 12mo vols. After being offered to other houses and refused, Mrs. Jewett having read it in the *Era* from week to week, urged her husband to solicit it for publication. Finally yielding to the importunity of his wife, he wrote to Mrs. Stowe, and re-

ceived an immediate reply, that she would be in Boston in three weeks, and would confer with him upon the subject, which conference resulted in a contract for publishing this world-renowned novel. 310,000 copies of which were sold by Mr. Jewett in about one year, yielding an immense income to Mrs. Stowe. Mr. Jewett gave his check to the author for the first three months' sales, for \$10,000, and for \$10,000 more on the next settlement, and in all he paid her about \$32,000, to the utter astonishment of the author, and her husband. In fact, the first ten thousand dollar check well-nigh upset their mental equilibrium.'—Thus good-naturedly speaks Mr. Jewett.

every day, and, by a law of development peculiar to this newest of the great nations, in a geometric rather than an arithmetic ratio.

Enough is known of the law of intellectual development, to enable the thoughtful and philosophical mind to determine with some degree of precision our prospects for intellectual advancement in the future. We have inherited the intellectual wealth of all the ages. Providence has made us the residuary legatee of the treasures of the past. If the legacy had consisted in gold and silver, it would have been poor indeed, for the best of reasons. It would have perished in the using, and made us a prodigal son in the family of nations. Moreover, we held within our own soil filthy lucre enough to prostitute the virtue of fifty generations. There was, however, no such danger in the intellectual treasures which descended to us from the older nations. These were incorruptible; they could not enervate us, nor could thieves break through and steal; they could not be squandered like some great estate in the debauch of a night; a wicked law of entail could not transmit them only to the eldest born; they were for the free use of all the children; the only law of distribution being that each heir was entitled to all he could appropriate; like the air and the sunshine, the rain and the ocean—the breezes fanned every cheek, the beams lit up every eye, the shower fell on every parched acre, and the tides swelled on every shore. When we think of the boundless munificence with which this nation has been endowed by the prodigality of the Almighty Father, every true heart among us must not only swell with gratitude, but in the soberest moments thrill with an irrepressible tremor, lest all of these gifts may have been vainly bestowed upon a prodigal child. For, judging by the fate of other nations, who were born with a heritage so lean compared with ours, what imagination can compass our doom, if we follow the same road, which has been strewn with their corpses—that long road, whitened by human bones, winding far back into the shadows of antiquity?

But we shall not, we must not die. We have been punished for our national sins already, till the blood burst from every pore; and the cup of trembling may be pressed to our lips hereafter. But we shall not *die*. In the Doomsday-Book of Nations many a leaf must be turned, after the record of other countries has been passed, before ours can be reached. *Nations never die in the morning of life.* They are *chastised* in their youth that they may grow up in wisdom and righteousness. But when they have grown hoary in crime, and chastisement will no longer end in reformation, they must go to their graves, unwept, unrepentant, unforgiven.

*Evolution in Nature and Society.*¹—Darwin, Wallace, Herbert Spencer,

¹ In the seventh volume of Appleton's *New Cyclopædia*, under the title of *Evolution*, is found a very lucid and clear statement of the origin of the doctrine that 'the existing universe has been gradually unfolded by the action of natural causes in the immeasurable courses of the past time.' The writer, in

tracing the gradual development of the idea of the origin of life down through the philosophers of Greece, and especially from Aristotle, the father of natural history, finally reaches the year 1858, when two essays were read before the Linnean Society, one by Charles Robert Darwin, entitled 'On the Tendency of Species

and others have, each in his sphere, helped to develop in our time the old, old doctrine, that, as a fundamental principle in physics, God works by eternal law in perfecting his unfinished and incomplete, but ever-advancing creation. But is it not equally a *statute in the moral universe*? Is it not as true in the moral, intellectual, and spiritual world, as it is in the physical? Have not men pretty much given up the old idea that the Creator was trying to rescue a *fallen* universe, and was only bent on developing a higher? That heaven-ward all things are tending, and not hell-ward? That virtue has never been hitherto in the enjoyment of an undisputed reign? That no cataclasm has whelmed a once pure system into a chaos of evil? That the Creator is 'from seeming evil, still educing good,' and 'that the law is better thence, and better still in infinite progression,' as Thomson sings? That the old metaphysics which mythology gave us did not afford any rational account for the existence of evil? Is it not possible that the elder poets put the golden age at the wrong end—that it lies before the human race, as something to achieve, and not as something behind us that is lost?—Is it not likely that the human soul in this respect follows the same law which we find taught in geology—to wit, that the earth itself was gradually evolved as a complete body from chaos? that it began as the soul of man does, with only an aggregate of faculties, powers, capabilities, and attributes *to be developed*? Were not these *Saurian* passions to give way to higher forms of spiritual life, as new and higher types of animal life have succeeded to lower types? as the flora of the landscape garden blooms where once the gigantic fern alone towered? Is not the moss-rose growing now where once the wild briar only hinted a richer flower? Have not superior classes of cultured feelings superseded in the heart, the fatal and poisonous odors of the deadly nightshade of malevolence? Can we not trace the same law of development in mind that we find so unmistakably in the realm of the material creation? Is it not always the same Creator, and did not Jesus tell us that this Creator was our Father? And then would not this idea, carried out, give us a better theology? A better God? Would it not substitute, for a heartless Jove, a Christian Father? For an enemy in every stranger, a brother in every man? Would it not make evil itself a less terrible and hopeless thing? Would it not teach us to discover even in sin only disorder which might yield to harmony? In the fruits of wrong-doing incentives to virtue?

to form Varieties, and on the Perpetuation of Species and Varieties by Means of Natural Selection,' the other by Alfred Russell Wallace, entitled 'On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type.' The writer shows from these papers that these eminent naturalists had arrived at almost exactly the same general conclusion. 'But,' says he, 'priority may safely be assigned to Darwin, who, although he had not previously made public his views, had submitted a sketch of them as early as 1844 to Sir Charles Lyell, Dr. Hooker, and others.'

As now generally held, the theory of Evolution is stated by Professor Huxley in these words: 'Those who hold the theory of evolution (and I am one of

them) conceive that there are grounds for believing that the world, with all that is in it, did not come into existence in the condition in which we now see it, nor in anything approaching that condition. On the contrary, they hold that the present conformation and composition of the earth's crust, the distribution of land and water, and the infinitely diversified forms of animals and plants which constitute its present population, are merely the final terms in an immense series of changes which have been brought about in the course of immeasurable time, by the operation of causes more or less similar to those which are at work at the present day.'

In all suffering only the inevitable consequences of a violation of law, and that *we* must change, since the law cannot? In all trial, only the school for learning true power of endurance—in overcoming evil with good as the only road to victory?

What did all the teachers of the older times, from the far-off Brahmin on the slopes of the Himalayas, do in foreshadowing this same thought? The Idumean prince, in fully proclaiming it in that sublime evangel of all time, 'the Book of Job'? Do we not see the limpid waters of life, eternal life, sparkle in Confucius' Golden Rule? Did not Plato paint liberty in government in his ideal Republic, and breathe the hope of a higher sphere of existence in his dream of Immortality? Does not all this give us a nobler conception of the mission of the man of Nazareth, who, as the Captain of Salvation, was made perfect through suffering, that He might bring many sons unto glory? Did He not believe in the perfectibility of human character? Did He find any so low they could not be raised? Any so vile they could not be made pure and white?

Will not this account for the tenderness of Infinite love, which remembers our frame, because He considers that we are but dust? That the last prayer of the noblest and purest Being that ever trod this earth was for the Father to forgive His murderers, because in their blindness they did not know what they were doing? Did a film of darkness cloud the eyes of the old prophet, who saw his erring, sinful brothers gathered among the redeemed, whose garments, once stained with the filth of earth's vile trailings, were whiter than wool, as no fuller on earth could whiten them? Is not Redemption, and not Ruin, the burden of all Inspiration's songs? Is not life, and not death, the law for the soul? Does nature watch every molecule of matter in the circuit of its ceaseless changes, and hoard it up in her eternal treasure-house, so that not one grain of it is lost? Does her patience wear out in the countless ages while she is converting her carbon into diamonds? And shall she lose one priceless soul, worth more than her most lustrous star? If Spencer and Darwin, and their coworkers and disciples, see infinite beauty unfolding from the laboratory of Evolution in its eternal workings with the coarsest and most hideous forms of matter, what bigot or fool shall fix limits to the workings of the same principle when its mighty processes rise into the higher realms of spirit, that domain for which all other realms were made, and without which lower ones would have no significance? The clearer brain of Wallace, who, to say the least, divides the honor of the so-called discovery of Evolution with Darwin, reached the end, the *pourquoi* he has explained.

Modern Spiritualism.—Its phenomena have attracted the attention of the curious, ever since the astounding announcements were made of occurrences at Hydesville, near Rochester, in the State of New York, more than a quarter of a century ago. The numbers of its believers have increased in so unexampled a ratio, that they are supposed by many close investigators to exceed seven millions; thus making them, if they were to be called a sect in

religion—which they disclaim—far outnumber any religious organization in the country.¹

The literature of Spiritualism has grown to an enormous bulk ; and some of the works that have appeared in its advocacy and illustration, have been produced by illustrious jurists and scientists. Among the believers in this system of philosophy, is embraced a much larger body of men of culture than many of the older systems of philosophy have ever been able to claim. Its phenomena were so strange, that they could not expect to command the credence of candid minds, except by direct personal observation ; and so much odium was attached—as there has invariably been—to every new system of philosophy, particularly in religious belief, that Spiritualism required an unusual amount of independent thinking, evidence, and investigation, to win its way to adoption and open advocacy by first-class men. In the meantime it boldly invited discussion, and very rapidly won converts from those who gave it their attention. As it constitutes one of the strangest phases of modern society, not only in this country, but in all civilized lands, it is worthy of larger consideration than I have space to bestow upon it. It has very justly been claimed by the greatest men living and dead, that if positive and incontestable evidence of a future life has been afforded through the agency of modern Spiritualism, it is the most important fact of our times—of all times.

I take it for granted that the great majority of intelligent readers are too well informed on the subject, to desire or to expect, in such a work as this, much more than brief historic allusions. I shall therefore be satisfied with citing from the pen of Dr. S. B. Brittan, one of the most learned and impartial expositions of rational Spiritualism that has yet appeared. In the writings of Professor Hare, of Philadelphia, Chief-Justice Edmonds, of New York, and Professor Wallace, of England, not to mention a host of other eminent scientists and investigators in this country and throughout Europe, the world has as fair an opportunity to examine the whole subject, as the literature of any of the modern sciences or philosophies afford for their separate departments.

I have introduced Dr. Brittan's *Synopsis of the Faith of Rational Spiritualists*, for with great candor and serenity of judgment he has covered the whole ground more satisfactorily than I have seen it done within such narrow limits :

¹ It is sometimes asserted by superficial observers that Spiritualism is dying out ; but although there is no regular organization of the vast multitudes who are classed as Spiritualists, and who are actually convinced of or are seriously investigating the phenomena and doctrines of Spiritualism, yet from different and opposite sources a pretty clear estimate of their numbers in this country can at least be made, and there is no doubt but that they are gaining instead of losing.

Judge Edmonds, whose name has been conspicuous as an avowed Spiritualist for over twenty years, said a few days ago, in a conversation with the writer, that the Rev. Father Hecker, the Superior of the Paulist Fathers, had told him that when the last General Coun-

cil of American bishops and priests of the Roman Catholic Church met in Baltimore, just before the session of the Ecumenical Council in Rome, they had, in obedience to a Papal command, made reports of the religious condition of their various dioceses and parishes ; and according to the statistics of those reports as received by a committee, of which he (Father Hecker) was one, there were in the United States between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 Spiritualists and about 50,000 mediums and Spiritualist lecturers. Mrs. Emma Hardinge, in her *History of Modern Spiritualism*, says that the Baltimore Council, or rather that committee, reported the number as 11,000,000.—*N. Y. Sun*, February 25, 1874.

Since the people have at length resolved to inquire into the causes of the mysterious phenomena of our time, and the press, at last, seems disposed to give Spiritualism a fair hearing, a brief statement of the general views of enlightened Spiritualists on the cardinal questions of religion, theology, and morals appears to be demanded. Two considerations suggest the importance of such a declaration at this time. First, it is called for by thousands who are seriously considering the subject, and would like to know what conclusions have been reached by those who have had a long and varied spiritual experience, and the best opportunities for a careful observation of all the outward phases and aspects of the subject. I find the other consideration that impels me to the preparation of this statement is the fact that the views of the great body of Spiritualists are grossly misrepresented by the teachings and conduct of certain professed believers, and are, therefore, misapprehended by the public. To aid honest inquirers after truth, and to unload the spiritual body of its implied responsibilities and seeming immoralities, by an excretory process, is the two-fold object of the writer in submitting this statement to the public.

On moral, theological, and religious questions, the views of Spiritualists are widely diversified. Coming, as the believers do, from all sects and parties, in and out of the Church, with no accredited formula or acknowledged theological standard; rejecting all arbitrary authorities, and insisting on no sharply defined opinions, but preserving always a paramount regard for the freedom of the individual mind, great liberty must, of necessity, be allowed. At the same time unusual contrarieties, with respect to the opinions and practices of the believers in Spiritualism, become natural and inevitable. And here it should be observed that any abstract of the ideas and doctrines of Spiritualists, made by any one, can only be accepted as the author's statement of his views respecting the essential elements of a true Spiritualism, or of the general opinions of so many as may be pleased to recognize him as their representative. In no case should such a statement be regarded as binding on any other member of the Spiritual brotherhood. Nevertheless, the orderly presentation of such important views and doctrines as are believed to be entertained by a large majority of American Spiritualists, may be of service to those who desire authentic information on the subject. Accordingly the following statement is respectfully submitted:—

1. Spiritualists, with a few exceptions, acknowledge the being of one God, self-existent, omnipresent, omniscient, and all-powerful. They regard Him as a spirit—the Spirit of Love and Source of Life—the indwelling presence or Soul of the Universe; the intelligent and loving ‘Father of the spirits of all flesh;’ from whom, as the primal Source, all things proceed according to divine order; radiating in concentric circles through cycles without number, by the constant unfolding into outward life and form of what is latent, inmost, and divine in the essential constitution of things; and to whom all natures tend by a law of universal progress, and in obedience to the supreme attraction of the Infinite Mind.

Of the mode of the divine existence; of the precise methods of His procedure in the work of creation and the procession of His providences; of the exact nature of His relations to the sphere of natural causes and the realm of visible effects, those who are best informed are little inclined to dogmatize; but they are reverently disposed to study the illustrations of His presence in the kingdoms of nature, the drama of history, and in the revelations to the conscious soul.

2. Spiritualists very generally believe that man is immortal by virtue of what may be denominated the universal incarnation, or the infusion of the elements of the divine life into the soul and body of every man, and the consequent indestructibility of our spiritual constitution. Hence the continued existence and future identity are conceived to depend on no extraneous cause, mediatorial agency, arbitrary appointment, or incidental circumstances outside of himself, or distinct from the essential elements of that life, as they were originally implanted in the human constitution, and are necessarily developed in the everlasting life of man.

3. All the faculties, affections, and passions of human nature are believed to be of divine origin and essentially good in themselves. It is maintained that so long as they are legitimately exercised within the limits prescribed by nature, recognized by justice, or demanded by the common interests of mankind, they are only productive of good to the individual and the race. But it is also believed that every faculty, affection, and passion may be perverted, and thus rendered the source of personal unhappiness, social inharmony, and moral discord; that such perversions of human nature and the functions of our common life, inevitably impair the integrity of the faculties, derange the most important relations, corrupt the springs of thought and life, and may finally subvert every earthly interest.

4. Most Spiritualists believe that the abuse of the faculties must necessarily involve consequences that reach forward into the immortal state of being. Many suppose that such remote and uncertain consequences are chiefly or altogether of a negative character, while others presume that men may retrograde for a season in the next life, owing to a certain moral momentum acquired during a downward career in this world. From this their general views of the nature of rewards and punishments may be naturally inferred. It is held that every action, whether good or bad, carries with it certain inevitable consequences, and that from these there is no escape. Under the divine administration men are not rewarded or punished *for*, but *in* their deeds. The noble act, in the most essential sense, carries the blessing in itself and to the actor, while, in respect to every deed that either breaks the social harmony or involves a moral discord, the natural consequences constitute the proper penalty of the violated law.

5. The change denominated death, is believed to be chiefly confined in its effects to the general mode and specific circumstances of our existence. It is not presumed that it materially modifies anything that is really vital in human nature. The man carries with him all his faculties, including his power over the elements of this world. All the characteristics that mark the separate individualities among men, are supposed to remain; and, it is believed, they are clearly distinguishable after the transition. The idea that the redeeming Power of the Universe is confined to the earth, and circumscribed by the mortal lifeline, is everywhere rejected; and very few, if any, are disposed to admit that death either fixes the moral state, or otherwise determines the relations of the soul. If it does not suspend the exercise of the mental and moral faculties, it cannot interrupt the voluntary functions of being. That death may, and often does, quicken those faculties by releasing them from corporeal restraints and the chains of habit—also by subjecting them to the influence of superior principles and incentives—is presumed to be true; and while it cannot extinguish their desire for happiness in a single soul that is immortal, it neither destroys the capacity for improvement nor places the most abandoned nature beyond the means of reformation.

6. Instead of a state of arbitrary and unalterable conditions, the life to come is regarded as one of endless progress in knowledge, spiritual refinement, and consequent happiness. The almost universal opinion, doubtless, is that the tendency of all souls—if we regard their existence as a whole—is forever upward toward the Divine Source and Centre of all life; that all men, in every sphere of being, are governed by a kind of mortal and spiritual gravitation that rises above the most aspiring mind, and descends below the humblest capacity of earth. This divine attraction is believed to be stronger and more enduring than human ignorance, alienation, and aversion; and since the supreme influence is of necessity irresistible, they hold that no wandering child of God can be irretrievably lost.

7. Progress is thus regarded as the common law of the Universe that determines the development of all forms and souls and systems. The great forces and essential elements of being have a common movement in the same general direction that can never be reversed by local obstacles, or other incidental causes. The seeming retrogression in certain parts of

the universal economy, can only result from temporary conditions and obstructions, which cause the currents of life and the tides in human affairs to set back a little way, like the waters of a river when the channel is filled up ; at the same time, the direction of the stream and its relation to the ocean remain unchanged. The notion that retrogression is not merely superficial and temporary, but absolute and eternal—involving the most vital principles of our spiritual being—is ascribed to the fact that our inspection of human life, and our knowledge of the laws of human nature, are necessarily fragmentary and otherwise imperfect. It is insisted that a clear and comprehensive view of man's whole existence must inevitably solve every doubt, by revealing the Divine purpose in the ultimate social, moral, and spiritual reformation of the world.

8. The visible and invisible worlds are believed to be as intimately related as the spirits and bodies of men. The latter is conceived to be the animating soul of the former, from whose vital centre emanate all the mysterious forces displayed in the outward creation. By the law of their relation their elements commingle, and by the force of mutual attraction their respective inhabitants associate together. All men, and, indeed, all gradations of form and life in the natural world, are influenced by super-terrestrial causes ; and hence all life, as revealed in organic forms, depends on a perpetual influx of vital principles from sources invisible, spiritual and divine.

9. Spiritualists very generally believe that inspiration—or the infusion of the elements of truth into the interior of the human mind—is as natural as the introduction of the vital air into the lungs. They regard this inspiration as the gift of all ages, races, and countries ; and they believe that in the degree that men live true lives and are normally developed, they will become natural channels and receptacles of spiritual truths and divinely inspired ideas. The ancient prophets, philosophers, seers, and apostles are believed to have been thus inspired. The processes are never unnatural, but always in harmony with the cerebral susceptibilities of the individual, the controlling influence of spiritual beings, and psychological laws.

10. This inspiration is not always derived from the same proximate source, nor is the process at all times the same. The perceptive powers of the mind are sometimes opened interiorly to the realm of causes, so that the inward principles of the natural world, and revelations of truth from other spheres of being, flow into the consciousness through spiritual channels as naturally as we obtain knowledge of outward objects and occurrences through the external avenues of sensation. Inspired ideas are often derived from an unconscious immersion of the spiritually sensitive nature, in the general mental atmosphere that surrounds a particular class of minds on the earth or in the heavens. At other times, the receptive mind is informed by a direct influx of ideas and thoughts from some individual intelligence in the spirit-world. In some instances the ideas thus communicated are but dimly perceived, owing to imperfect physical and psychical conditions ; at other times the mental images are sharply defined, and even clothed by the inspiring agent with his own peculiar forms of expression, so that the internal evidence of identity is complete. Now, as the physical, mental, and moral states of men are subject to constant modifications, as our relations change with respect to inward principles and outward objects, it follows that the same individual may never be in precisely the same state any two days in the whole course of his natural life. While, therefore, the truth may flow through him at one time—under the most favorable circumstances—without interruption or adulteration, on another occasion it may be obstructed by some indulgence of the appetite, colored by the excited state of the passions, or filled by interpolated suggestions from the disordered mind.

11. While Spiritualists generally admit that the ultimate source of all true inspiration is unmeasurable and infallible, they yet regard its mortal channels and mundane receptacles, in every age and country, as subject, in ever-varying degrees, to the same finite limitations. Ac-

cordingly, they hold that all inspirations, revelations, and forms of truth communicated to and through men, are liable to be, and doubtless always are, incomplete, and mixed with more or less error. Whether the elements of inspired thought be presumed to come directly from God, or mediately, they are, nevertheless, subject to similar limitations when received into finite minds, and expressed through the imperfect media of human tongues. Moreover, the specific form given to the inspired idea, and the measure of its freedom from distortions and interpolations, must necessarily be determined by the mediumistic capacity to receive and transmit the truth free from adulteration.

12. With these views of the nature of revelation before the mind, and the ordinary processes whereby inspired thoughts find expression in our poor forms of speech, the reader will readily perceive in what light the revelations of the Scriptures must be regarded by the majority of Spiritualists. They hold that the Jews were inspired like other men, and agreeably to the same existing and unchanging laws of the human mind. We find the evidence of this in the nature of the case, and especially in the character of the revelations through Hebrew mediums. Moses, the chief ruler of his people, gave by his 'divine inspiration' the form of law. Through David, the royal poet and musician, it took the form of Orphic chants, which are still in use in Jewish and Christian temples. The enraptured mind of Isaiah, the spiritually illuminated seer, gave utterance to glowing prophecies of the reign of universal peace and harmony on earth; while Jeremiah, a pensive prophet, only left us the melancholy strains of his Lamentations. Solomon contributed a poem to his beloved that is filled with the most sensuous imagery, and was evidently inspired through his cerebellum; but Jesus taught and practised those profound and beautiful moral principles which have ever since regulated the lives of the purest and noblest of His disciples.

From this brief and imperfect analysis it will be perceived that each of the contributors to the Bible—not less than the authors of other books held sacred—has left his own mental and moral likeness indelibly stamped on his portion of what is denominated 'the infallible word of God.' From a calm and critical inspection of the book, its contents are believed to be of a mixed character, and unequal value; and while Spiritualists esteem it to be a work of far more than ordinary historic interest and value, they do not admit the divine authority of the letter, even of the more illuminated portions, believing that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.'

13. Spiritualism readily accepts as veritable realities, many extraordinary occurrences recorded in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and by the Church regarded as miracles. They are believed to have required the exercise of essentially the same occult powers that have so often been mysteriously displayed in the presence of modern Spiritualists, and others. Such extraordinary phenomena are ascribed to the operation and application of existing spiritual forces and natural laws, directed by the agency of the human mind, and the co-operation of spiritual beings who have not lost their power over the subtle elements and material forms of the natural world. It is believed that such displays of intelligence and power are not confined to any particular period in human history; but they recur as often as the requisite conditions are reproduced, whether incidentally, or by design.

14. Jesus of Nazareth is, perhaps, most generally regarded as a natural, spiritual, and Divine man—more natural than other men, because His constitution and His life may have been more in harmony with nature, more spiritual than they, inasmuch as the powers of the interior nature (latent in most men) were in His case developed into beautiful proportions and harmonic activity, and with more of divinity than His brethren, in the high degree that He exemplified the beauty and glory of the Divine nature—thus demonstrating what humanity may become when redeemed from its manifold errors and corruptions, and the lineaments of the God-image, now veiled and invisible, are brought out and made manifest in human nature

and the common life of the world. Spiritualists very naturally regard Jesus as the Saviour of as many as are led by His precepts and His example to reform their lives.

15. Spiritualists very generally entertain the opinion that there is no solid ground to stand upon between authority, as represented by the Roman Hierarchy, and a Spiritual rationalism. Hence they regard all the Protestant sects as comparatively short-lived, and destined to pass away, as to their existing forms of faith, insignificant ceremonials, and dogmatic authority. The ground on which they stand is perpetually moving like shifting sands beneath the great undertow of revolutionary thought. In this conflict of opinions Spiritualists, as a body, go forward to the ulterior results of reason and science; while some others, alarmed at the increasing measure of individual freedom and the progress of the age, with averted faces timidly retreat into the bosom of the Mother Church to await the impending and final contest between despotic authority and enlightened reason.

16. As a class Spiritualists are opposed to capital punishment, and to all such laws and penalties as require the infliction of personal violence on any one; believing that beyond the absolute restraint necessarily imposed upon the freedom of the dangerous classes, they should be treated in a dispassionate and gentle manner, to the end that the discordant and destructive passions in them, may be neutralized by the constant exhibition of opposite qualities. Having, as they believe, a deeper insight into the subtle forces of human nature and the secret springs of feeling, thought, motive, and action, Spiritualists are led to believe that society is the great criminal, in neglecting to provide suitable ways and means for the prevention of crimes and of criminals by the development of all the ennobling faculties and affections of the numerous class whose bodies are now so cheerfully tortured by the ministers of the law, and who are so complacently given over at last to Satan for the destruction of their souls. Criminals are believed to be morally diseased persons; while, as a rule, the treatment they receive only aggravates their maladies by inflaming and strengthening their disorderly passions. Experience has clearly demonstrated that the present system never reforms the criminal. As a rule, if he returns to society, it is found that the mistaken discipline of the law has only deepened every feeling of bitterness and resentment. Dangerous persons are of all others the most unfortunate members of society. The criminal should be regarded as the wayward child of the State. Imperfectly organized, generally neglected in early life, the product of bad conditions, and the victim of a cruel destiny. For all such the prison should be at once a refuge, a charity hospital, and a reform school.

17. The believers in spiritual intercourse, insist that the world demands a more rational faith, a more practical religion, and a more spiritual worship. We want more saints who serve the Lord by shielding His unfortunate children—who 'pray in deed,' with the right hand, and are wont to pronounce benedictions from the pocket, as well as from the glottis. We require a Church whose sacraments shall be feasts of charity provided for the poor; whose most eloquent sermons shall be lives adorned with living virtues, with every gentle grace, and with all humane and divine uses. Such a Church, with such a service, embracing all who love truth and practise righteousness, of every name and in every communion, is demanded alike by the principles of Spiritualism, and the necessities of humanity.

18. A large majority of the believers in Spiritualism have hitherto opposed any general organization, apprehending, with or without adequate reason, that it would invest the movement, with a sectarian aspect and character. As all organizations hitherto founded on religious ideas, have sooner or later exhibited this tendency, they fear to repeat the experiment, lest the result should limit the progress of their principles, rather than aid in their dissemination. Having no ambition to build up an external superstructure under the government of a new priestly order, and to be clothed with temporal rather than spiritual powers, they prefer to leave truth, like the subtle and diffusive elements of heat and light, free from

all arbitrary incentives and restraints; and its advancement to the irresistible operation of those subtle principles and invisible agents that are sure, in the end, to secure its wide diffusion and lasting triumph.

Is Thought, as well as Mind, Eternal?—Is Motion the Unvarying Law of Thought as well as Matter, and consequently, Is Absolute Rest for Anything in the Universe an Impossibility?—Does not all broad philosophy in a moral system, imply the doctrine of the contending forces of good and evil as being everywhere present? Is it possible to conceive of a moral system in which there should be, even for a moment, complete harmony, without conflict, collision, or struggle? Common ideas of Heaven suppose this to be the case. But harmony we always think of as limited to a place, like the quiet of a household, or some sweet landscape in nature—and yet in neither is repose ever found.

It would be hard indeed to conceive of a widely extended system of absolute quietude. The nearest approach to it, perhaps, would be one of apathy—which in the degrees to which the conception was carried would be an approach to absolute death—the suspension of all motion, even of the transmission of thought.

The practical fact is, that we have no knowledge of the existence of such a moral system; nor have we any analogy in nature on which to base such a conception. It is a well-ascertained fact that nothing in the physical universe has yet been found in a state of actual repose. All matter that we are acquainted with, has not only one motion, but many—from all separate atoms to all their congregated masses, as they advance from their minutest visible forms, to the most extended sidereal systems—all vital forces of nature—and all nature's forces are vital—even decay in its process being one of the mightiest elements of power we ever encounter. All this involves ceaseless activity; so that the mind which is acquainted with the laws of the physical creation has no longer the power of conceiving such a thing as *absolute rest*. A dreamless *sleep*, even, is not *thinkable*.

We know that when we leave the physical, and enter upon the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual realms, we find what seem to be corresponding forces of vitality and movement. Extending our observations still further, we take up the analysis of a single human thought. That thought is the product of other inconceivable ranges of thought—the fruit of infinite series of moral waves of propulsion. Hence, we find no difficulty in adopting, but rather a difficulty in rejecting, the theory that a thought once conceived, an aspiration once heaved, a wish once passing from the soul, enters upon its eternal rhythm, acting on and being acted upon forever. This theory of the ceaselessness of motion in the moral, as well as the material universe, is forcibly illustrated by Herbert Spencer in his '*First Principles of Philosophy*.'

Considering, then, the endlessness of every influence which goes forth from

an individual mind, conscience exacts that perfect purity of soul which empties it from all possible blame being attributed to it in eternal ages. It is not possible to conceive that the evil results of any violation of the pure moral law of God can ever cease. It is not conceivable that the perpetration of a wrong act can ever bring pleasure in the recollection. The sharpness of the pang of the first penitential sorrow, may grow less acute on the recurrence of memory; and mitigating circumstances may have a tendency to soften the asperity of grief. But the down-feathers of the eternal wings that shelter the soul, will never be so soft that perpetration of any wrong will not bring with it something of regret to disturb them. The presence of higher joys, and mightier occupations, may leave less time for such memories to recur; the wave we leave may get to be so far behind us, that its heavy swells may die away into an almost imperceptible ripple; but the rhythmical law of memory, however aptly it may be invoked, will not meet the case far enough to make the physical analogy hold perfectly good.

The necessarily eternal type, therefore, of results that will attend every moral act, must adhere forever to the memory of its performance; and thus the only comfort we can legitimately draw from that dark side of our spiritual life, is in the fact that we progress from one stage of purity to another, in the strange work of subduing the passions, and accelerating our progress in climbing the heights of the everlasting mountains.

After leaving the First Great Cause, it is impossible to conceive of any being, or thing, which exists independently and of itself. All results, therefore,—physical, intellectual, moral, or spiritual,—spring from causes that often elude our observation. This is especially true when we are dealing with the realm of what is called the invisible—by which we mean those facts, beings, and transactions, in the moral and spiritual universe, which are neither palpable enough to our physical senses to be appreciated, nor yet so far beyond the grasp of our imagination as to elude our approach to them, nearer or more remote.

Science tells us that every grain of matter is attracted by every other grain, so that the least atom of the farthest star sends forth its tiny wave of power, to be felt by the central sun. Let us by a sudden leap of the imagination, place ourselves by the side of Plato, the gods of whose heavens were moved by the strifes, the struggles, the aspirations, and the prayers of mortals. Let us plant ourselves upon the mount of Christian vision, and we shall see the heavenly hosts suspend their anthems while the Man of Nazareth was passing through His final suffering. We cannot conceive of a 'Father in Heaven,' who is not touched with a feeling of our infirmities. So throughout the realm of the moral universe, we find this rhythmical power emanating from each individual soul, swaying with greater or less potency the whole system of which it constitutes but an atomic part.

A feeble but apt illustration may be found in support of the rhythmical

theory of spiritual power, in the influence of the knowledge of any act, good or evil, done by any moral being, upon every other moral being that ever finds it out. Here the sway of the novelist and poet, the great artistic creators in sculpture, painting, architecture, and music, asserts its masterdom.

Among the least, but most striking, of the incidents in the life of Jesus, we find the story of the poor widow who cast her mite into the treasury. Many that were rich cast in much ; but she cast in more than all, for she gave all she had. Therefore, says the narrator, 'wheresoever this gospel is preached, the same shall be told as a memorial of her.' It was no act of very great magnanimity which is recorded to the deathless praise of the good Samaritan, nor of that redeemed and beautiful woman who brought her all to anoint the head of the 'Man of Sorrows'—but he accepted the holy offering as a preparation of his body for the already waiting tomb.

We even borrow inspiration from the noble examples of generosity so often set us by the brute creation. The humane Newfoundland dog that rescued the drowning boy, was worthy of the medal given him by the Humane Society, and of the portrayal of Landseer's pencil.

If, then, no good thought shall ever die ; if no holy aspiration shall pause with wearied wings in the far-off future ; if no prayer from the stricken spirit of suffering man shall ever fall unheeded on ears above ; but if every pure finger that touches the eternal harp wakes melody that is ceaseless, why cannot we conceive of a universe in which the conquest of good over evil may finally be complete—or at least, where the bark of humanity, tossed on so many oceans, may at last glide into a calm harbor, so guarded and bound by the eternal rocks of ages, that trouble can never enter, and sorrow be no more ?

With such sapphire tints of fadeless day flashing from the immortal land, upon strained and o'er-tired human vision, why cannot such prospects nerve the arm of the weakest who are good, to reach down and bring up those that have fallen the lowest ? Why can there not emanate from the very glow of these half-dimmed eyeballs, such ineffable light as will attract to us those who, without some such allurements, may be doomed still to wait ?

SECTION NINTH.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE REBEL STATES DURING THE WAR AND AFTER ITS CLOSE.

The three great Amendments to the Constitution.—Slavery had 'died amidst its worshippers'—but it still lived in the National Constitution. Its corpse must be removed from that holy enclosure. This could be done only by amending the Fundamental Statute, and the change must be done in the only way provided. Proposed Amendments must pass both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote. These Amendments must be approved by three-

quarters of all the States at a solemn election. These acts would, from that time, become part and parcel of the National Code, and be of the same binding effect—just as sacred—as though they had been incorporated in the original Constitution. This great work was duly performed, and all the fruits of the harvest of the Death Reaper were safely garnered in the store-house of the Nation.¹

The *Thirteenth Amendment* had abolished Slavery. The *Fourteenth* had secured the rights of citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof—most unwisely disabling a certain class of chief officers in the late Rebellion—declaring the validity of the national debt, and forbidding the payment of the debt of the so-called Confederacy. The *Fifteenth Amendment* secured the right of suffrage to all the citizens of the Republic without regard to race, color, or previous condition, the joint resolution for which passed both Houses on the 26th of February, 1869; while, about the same time, a law was enacted, the chief provision

1 ODE

ON THE PASSAGE, BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY—1865.

BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

I.

O glorious, transcendent scene!
The sweetest bell of Heaven rings;
God's Angel of the holiest mien
Folds by the Nation's side his wings,
And pressing on her brow his hand,
Bright with a pardon from the skies,
To every joyous sphere and land
In mellow thunder-music cries:

II.

Lift, Freedom's Nation, lift thy brow,
No longer blushing, to the stars;
For thou art Freedom's Nation now,
And sacred with the blood-red scars
Thy breast, repentant, took in fight
Against that loathsome, blasting curse,
That made thy very name a night
Of horror to the Universe!

III.

No more shall taunts at thee be hurled
As when, of old, by Europe's main,
Despots would point their fettered world,
Crying for freedom, to the chain
Thou, *even thou*, did'st clench—though still
Thy symbol shone—O lie of lies!
God's eagle circling *at her will*,
And only *law*, around the skies!

IV.

No more thy statesmen true shall pine
To see the Governmental Frame
Their fathers reared, like some grand shrine,
Gnawed by a slow but deadly flame
To despot-dust, where thou would'st crawl
Before the very darkest throne,
Feeling—O bitterest pang of all!—
The brand that ruined was thine own!

V.

No more thy minstrels, when they sing
Their country's pride, if Freedom's name
Should murmur from the noblest string,
Will suddenly start back in shame,

Like some grand soul on Eden's brinks
Who sees on his white robe a stain
Of deadliest dye, and, cowering, shrinks
Back to his cloudy home again.

VI.

No more the merciful must weep
To hear the lash and see the pen
Its hell of chains and curses sweep
Around the souls and limbs of men—
Of men for whom Gethsemane moaned,
The Temple's awful veil was rent,
So *all* might pass, while Calvary groaned,
In night for every continent.

VII.

O ye, those merciful, whom God
From rainbow-light to *tempest* turned
Upon the demon-despot's rod
Till common tyrants for ye yearned,
Exult o'er all the long, stern time
Of war for that poor, harmless race,
And answer to this heavenly chime,
From every mart and templed place!

VIII.

Your names are on the Mount of Light;
Smith, Burney, Bryant, Sumner, Clay,
Pierpont, Whittier, Greeley, Wright,
And Garrison who led the way,
By thousands thronged, the brave, the true,
Who yet upon our Crystal Sea
Shall hear their triumph anthem'd through
The White Dome of Eternity.

IX.

And thou, who, human, yet did'st stand
On thy firm palace like a god,
And with one wave of thy right hand
Swept the accursed from Russia's sod;
What solemn, holy joy is thine,
To hear *another* ruler shout:
'My country also from her shrine
Has *willed* that curse forever out!'

X.

Yes, Freedom's Nation, lift thy brow,
All beautiful with Pardon's grace!
What power of earth can check thee now
In thy majestic, crimeless race?
Sound, sweetest bell of Heaven, sound!
Gone is that loathsome, blasting curse;
AMERICA stands up the *crowned*,
The *blest* by all the Universe.

of which was as follows: 'The faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation, has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver.'

To each one of these cardinal measures, which secured the fruits of the great struggle, and established the Government upon a basis too strong to be questioned,—at least by the generation of men now living,—a general concurrence was given, and everybody looked for a full restoration of good feeling and prosperity.

How we should treat the Rebel States.—No public man seemed to have had such clear ideas of that all-important subject as Sumner. The policy he proposed in the beginning, he adhered to till the end. It was dictated by enlightened judgment, and a spirit of hearty good-will to the South; for in his case, as in that of Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith, and many others of the most enthusiastic champions of Freedom, their hostility was against a *system* of wrong, rather than against the wrong-doer. They wanted to see the system exterminated, without the ruin of its upholders. There was, therefore, nothing strange in what could hardly be understood at the time—the expression of so much sympathy with the South in her prostration. The first hand extended to the Chief of the Rebellion, was by Horace Greeley in the bail-bond of Jeff. Davis, for which he received the jeers of thousands. While the war lasted, these men advocated its prosecution with unrelenting vigor. When it ceased, their cry rang out, 'All hands to the rescue—save what we can from the wreck!' And, without the fear of contradiction, I boldly assert, that after the South laid down their arms, the earliest, the strongest, and the most constant friends they had at the North, were among the file-leaders of the first crusade against Slavery, and among the rank and file of the men who had done the hardest fighting during the war.

In the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1863, with his usual ability, in an article on Our Domestic Relations, or, How to Treat the Rebel States, Mr. Sumner goes over a part of this ground. Assuming that the Union victory had already been substantially won—although hundreds of thousands of lives, and uncounted millions of treasure were yet to be added to complete the immolation—the Senator enters upon the discussion of a question which was soon to assume such vast magnitude—*How were we to treat the Rebel States?* It became clear that the same Supreme Power which in its sovereignty was suppressing the Rebellion, and vindicating the laws, would be obliged to fix the conditions of perpetual peace, and determine by what process *the transition from rebellion to loyalty might be most surely accomplished.*

It was plain enough that the doctrine of State Rights, which had been at the bottom of the Rebellion, would have to go by the board. The absurdity of two sovereignties, to say nothing about thirty or forty, in one community,

subject only at their caprices to the Sovereign over all, would no longer require extensive argument.

Early in the progress of affairs, Mr. Sumner foresaw the danger that would arise from Military Rule in the South. The appointment of Military Governors, which had then already been done for Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Louisiana, and as was subsequently done over other subjugated States, was a necessity at the time, in which all men of sense concurred. But he anticipates the possible danger that this *imperialial dominion*, indefinite in extent, might also be indefinite in duration; for, if under the Constitution and laws, it be proper to constitute such Governors, it is clear that they may be continued without regard to time—for years, if you please, as well as for weeks; and the whole region which they are called to sway, might become a military empire, with all powers, executive, legislative, and even judicial, derived from one man in Washington.

Could any prophet have foreseen clearer, what actually followed in so atrociously unrepugnant a form, and in violation of all the Republican souvenirs of our country, in the case of Louisiana? It would have been well enough if this tremendous power at Washington had limited itself now, as it had in the appointment of Military Governors in Mexico and California after their conquest, and before peace. But to appoint Military Governors, and prolong their power in a conquered country, beyond all civil jurisdiction—beyond an undoubted necessity, and their appointment for temporary purposes by the urgent necessity of suppressing a Rebellion—the distinction must be very clearly drawn, and the civil power must come in the first moment the opportunity occurred, and the military power be withdrawn.

Then comes in the power of Congress to establish Provisional Governments; and even these provisional governments must hold sway no longer than the voice of the people who are to be governed, shall be heard in the appointment of their own Governors. On this point the opinion of Chancellor Kent is quoted:

‘Though the Constitution vests the executive power in the President, and declares him Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, *these powers must necessarily be subordinate to the legislative power in Congress.* It would appear to me to be the policy or true construction of this simple and general grant of power to the President, not to suffer it to interfere with those specific powers of Congress which are more safely deposited in the legislative department, and that *the powers thus assumed by the President do not belong to him, but to Congress.*’

It has been in violation of this principle that so much harm has been done to the South—that the Executive Power at Washington has been so severe in its repression as to carry a blight all through the South, both to the White man and the Black man. This, of course, has been attended with executive favoritism, by which, under a *régime* since known as Carpetbagism, robberies to the extent of many millions have been committed—fortunes untold extorted from the helpless—and insults, injuries, and wrongs without number, inflicted upon a prostrate and ruined people.

The Condition of the South after the close of the War.—In those scenes which had been the chief battle-grounds of contending armies, it was desolation; but only the desolation which war always leaves in its train, especially where one party meets with absolute defeat. But the desolation which followed the Peace—with the long series of unwise and oppressive laws, enforced by the still more unwise and oppressive administration of them—were attended with robberies by officials, and wrongs of every description perpetrated on helpless communities; and they left large portions of the Southern States prostrate; so deeply loaded down with burdens which they had no agency in creating, ending in inflicting other evils which had no legitimate connections with the war, but which left society in so near a chaos, that it required all the efforts of the best friends of justice, peace, and humanity to save them from utter ruin.

I am offering no apology whatever for the men who provoked the war; but I am laying the chief blame of subsequent events where history will put it. Nor do I fear, that I shall, from any quarter worthy of respect, be accused of injustice. The great body of the people North and South desired to see wise and beneficent measures adopted for the obliteration, as far as possible, of all traces of the havoc of war. North and South, wherever the news went of the surrender of General Lee, the same feeling prevailed which was expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he returned from his visit to Richmond the day after its surrender, and addressed the multitudes that gathered around the Executive Mansion to offer their earnest congratulations. These words were worthy of the great statesman whose duties on the earth were in a few hours to be ended by assassination. In a speech, characterized by two qualities so peculiar to himself, he advocated ‘turning over to Congress the settlement of all difficulties connected with the representation of the revolted States;’ and he expressed his desire that ‘some participation in government, through right of suffrage, might be accorded to that vast colored population, who had so recently come out from the house of bondage.’—But, above all,—without a trace of bitterness or resentment towards the late enemies of the Republic,—he expressed ‘an anxious wish that those States should be restored to all the functions of self-government, and equal power in the Union, at the earliest moment that might be consistent with the integrity, safety, and tranquillity of the nation.’ When Gen. Lee heard of the death of Lincoln, with a shadow over his calm brow, he exclaimed with sadness, ‘The South has lost its best friend. The event showed the deep meaning of his words.’¹

¹ In the autumn of 1866, inspired by the same confidence which pervaded so large a portion of the public mind of the country—among many other letters of a similar character which I addressed to public men in the South whom I had the honor to number among my personal friends before our great troubles began—was one to Governor Orr, of South Carolina. I introduce it, because I believed at the time that it expressed the

sentiments of all fair-minded men North and South. It appeared in the *New York Daily Times*, October 8, 1866, and was heartily responded to from almost every part of the country. The heavy calamities which afterwards fell upon the Southern States, had not then overtaken them. Those stupendous robberies, and oppressive measures, which finally crushed those still prostrate commonwealths, had not taken effect: and had the great

The wonderful Year 1870.—It had witnessed a series of astounding convulsions in Europe, the record of which, even while they were taking place, seemed to transcend in magnitude any preceding revolutions,—partaking more of the dreams of romance, than the sober transactions of history. The re-

party then in control of the National Government, displayed during the next eight years, in any considerable degree, the statesmanship, patriotism, humanity, and integrity which so solemn an emergency called for, not only would the South long ago have reached a prosperity unknown to her before, but all the rest of the Union would have been saved from the blighting effects that we are now experiencing in a general prostration of business, and the decay of morality in public life from which we shall not soon recover ; for the same recklessness which dictated and enforced those despotic measures reacted upon the whole nation.

DEAR SIR : If I had not had the pleasure of knowing and esteeming you so highly before our late home troubles began, I should still feel myself justified by the late noble action of your State in addressing you this familiar and friendly letter.

In all the late events which good men so universally deplored, South Carolina has always acted independently, and for herself. She has never asked counsel of her sister States to guide her public action. She has always gone on her course unintimidated, and even unpersuaded by the action of other Commonwealths. She was the first to enter into the war ; she staked her all upon the combat ; and as those who knew her best expected she would do, she was the first to come forward in a manly spirit and accept inevitable defeat, with its logical consequences. Your Legislature, in its recent short extra session, planted itself far ahead of any of the other States in 'An act to declare the rights of persons lately known as slaves and free persons of color.'

Those who did not understand the spirit of South Carolina were not prepared for so straightforward and magnanimous an act of legislation. Among all true men of broad views and generous impulses, that act was looked upon as one which stands almost unprecedented in those qualities which challenge the admiration and respect of mankind.

I am sure you will accept what I have to say in this letter, in the same spirit of frankness and generosity which you have always displayed in public and in private life. I by no means presume to enlighten you in regard to any principles of public economy. I desire rather to have this letter considered as an expression of my own views on the great subject of which I speak, and from it the large circle of my private friends in the Southern States (very many of whom have addressed to me communications and letters of inquiry) may know what my views are ; and I trust that I may feel safe in saying that, if wise and good men have not in every part of the country yet reached such conclusions as I in the main adopt, there are hopeful signs that such a consummation is not far off.

The South is not the only portion of the nation which has got to accept the condition into which we have been

thrown by the violence of revolution ; but the whole nation must accept the issue that is pressed upon us.

Four millions of the African race are on our hands—they are on the hands of the nation—the whole nation was concerned in sustaining the institution of Slavery, and the whole nation has abolished it. The whole nation must take the consequences of its former existence, and of its final abolition. The question stares us in the face, *What shall we do with four millions of the African race?*

We may borrow light for the solution of this problem, by looking at some of the principles that control the physical, the political, and the moral world ; for no intelligent man will be so fanatical as to suppose that as individuals, as States, or as a consolidated union of Commonwealths, we are to be exempt from those laws which control human actions and human fortune.

It is a well-settled law that where causes are powerful enough to produce results, the results will sooner or later come. Opposition may prevail for a while, and the time, the manner, and the circumstances may be considerably modified by countervailing forces ; but if the cause is adequate to the final result, that result is sure to be reached, whether it be in the material or in the moral world.

One of the best-established principles in the political world is, that injustice toward a feeble race must end in harm to the oppressor. There can be no exception found to this rule in the history of nations. No system of wrong-doing, no matter on how large a scale it is practised, can in the long run prosper ; and violation done to a correct moral principle is as sure to produce reaction, as any attempt in the physical world to disturb the laws of nature. The natural course of things can be disturbed for a while by the exercise of sufficient power ; but it is none the less true in the moral than in the physical universe, that the great law of equilibrium will be finally carried out.

The white race in America enslaved the black, and every agency which the subtle genius of man could call into play, was invoked to make that Slavery enduring. The entire machinery of the Federal Government, was wielded by a dominant and all-controlling party : pure principles of democracy, the entire ecclesiastical system, with all the sublime and humane doctrines of the Bible ; all the subtlety of metaphysics, and every other agency which the genius of men could wield ; all were invoked, all were combined for the purpose of resisting the gradual abolition of Slavery, and all in vain.

This mighty power of resistance offered to the progress of freedom, Christianity, light, and truth, seemed to most men likely to prevail for a good while longer. And it doubtless would, had not this opposition become so violent that it threatened the overthrow of the Government. When it reached this point the rebellion was inaugurated. The moment it became evident that the country could not live half free and half slave ; that Slavery itself was the grand, if not the sole cause

sistless march of the great German armies into the heart of France ; the capture, in rapid succession, of her fortified cities and army *corps* ; the overthrow of the throne of Napoleon III., and the imprisonment of its Emperor ; the final occupation of Rome by the National Government of Italy, and the

of our political troubles ; that either it or the Union had to go by the board, patriotic men could not long hesitate which should be abandoned, and which preserved.

The force that had been put forth to sustain, and even to extend and strengthen the institution of Slavery, had been so great, the tension had reached so hard-strained a point, that when any further strain became impossible, the crisis was reached ; the bow broke ; the pent-up fires burst forth, and the mighty laws of nature, asserting their sway, claimed a vindication. Every tortured principle resumed its natural activity, and every element in the political and social system mingled in the strife to regain its wonted position, and resume its just and proper relation to all the other parts which were to constitute a homogeneous and harmonious whole.

In this explosion, as in all others, the violence expended itself upon those nearest by ; engineers are expected to die when their machines blow up ; the victims of the shipwreck are the passengers and crew ; therefore it was natural and proper that when Slavery was shattered in the midst of a wild convulsion, it should involve the suffering of those who were most deeply concerned and most closely connected with the system. Multitudes in that case, as in so many others, became involved in the catastrophe, as they had participated in the guilt or misfortune. But it was nevertheless true that those who suffered the most deserved the most.

It is not necessary, in speaking of such events, to talk like divines or moralists. There need be no preaching of sermons over it. All the results were natural ; they all sprang from causes which, under like circumstances, would always produce such results ; such sowing must bring forth such reaping ; for nothing is better settled as a principle than that no being can with impunity long escape the consequences that spring from a violation of the laws of the system which involves him. A law must work out its own vindication.

The whole American people suffered, and are still suffering, in consequence of the whole nation being involved in the attempt of trying to give perpetuity, on the same soil and under a common Government, to Freedom and Slavery. They could live together no more than life and death, darkness and light. The North buried half a million of her brave men, and burdened herself with a frightful debt ; but the green grass already waves over those tombs, and the debt can be paid, for it is small compared with the ability to pay it. The South, however, suffered more deeply. To her it was a ruin all but complete. Not even in the violence of the first French revolution were so many lives, so many fortunes, so many treasures and hopes extinguished. Nor will the South cease to suffer continued, positive evils and miseries for some time to come ; nor can she, during the present generation, by putting forth all her agencies for recovery, remove the legitimate evils she brought on herself.

But she may recover quickly *in part*, ultimately *in whole*. She will do it, however, by contemplating the causes of her present condition, and resorting to the remedies still left open for her, as quick as she can. Your State is the first to begin this work. She holds her full share of four millions of ignorant, and comparatively helpless people. Better by far, we all know, would it have been for all concerned to have had freedom in another way : but tired nature had waited as long as she could, and in this case, as in all others, the longer the repression the more fierce and unmitigated the penalties exacted.

So the South finds herself surrounded by four millions of men, women, and children who were totally unprepared for sudden freedom, but who had to be thrown up by convulsion into liberty, or be extinguished in the ruin which would have swept both races to destruction. The South can never get rid of these four millions. Nor can those who hate the African race spare the time to wait for them to die off. If the war of races come on in the South through the action of the former master, and only one race can be saved, *civilization will save the weaker* ; for the whole human race will spring to their defence, and if any extermination is to take place it will be the extermination of those who still wish to defy the humanity of the age, and the justice of Almighty God. The nations are coming close together ; one throb of sympathy for all oppressed classes now thrills the heart of a thousand million. Great wrongs can no longer go exempt from punishment ; and when men talk so idly of a war of races which would end in the annihilation of the negro in the South, they little dream they are using language far more dangerous at the same moment, than they did when they declared that if Slavery or the Union were to perish the Union should be the victim.

What, then, shall the South do to make the best of her position ? She can neither get rid of these four millions of people nor exterminate them ; both are impossibilities. The nineteenth century is not going to allow four millions of people, who have committed no crime, to be swept from the face of the earth. Sooner than this should be done, ten millions of armed men, springing from all the nations, will make their solemn and dreadful intervention.

That treason in the South has gone unpunished by the strong arm of law, let the traitors thank the spirit of humanity which has risen in its sublime and controlling power over the late scene of atrocity, wrong, and blood. It is no longer regarded as the duty of Governments to visit vengeance upon those who have wronged them. No man has yet been hanged, shot, or beheaded for his crime of treason, *as a penalty meted out by due process of the sanction of law*. A thing unheard of ! Indeed, the very magnitude of the crime was so stupendous that the uplifted hand of justice fell paralyzed when told to strike ; the calamity was so vast, the misery already wrought was so tremendous, that the spectacle of the South, over-

annihilation at last of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Pope,—all crowded together within the space of a few months, read, even at this short distance of time, like a fairy tale.

In the meantime, the Federal Government of the United States, it was

whelmed with misery, disarmed justice itself: the vengeance of man seemed to have no place in the presence of so widespread a desolation.

But the unatoned sin of the wrong-doer must still suffer the penalty, unless the wrong-doer seeks out the only remedy which the case can admit of.

Most clearly now the only way the white race in the South can save themselves is by saving the negro. He must be lifted up from his depression; his darkness must be illuminated; he must be educated, or he will work the ruin of the great community where he lives, and where he is destined to live, and his descendants forever. They cannot be plucked out of their native soil. Such a thing was never heard of on so large a scale. They cannot be exported to any other part of the earth; nor will the humanity of the nineteenth century allow of their extermination. Only one thing is left; only one road is open; only one remedy can be found—the negro must be elevated, or the white man is ruined. There is no alternative hereafter. Whatever the curse may be, it will light on the white man chiefly.

Then, in sheer self-defence, the South must educate the negro, and the quicker she sets herself at work to do it the better. The South is poor without the help of its four million sable people. On them she depends for the restoration of her wealth and its augmentation in the future. Ignorant men are no longer capable of contributing their share to the fruits of civilized life; the ignorant man has ceased to be useful to society. Ignorance cannot increase wealth, nor prosperity; ignorance breeds helplessness, waste, poverty, crime, destitution, and ruin. Intelligence alone multiplies the power and usefulness of men—above all the laboring classes. There can be no ignorant labor hereafter. It will not pay. Intelligence to guide the muscle can now alone give value to its efforts.

So then, just in proportion as the education of the negro advances, just in that proportion will the prosperity of the South keep pace with it. We must march on together *pari-passu*—with equal steps.

What is the first step in the education of the negro? It is to give him the ballot; the right to vote alone completes a man's citizenship. He is not a citizen without this right or the guarantee of it in the future. There is no remedy for a man's helplessness while the power of the ballot is taken from him. His neighbor will not respect him, because he will not fear him. To deprive the liberated negro of his ballot now, and in this country, is a higher outrage upon him by far than to have once clothed his limbs with shackles. It is a more flagrant violation of the principle of American Democracy than it ever was to have enslaved him in the beginning. The least reasonable of men will admit, the most atrocious traitor will not deny, that a certain amount of intelligence, a certain amount of property, a certain amount of good behavior, makes and does

qualify the blackest of the black to vote. No Union man can deny that to have rendered service in the field as an armed soldier entitles the negro to full citizenship. None but the most violent Secessionists, and those who sympathized with the expected dissolution of the Government, will wish to keep the freedman degraded.

No! *The negro, above all other men, must be a voter before you can begin his education.* It is the first condition of his education. No man can be educated in a community where there is the stamp of ignominy, of inferiority, of helplessness, fixed so indelibly upon him. Bearing such a mark as that on his brow, he cannot lift it up into the sunshine of respectability or independence. The very worst conditions of his former servitude will cling to him still. There is no way of making a man free in America but to clothe him with all the rights of citizenship; and so long as he is deprived of the ballot he is robbed of all the rest—is inconsequential, the poorest, the meanest of all slaves. His soul cannot expand; his very mind cannot perceive any of the facts or things which constitute the elements of education so long as he has not the freedom of his fellows around him. This ought to be too clear to need illustration, too plain to require argument. We can have no sympathy with those who do not agree with us here. It is a false philosophy to assert that any education worthy of the name can begin with a man while he is stripped of the first attribute that belongs to citizenship. If there be a class in the community who more deeply need the right of suffrage than any or all others, it is those who are helpless without it. It is, in fact, their only weapon of defence. Behind that barrier their citizenship clothes them with sacredness; without its protection they have no rights that cannot be violated with impunity.

Let the whole South, then, like your own State, come forward and start right. Let it be understood in the beginning that the first step toward her grand restoration shall be to accord perfect liberty and full citizenship to the freedman. Then she will place herself in harmony with the new conditions that surround her; then will she be able to commend herself to the sympathies and respect of mankind; then will she find herself working harmoniously with the all-prevailing system that is now being inaugurated throughout all nations, of the right of suffrage.

This she will be ultimately compelled to do. Far better for her to take the step herself voluntarily, cheerfully, before she is forced to do it by that sure law, which is just as imperative and will be just as inexorable in its demand for execution as the law of freedom to all men, which she denied so long, and at last so disastrously defied.

Well will it be for the South if she understand this thing in time; for it is a lesson she must learn, that the negro must have the ballot now, as it was inevitable six

hoped, was becoming more and more consolidated. All the States were restored to their old places in the Union, under Constitutions made by themselves, and approved by Congress; and once more their civil powers were for a while, administered by citizens of their own choice. The giant form of the Rebellion was fast moving into the dim past, and a new vista of progress and splendor was opening to the advancing Republic. Early in the year, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been ratified by the necessary number of States, twenty-nine having voted for it. The announcement of the result was made on the 30th of March, by a message from the President, and a bill was at once introduced, and speedily passed, to secure freedom of suffrage to the whole Colored population of every State in the Union. It was vain any longer in Congress to oppose the enactment; outside of Congress all opposition was known to be unavailing. The final decision of a great Nation was clothed with a solemnity of sanction which transcended that of any divinity which ever hedged a king.

SECTION TENTH.

AGRICULTURE.

WHEN Antæus struck the earth he gathered strength with every fall. So has it been with mankind everywhere. All the elements of human strength spring from the soil. There can be no civilization, where it is not cultivated, for civilization never belonged to nomadic life. The hordes that swept over Europe from the plains of Asia had no civilization. They passed from country to country, consuming the natural products of the earth, and moving on as rapidly as these were consumed. Wherever nations, com-

years ago that he must have his freedom. There may be indeed no such crimsoned scroll unrolled whereon the penalty of this will be inscribed; but to put it in the mildest form, the South never can get upon the road to secure and complete prosperity while she is still clinging to the false system of legislating for class privileges and class oppression. With freedom for the negro from his shackles, he becomes a far more dangerous man to her without the ballot, than he was when clothed with fetters, and negro suffrage had not dawned upon the dream of the extremest optimist.

The South finds herself in the midst of new conditions, and she must comply with those conditions. She must conform to the exigencies of the case; she cannot long resist the pressure; she cannot prosper without the enlightened, skilled, and cheerful labor of the colored man. Far easier would it have been for the North to have denied universal suffrage to the emigrants from the Old World. That could have been done with some degree of impunity for a while, but nobody was foolish enough to try it. Nor can the South any longer afford to lose that share in the administration of

the Federal Government, which she can have only by granting suffrage to the negro.

So far as the North is concerned that doctrine is already being inscribed upon the banners of the great successful Union party. If the Democratic party is not now dead, it will soon go to its doom—well deserved—if in violation of all its souvenirs in this and other lands, in this and other ages, it shall plant itself in opposition to the complete emancipation of the negro race. Since we are in the midst of an unfinished and incomplete revolution, why not do the work up thoroughly? All our trouble as a Government has arisen from our attempts to limit the application of the very principles upon which it is founded. We must revert to the principles which lie at the bottom of our political system. It is a system of equal rights; it is a system of universal suffrage. The foreign element, the sole one which ever crept into our system—Slavery—is abolished. Let us abolish its consequences.

Faithfully yours,

C. EDWARDS LESTER.

NEW-YORK, Oct. 6, 1866.

munities, or tribes have halted long enough to cultivate the soil from instincts of self-preservation, agriculture has given a basis to civilization.

It is not enough to raise bread out of the ground. The question comes up, how much bread and meat, and fruit and clothing can be brought out of a given area of ground in the best condition, and with the least labor and injury to the source of production. This principle of modern science, as applied to agriculture, has only begun to be understood even by the ablest agriculturists. What the soil is made of not one man on the earth yet perfectly understands, much less is anything known on the subject by many of those who plant and reap. Just in proportion, therefore, as knowledge on these subjects is multiplied, exactly in that proportion is wealth increased, and all the arts that adorn and embellish civilized life flourish.

In this business, as in all others, the first thing to do is to discover mistakes, and then rectify them. Until within a hundred years, it is very doubtful if the world had for twenty centuries made any progress in actual agricultural knowledge. The Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and Assyrians cultivated their soil better than any portion of the earth was cultivated even fifty years ago.

One great drawback to the diffusion of correct views on this subject, is the same drawback we meet with in disseminating truth on all other subjects—namely, preconceived notions which cannot be readily overthrown. In religion, they make men bigots; in science they burn or crucify martyrs; in literature they perpetuate and transmit from age to age books, and theories, and styles, which every educated man coming afterwards, is confronted with, and which cannot be easily overthrown. Bacon found this true when he overthrew the system of Aristotle, but he knew it would take a century or two to do it, and therefore he left his fame to after ages.

The hardest obstacle to surmount in disseminating correct views on agriculture, however, is not preconceived impressions, which may be called prejudices, but the actual dissemination in too many instances of false views.

The time has come when the best intellect of this nation should be brought to bear in collecting and diffusing as widely and as rapidly as possible, all the knowledge that the human race possesses in reference to this greatest of all material questions: *How to till our soil.*¹

¹ *The Father of Enlightened American Agriculture.*—It is now some years since Prof. James J. Mapes rested from his labors on the earth which he loved with the affection of a child; and the soil which so genially holds his ashes to-day is, in our opinion, more indebted to his life-long studies, speech, and efforts, than to those of any other American agriculturist.

It will always be said by discriminating criticism that Mapes did for us in farming what Cadmus did for language in Greece—what Noah Webster, who was the schoolmaster of our Republic, and made forty millions of people talk *one language* instead of a *score of dialects*, did by his Spelling Book and Dictionary for the American people.

Every nation must have its Romulus, as every continent must have its Columbus, and every science its Archimedes.

Baron von Liebig is now the recognized chief of agricultural chemists; and yet a careful comparison of their works by dates, as they appeared, will show that in several important things Mapes was his forerunner. In drainage and subsoil ploughing, particularly, he did a great work. He showed that the result of a slight deepening of the arable soil would bring more to American farming every year than the total cost of carrying on the Federal Government!

Mapes was the pioneer of enlightened American agriculture, and in its future history he will always hold his place. It will never cease to be true that he

In an eloquent address on agriculture by Edward Everett, October 9, 1857, at Niagara Falls, he says :

'The grand total will illustrate the primary importance of agriculture, considered as the steward—the commissary—charged with supplying this almost inconceivable daily demand of the human race and the subject animals for their daily bread ; a want so imperative and uncompromising, that death in its most agonizing form is the penalty of a failure in the supply.

'But although agriculture is clothed with an importance which rests upon the primitive constitution of our nature, it is very far from being the simple concern we are apt to think it. On the contrary, there is no pursuit in life which not only admits, but requires, for its full development, more of the resources of science and art—none which would better repay the pains bestowed upon an appropriate education. There is, I believe, no exaggeration in stating that as great an amount and variety of scientific, physical, and mechanical knowledge is required for the most successful conduct of the various operations of husbandry, as for any of the arts, trades, or professions. I conceive, therefore, that the Legislature and the citizens of this great State have acted most wisely in making provision for the establishment of an institution expressly for agricultural education. There is a demand for systematic scientific instruction, from the very first steps we take, not in the play-farming of gentlemen of leisure, but in the pursuit of husbandry as the serious business of life.'

'Washington, with a burden of public care on his mind such as has seldom weighed upon any other person—conscious, through a considerable part of his career, that the success not only of the American Revolution, but of the whole great experiment of republican government, was dependent in no small degree upon his course and conduct—yet gave throughout his life, in time of peace, more of his time and attention, as he himself in one of his private letters informs us, to the superintendence of his agricultural operations, than to any other object. "It will not be doubted," says he, in his last annual message to Congress, "that with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. . . . Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled, by premiums and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement.'" On the 10th of December, 1799, Washington addressed a long letter to the manager of his farms—the last elaborate production of his pen—transmitting a plan, drawn up on thirty written folio pages, containing directions for their cultivation for several years to come. In seven days from the date of this letter his own venerated form was "sown a natural body, to be raised a spiritual body."

was the first American who set his countrymen to thinking and studying earnestly about the capacities of their soil. *Here his chief glory lies.* It was for long years his darling theme, in a thousand addresses and articles ; in daily conversation and correspondence with farmers from all sections ; in helping to form and build up the American Institute, and Farmers' Clubs, and Agricultural Societies ; in inspiring young men with a love for soil-culture and in opening to them head, heart, home, and purse—these were among the charming pursuits of his noble life.

No man was more beloved by friends or family. Living without ostentation, or ambition for wealth, his chief domestic happiness was in seeing his children grow up happy and enlightened.

All through life Mapes' society was sought for by great and cultured men, who were drawn to him by the magnetism of his heart and genius and the exuberant wealth of his information and sympathy.

Perhaps those who knew him best were most struck with his great natural mental capacity. While he seemed to exhaust any subject he touched, he dropped it at last, as a matter he had only glanced at. In fact, he had time only to glance, not fully to unfold. To his listeners his whole intellectual life appeared but successive ranges of Pisgah heights, from which he caught glimpses of the far-off 'Promised Land.' He was pre-eminently a *thinking* man. *He thought more than he read*—and, as a rule, he thought much on any subject before he read on it at all. If he happened to fall on a good author, he would read a sentence and shut the book, and allow his own thoughts to have full sway. One flash from Nature, or a volume, was enough to set him on fire.

Yes! the name of Mapes will live not only in the hearts of those who knew him, but in the history of the origin of 'enlightened American agriculture when it comes to be written.—*My Life-Note Book*, MS.

'Nearly all the successors of Washington in the presidency of the United States, both the deceased and the living, passed or are passing their closing years in the dignified tranquillity of rural pursuits. One of the most distinguished of them, Mr. Jefferson, invented the hill-side plough. Permit me also to dwell for a moment on the more recent example of the four great statesmen of the North, the West, and the South, whose names are the boast and the ornament of the last generation—Adams, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster—who forgot the colossal anxieties, the stern contentions, the herculean labors, and the thankless sacrifices of the public service in the retirement of the country, and the calm and healthful pursuits of agriculture. One of these four great men it was not my fortune personally to behold in the enjoyment of these calm and rational pleasures, but I well remember hearing him say, with a radiant countenance, that there was nothing in the triumphs or honors of public life so grateful to his feelings as his return to his home in Carolina, at the close of the session of Congress, when every individual on his plantation, not excepting the humblest, came out to bid him welcome and to receive the cordial pressure of his hand. I was often the witness of the heartfelt satisfaction which Mr. Adams enjoyed on his ancestral acres, especially in contemplating the trees planted by himself, thousands of which are now scattered over the estate. While he ministered in this way to the gratification and service of other times, he felt that he was discharging no small portion of the debt which each generation owes to its successors. Adopting a tree as the device of his seal, he added to it, as the expressive motto, the words which Cicero quotes with approbation from an ancient Latin poet: *Alteri sæculo*. Mr. Adams took particular pleasure in watching the growth of some white maples, the seeds of which he had gathered as they dropped from the parent trees in front of that venerable hall in Philadelphia, which echoed to his honored father's voice in the great argument of American Independence. At Ashland, in 1829, I rode over his extensive farm with the illustrious orator and statesman of the West; and as the "swinish multitude," attracted by the salt which he liberally scattered from his pocket, came running about us, in the beautiful woodland pasture, carpeted with that famous Kentucky bluegrass, he good-humoredly compared them to the office-seekers who hurry to Washington at the commencement of an administration, attracted by the well-flavored relish of a good salary. Mr. Webster, reposing on his farm at Marshfield, from the toils of the forum, and the conflicts of the Senate, resembled the mighty ocean which he so much loved, which, after assaulting the cloudy battlements of the sky with all the seething artillery of his furious billows, when the gentle south-west wind sings truce to the elemental war, calls home his rolling mountains to their peaceful level, and mirrors the gracious heavens in his glassy bosom.'

The Field of American Agriculture.—It is a large one.¹ Its geographical limits touch the torrid zone, and while the sun that ripens the oranges of Florida is casting vertical shadows at the equator, the ploughman on the northeastern border feels the cool breath of icebergs just cast adrift from Greenland. In the famous valleys that market their yield at San Francisco, where the wheat hardens its kernels in the dry air on vast expanses of plain and hillside, the

¹ It cannot be said of us, as WEBSTER truly said of Great Britain, that 'the sun never sets on her dominions,' but the recent extension of our territory very considerably extends the time it takes for old Sol to travel over our domains. Passamaquoddy Head, which is our utmost eastern point, is in about sixty-seven degrees west longitude, or in time four hours and twenty-eight minutes west of Greenwich. It takes the sun three hours and fifty-one minutes to cross from Eastport, in Maine, to Cape Flattery, the extreme western point of Washington Territory, just under the outer coast of Vancouver's Island, in longitude 124½°

west. The new region just acquired by the Russian treaty extends our western line from that point to 193° west (or rather to 167° east) longitude. This extension is equal in time from Cape Flattery to four hours and thirty-three minutes; so that the full measure of time from the New Brunswick to the Asiatic line of our territory will be over *eight hours and a half*, or one hundred and twenty-six degrees of longitude. When the sun marks noon at Eastport, it will be not quite 3:30 in the morning at Aton Island; or, being noon at the said island, it will be a little more than 8:30 in the evening at the Maine boundary.

banana, the orange, and the olive bear profusely, and the plum and the grape dry into prune and raisin—fruitage that revivifies in our clime pictures which found their earlier color on the shores of the Mediterranean. On the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, of the Wasatch, and the Sierra Nevada, as on the plains of Texas, citizens of a Republic yet in its first century gather flocks and herds in individual ownership which outnumber those that in the days of pastoral kings of Asia fed on a thousand hills. We have valleys, once the bed of inland waters whose date passes the conjectures of science, which bear more grain than the fields of the Nile in the years when they fed the millions of Rome, or the famine-stricken peoples of Syria. Three notable products grow in this country which at the date of its discovery were unknown or scarcely regarded in agriculture, the value of either of which entering into commerce is larger than the aggregate foreign trade of all the States of Europe less than three centuries ago. One of these, associated with the romantic fame of Raleigh, diffuses its aroma to the comfort if not to the profit of those who sail on every sea and dwell on every shore. Another, which in its name recalls the Indies that Columbus sailed to seek, INDIAN-CORN, is regarded as yet in the earlier stages of its importance as a factor in the food of the world. Yet already its annual yield is measured by millions of tons. If a year's crop of this cereal in no more than six States of the Mississippi valley should be shipped to Liverpool—provided vessels could be found to carry it—and, as fast as landed, laden on railway cars of the American pattern, ten tons to the car, the train started eastward would stretch across the counties of England in its broadest part; supposing, as the sea was reached, that the British channel were bridged and the train pushed across Europe, as car after car were loaded at the rear, it would lengthen over the whole breadth of the Continent, and passing the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, across the steppes of Central Asia, and threading its way among the teeming millions of China till it headed on the Yellow Sea of the Pacific, it would leave still a year's bread for twelve million people on demurrage in the Liverpool docks.¹ To relieve this bewildering hypothesis of the extent of the Indian-corn crop, we may add a curt statement of the well-appreciated fact that the exported value of the remaining one of the three products of American agriculture which are referred to in this connection, exceeds that of any product of husbandry in any country of the world. Its force in the land, in one regretted

¹ The census of 1870 returns the corn (maize) crop of Illinois : bushels, 129,931,395 ; Indiana, 51,094,538 ; Iowa, 68,945,065 ; Kentucky, 50,091,006 ; Missouri, 56,034,075 ; Ohio, 67,505,144. Total in the six States, 433,577,223 bushels, or, at 36 bushels to the ton, 12,000,000 tons in round numbers—enough to load 1,200,000 cars with ten tons each, or about 9,000 miles of cars, reckoning to the mile 132 cars, each 40 feet long. The route between Europe and Asia indicated above stretches through nearly 130 degrees of longitude, or about 7,400 miles. Thus, should the train be completed across the Continent, there would still be left at Liverpool grain sufficient to fill 1,600 more miles of cars,

that is to say, 2,112,000 tons, enough to feed 12,000,000 people for one year.

The crop reported in the census of 1870 has been meantime yearly exceeded. The increase in the area planted in 1874 over that of 1873 was in Iowa 300,000 acres ; in Missouri, about the same ; in Illinois, above 200,000 acres ; in Indiana, full 200,000 ; in Kansas, about 170,000 ; in Georgia, almost as large an increase as in Iowa or Missouri ; in Alabama, 180,000 acres ; in Mississippi, 120,000 acres, and in Texas, 200,000 acres—the total increase in the eight States being 1,770,000 acres.

epoch still recent, transcended commerce and assumed mastery in the state; defeated in this ambition, it sought, an unsuccessful Samson, to pull down the firm-rooted pillars of the Union. It is fitting in this place to say that the Union then assailed, the Republic then in jeopardy, with all the hopes of mankind there garnered up, finds no surer guarantee of perpetuity than in the broad, equal, generous, and widespread advancement of AGRICULTURE.

In his most valuable summary, by tabulated statements from official sources, Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles shows the following stupendous results in the progress made in agricultural products, in connection with the increase of population from 1840 to 1870. The population¹ having increased from 17,069,453 in 1840 to 38,558,371 in 1870, and the total area being, exclusive of Alaska, 1,897,055,520, of which 188,912,833 acres have been improved, the bushels of cereals produced increased from 615,535,077 in 1840 to 1,387,279,223 in 1870. The butter and cheese increased from 242,410,440 lbs. in 1840 to 677,017,095 lbs. in 1870. The value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter increased from \$111,703,142 in 1850 to \$398,956,376 in 1870, and

¹ POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROF. E. B. ELLIOTT, OF WASHINGTON.

The first census of the country was taken in 1790, and decennial censuses have been taken ever since. An estimate has been made for the ten years previous to 1790, from the data of years 1790, 1800, 1810, and 1820. An examination of these years exhibited successively by subtraction two second differences that were nearly equal, so much so as to indicate in general, as the law of their progression, approximately, constant second differences. From the average of these second differences, treated as a second difference for completing the series, the population for the year 1780 was estimated at 3,070,000.

On examination of the population enumerated for the four decades, 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860, it appears that the first differences are almost in arithmetical progression, the second differences being nearly constant, and almost identical. From 1790 to 1820 the

second differences were nearly constant, and from 1830 to 1860 they were nearly constant; but the second differences of the latter group showed a marked increase over the former. Assuming the approximate constancy in the latter group to continue, we find, by taking the average of these differences, what the population would have been in 1870 and 1880 had there been no war. We find that the population in 1870, which actually was 38,558,000, would have been 41,718,000, a loss of more than 3,000,000. Continuing under the same law, the population in 1880 would have been 54,017,000; but making the same allowance of deficiency, we obtain for 1880 a population of 50,858,000. Having now each decennial period, it remains to interpolate values in harmony by years in each decade. This was accomplished by an easily explained process on the assumption of second differences, as before. The following are the results:

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY YEARS.

Years.	Population.	Years.	Population.	Years.	Population.	Years.	Population.
1780	3,070,000	1806	6,405,000	1832	13,579,000	1858	29,753,000
1781	3,144,000	1807	6,606,000	1833	13,974,000	1859	30,576,000
1782	3,221,000	1808	6,812,000	1834	14,373,000	1860	31,443,321
1783	3,300,000	1809	7,023,000	1835	14,786,000	1861	32,064,000
1784	3,382,000	1810	7,239,881	1836	15,231,000	1862	32,704,000
1785	3,467,000	1811	7,453,000	1837	15,655,000	1863	33,365,000
1786	3,554,000	1812	7,673,000	1838	16,112,000	1864	34,046,000
1787	3,664,000	1813	7,898,000	1839	16,584,000	1865	34,748,000
1788	3,737,000	1814	8,131,000	1840	17,069,453	1866	35,469,000
1789	3,832,000	1815	8,369,000	1841	17,591,000	1867	36,211,000
1790	3,929,214	1816	8,614,000	1842	18,132,000	1868	36,973,000
1791	4,043,000	1817	8,866,000	1843	18,694,000	1869	37,756,000
1792	4,162,000	1818	9,124,000	1844	19,276,000	1870	38,558,371
1793	4,287,000	1819	9,338,000	1845	19,878,000	1871	39,672,000
1794	4,417,000	1820	9,658,453	1846	20,500,000	1872	40,881,000
1795	4,552,000	1821	9,993,000	1847	21,143,000	1873	41,976,000
1796	4,692,000	1822	10,229,000	1848	21,805,000	1874	43,167,000
1797	4,838,000	1823	10,527,000	1849	22,489,000	1875	44,384,000
1798	4,990,000	1824	10,834,000	1850	23,191,876	1876	45,627,000
1799	5,146,000	1825	11,151,000	1851	23,905,000	1877	46,896,000
1800	5,308,483	1826	11,476,000	1852	24,622,000	1878	48,191,000
1801	5,478,000	1827	11,810,000	1853	25,615,000	1879	49,511,000
1802	5,653,000	1828	12,153,000	1854	26,433,000	1880	50,858,000
1803	5,833,000	1829	12,505,000	1855	27,256,000		
1804	6,019,000	1830	12,866,020	1856	28,083,000		
1805	6,209,000	1831	13,221,000	1857	28,916,000		

the products of all manufactures increased from \$1,019,106,616 in 1850 to \$4,232,325,493 in 1870. The interior States north of the Ohio contained in 1870 a total population of rather more than 2,000,000 above ten years old, engaged in agriculture, out of a total of nearly 13,000,000. Out of an area of 384,510,080 acres, 78,366,864 acres had been improved. The bushels of cereals produced in the ten States, from Ohio to Kansas and Nebraska inclusive, had increased from 166,204,291 in 1840 to 812,151,925 in 1870. The pounds of butter and cheese from dairies had increased from 20,880,408 in 1840 to 228,366,845 in 1870. The cheese from factories figures, for the first time in the decennial periods, at 28,903,742 lbs. for 1870. The value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter increased from \$24,419,079 in 1850 to \$208,386,441 in 1870. And the products of all manufactures increased from \$146,348,545 in 1850 to \$1,072,933,358 in 1870. In the six New England States, on a total of 43,742,720 acres, of which 11,997,540 acres have been improved, whilst the population has increased from 2,234,822 for 1840 to 3,487,924 for 1870, the bushels of cereals have increased only from 20,107,129 in 1840 to 20,485,924 in 1870. The pounds of butter and cheese from dairies have only increased from 54,663,464 in 1840 to 60,853,726 in 1870. The value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter had increased from \$10,401,658 in 1850 to \$22,962,001 in 1870.

For the present purpose of the population of the above two great districts, namely, the ten States north of the Ohio River, and the six New England States, are the most interesting to consider, together with the relative increase of the particular articles of produce which have been specially referred to. It will be observed from the above figures that, while the production of cereals, including wheat, rye, Indian-corn, oats, barley, and buckwheat, has remained nearly stationary in the New England States for thirty years, between 1840 and 1870, the production of cereals in the central interior States has, while commencing in 1840 with eight times the amount, been again multiplied fivefold during the same thirty years; that whilst the increase of butter and cheese from dairies has been but small in the New England States, it has, commencing in 1840 in the central interior States with between one-half and one-third the amount, been multiplied elevenfold in the same thirty years; that whilst the value of animals slaughtered or sold for slaughter has rather more than doubled in the New England States in twenty years, the same item, commencing in 1850 at two and a half times the amount in the central interior States, has multiplied eightfold in the same twenty years; whilst the products of all manufactories, commencing at more than \$283,000,000 for 1850 in the New England States, and at rather more than half the amount in the central interior States, has increased in both cases to nearly the same amount—upwards of \$1,000,000,000. And it will further be observed that 59 per cent. of the total cereal produce of the United States is now furnished by the ten interior States north of the Ohio River. Their produce left, in 1870, after fully supplying the local population, a surplus of at least 400,000,000 bushels, or 10,000,000 tons for export, and this surplus

may now be estimated, as above stated, to amount to upwards of 12,000,000 tons.

By the light of these figures it is easy to understand the importance of the question by which the United States is at present so much agitated as regards the lowering of the through rates, with a view to enabling the produce of the western and northwestern interior States to be sent to market with profit to the producers. They show also the importance of so improving the trunk lines of communication reaching the Atlantic seaboard, as to enable them, by economical working, to transport with profit the vast amount of produce which, coming from great distances, must be hauled at low mileage rates.

These estimates and statistics are important, as they show what an inexhaustible reserve of food and clothing products we have in the great central basin from which to draw at present, and they point with unerring certainty to a rapid increase of production, which is sure to tax all our ingenuity to move so cheaply that the farmer on the one hand will be compensated for his labor, and the operative, at the other end of the line, be cheaply fed.

I have already in another part of my work indicated the progress made by this country in substituting mechanical inventions for human muscles and brute force in doing physical work. The last census showed that there were over 2,000 manufactories of agricultural implements, which turned out \$50,000,000 of machines in 1870, being an increase of sevenfold from 1850. These twenty years also show an increase in the value of implements in use on farms from \$152,000,000 to \$337,000,000. It is estimated an average of at least four times as much work is thus performed by a farm laborer in 1870. The improvements have extended from the simplest tool to steel ploughs, cultivators, drills, and threshing and reaping machines, up to the processes of steam ploughing.¹

The final and perhaps most important department of progress in the advancement of American agriculture has only just been entered. Agricultural chemistry is beginning to receive some portion of the attention which it deserves. Valuable works on the subject are beginning to be circulated. The laws of production, the use of fertilizers, and the entire manipulation of the soil are commanding the attention of every farmer, who has ambition enough to be considered a good cultivator, or who would thrive by knowledge rather than starve through ignorance.

Live Stock.—Our improvement here has always been ahead of our farming, the importation of improved breeds having commenced in the latter part

¹ A steam-thresher, under such conditions as they have in California, will thresh, in actual practice, from 40,000 to 100,000 bushels of grain in a 'season' of three months. With such a machine, operated by a gang of eighteen hands, whose combined wages last year (1874) would amount to forty-three dollars per day, 2,000 bushels of wheat per day is fair work. A recent agricultural journal states of the actual practice that the 'full capacity of such a machine is 1,500 sacks a day, the average work about 1,000, holding over two bushels each.' This means that the grain is threshed, cleaned, put in sacks, and the sacks piled up

ready for removal by cars or team, and amounts to over a hundred bushels per day per man. Vastly larger figures are cited for short periods under exceptionally favorable conditions. The agricultural papers of the same State mention incidentally, as a local news item, a horse-power machine which averaged 1,500 bushels of wheat per day for thirty-one successive days, moving on twenty-eight different farms in that time, and of another (also horse-power) which, the last year (1874), threshed and cleaned 80,400 bushels in fifty-two days, of which 11,300 bushels were threshed in five and a half days.—*Harper's Magazine*, 1875, p. 884.

of the last century; and the progress has been so rapid, that in the last volume of the *American Shorthorn Herd Book*, 33,000 pedigrees are recorded. The most extraordinary cattle sale recorded was of a single herd, September 10, 1873, at New York Mills, where 109 head sold for upwards of \$382,000, averaging over \$3,500 per head. A single cow brought \$40,900, several were sold for \$20,000 each, and a calf of five months for \$27,000.¹

SECTION ELEVENTH.

SUBJECTS NECESSARILY OMITTED, OR ONLY GLANCED AT.

I AM admonished that I must bring this work to a close—for the present at least,—since the space I assigned to it in the beginning is nearly exhausted. I have scarcely room enough left to enumerate the subjects I should have gladly treated. But those who read my *Opening* saw that I did not propose to write a work of statistics, nor the annals of the country; least of all a history of the United States. I only proposed at furthest to delineate the principal events in the life of the Republic, and illustrate the progress of the

¹ The following interesting facts, I find in a carefully prepared article in *Harper's Magazine* for 1876, page 887:

The Devons were also introduced early, and previous to 1840 were imported more abundantly than the short-horns, and have perhaps had as wide an influence on the improvement of American cattle as the last-named breed, or even a wider. Now all the more distinguished breeds of Europe are successfully bred here, and some five or six of the more numerous or important have American herd-books now published.

The effect of all this has been to enormously elevate the quality of American cattle; and so completely has the mongrel or 'native' stock been improved through these that in certain agricultural societies where premiums are offered for the best 'natives' it is found that all that are offered as such are, in fact, 'grades,' having had an infusion of better blood within three or four generations. Even the Spanish cattle of Texas and California are being rapidly changed and improved through and by these better breeds.

The history of American horses is in most respects similar to that of the cattle. There was at first deterioration, but in a less degree. Then a slow improvement through selection and better feeding, then a more rapid improvement through better breeding and the importation of better stock. The race of trotters is peculiarly American. It originated here, and is here found in its greatest development. It appears to have followed and been caused by the introduction and improvement in light carriages. The thorough-breeds of Europe, the race-horse and the hunter, are essentially *running* horses. For American uses trotters were needed; various causes tended to make them popular, and in the last fifty years the breed has been made. It has a large infusion of the English thorough-bred in it, yet few noted trotters are thorough-breeds. The gait and speed are in part the result of training, and are in part hereditary. There has been a constantly augmenting speed and a great increase in the number of horses that are fast trotters. But a few years ago the speed of a mile in two and a half minutes was unheard of; now perhaps 500 or 600 horses are known to have trotted a mile in that time.

There is no question but that, as a whole, the quality of American horses has greatly improved in the

hundred years. It was believed that the great increase of railroads would diminish the number required, but, as a fact, the reverse is true.

American sheep before 1776 were all coarse-wooled and mostly very inferior animals. In Europe the fine-wooled breeds were shut up in Spain, and various causes prevented the exportation of the English improved coarse-wooled breeds. Eliot, in his 'First Essay' (1747), says: 'A better Breed of sheep is what we want. The English Breed of Cotswold Sheep cannot be obtained, or at least without great difficulty: for Wool and live Sheep are contraband Goods, which all Strangers are prohibited from carrying out on Pain of having the right Hand cut off.' Before 1800 there were a few importations of improved coarse-wooled sheep, and very many importations since. Merino sheep were carried into Saxony from Spain in 1765, into France about 1776, and England about 1790. Three merinoes were brought into the United States in 1793, but the person to whom they were presented not knowing their value, they were eaten for mutton. In 1801 or 1802, a few more came, and there were several small importations from Spain and France before 1815. The Saxon merino was introduced in 1824. Various causes led to wild speculation more than once in fine-wooled sheep in the United States, but they have increased now to many millions, and some of the most noted flocks of the world have been or are here. Individual animals have sold as high as \$10,000 and even \$14,000. Both for fineness of fibre and weight of fleece the American wool is celebrated, and the finest fibre yet attained was from sheep bred in Western Pennsylvania about 1850. Since that time weight of fleece rather than excessive fineness has been bred for. The great pastures of Texas and California at home, and of Australia and South America, are now in competition in the markets of the world, but the wool produced in some of the older States, particularly in the Ohio Basin, is especially sought after by the manufacturers of the finer goods.

The statistics of live stock in the United States as given in the last census are confessedly very imperfect, hence no numbers are here quoted except the aggregate value, which was estimated as amounting to upward of \$1,500,000,000.

nation, and the character of the people. How incompletely and unworthily this work has been done, I know and feel better and more deeply than my readers. I recall to their minds the object I had in the beginning by quoting these words: 'In a work like this the writer was of necessity brought within such narrow limits, that he could hope to give, to even the intelligent reader, only a clear view of the progress of the American people during the first century of their national existence. The plan of publication imperatively precluded a minute enumeration of events. I have endeavored to sweep the entire field: and if by seizing and illustrating only points of stirring interest, or special significance, the reader may carry away from the perusal *the spirit of our history*—a clear conception of the causes which led to the establishment of Free Institutions in North America—the way in which Independence was achieved—the character and deeds of the Founders of the Republic, and the leading indices of its otherwise incomprehensible advancement, I shall be very thankful.'

The Patrons of Husbandry.—The rise and progress of this Organization constitutes one of the most extraordinary social phenomena of our times. At a session of one of the subordinate Granges of the City of New York, May, 1875, Mr. T. A. Thompson, the lecturer of the National Grange, made the following statement:

'In the year 1866 there were only twenty Granges in the United States, and a connection with the infant order was almost disgraceful. American farmers, until recently, have ignored the principle that is moving the world—the principle of association. Their individualization was the cause of their subjection to almost every other interest. Six years ago no manufacturers dealt with us directly; no elevators or warehouses were owned by us, and no banks or insurance companies were controlled by us. Now, in one State alone, there are thirty-eight fire insurance companies; and more than half of the elevators and warehouses in Iowa and Wisconsin are under our control. Furthermore, we have agents in every section of the country to whom we ship our products, and from whom we receive prices forty or fifty per cent. higher than those we used to get from local buyers. In consequence of the fairness of our treatment by these agents, who are bound by the ties of brotherhood and heavy money bonds, the Patrons of Husbandry saved \$5,000,000 in 1873, \$12,000,000 in 1874, and, according to present indications, will save at least \$20,000,000 in 1875. Six years ago there were ten Granges; the next year there were thirty-eight; the next, thirty-nine; the next, 10,000; the next, 20,000. Now there are fifteen Granges joining our ranks daily, and we number 1,500,000. Our experience is pointed proof that women are worthy members of every union. We have 400,000 of them among us, and we ought to be qualified to give an opinion of this kind.'¹

At the annual convention of the National Grange, at St. Louis, in March,

¹ On the same occasion Mr. J. W. A. Wright, of California, said:

I heartily endorse what our Worthy Lecturer has said. The Grange movement began in California two years ago, yet we have accomplished some important results in behalf of agriculture. Our State Grange was formed when there were only 4,500 subordinate Granges in the whole country. We now have 243 subordinate Granges, with a membership of 20,000. We have saved between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000. The Granges have also brought neighbors together, who, al-

though living only a few miles apart, were almost strangers. We have the 'Grangers' Bank of California,' with a capital of \$5,000,000, which is doing good service; and the 'Farmers' Fire Insurance Company,' which insures our property at one-third of the former rates. We are completing a business association on a basis of \$1,000,000. We do not expect these corporations to manage all our affairs, but merely to establish healthy competition. We have done much to reunite the sections sundered by the war.

1874, the principles and purposes of the Order were set forth in the following document :

PREAMBLE.

Profoundly impressed with the truth that the National Grange of the United States should definitely proclaim to the world its general objects, we hereby unanimously make this declaration of purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry :

DECLARATION.

1. United by the strong and faithful tie of Agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our Order, our country, and mankind.

2. We heartily endorse the motto, 'In essentials, unity ; in non-essentials, liberty ; in all things, charity.' We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects :

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and co-operation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor. To hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel, and more on hoof and in fleece. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and in general acting together for our mutual protection and advancement as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good-will, vital brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our Order perpetual. We shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition. Faithful adherence to these principles will insure our mental, moral, social, and material advancement.

3. For our business interests we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middle-men ; not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits. We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests, and tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests, and harmonious action is mutually advantageous. Keeping in view the first sentence in our declaration of principles of action, that 'individual happiness depends upon general prosperity,' we shall therefore advocate for every State the increase, in every practicable way, of all facilities for transporting cheaply to the seaboard, or between home producers and consumers, all the productions of our country. We adopt it as our fixed purpose to open out the channels in Nature's great arteries, that the life-blood of commerce may flow freely. We are not enemies of railroads, navigation, and irrigating canals, nor of any corporation that will advance our industrial interests, nor of any laboring classes. In our noble Order there is no communism, no agrarianism. We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress

the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies of capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent and by enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers. We desire only self-protection and the protection of every interest of our land by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade, and legitimate profits.

4. We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves and for our children by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial Colleges that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home be taught in their courses of study.

5. We especially and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange, National, State, or subordinate, is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings. Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and if properly carried out will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number, but we must always bear in mind that no one by becoming a Patron of Husbandry gives up that inalienable right and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country. On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can in his own party to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our industrial interests, are nominated for all positions. It should always characterize every Patron of Husbandry that the offices should seek the man, and not the man the office. We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that progress towards truth is made by differences of opinion, while the fault lies in bitterness of controversy. We desire a proper equality, equity, and fairness, protection for the weak, restraint upon the strong; in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of an American republic. We cherish the belief that sectionalism is, and of right should be, dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and the future. In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no North, no South, no East, no West. It is reserved by every Patron, as the right of a freeman, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out his principles.

6. Ours being peculiarly a farmers' institution, we cannot admit all to our ranks. Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or artisans, or laborers, but because they have not a sufficient direct interest in tilling or pasturing the soil, or may have some interest in conflict with our purposes. But we appeal to all good citizens for their cordial co-operation to assist in our efforts toward reform, that we may eventually remove from our midst the last vestige of tyranny and corruption. We hail the general desire for fraternal harmony, equitable compromise, and earnest co-operation, as an omen of our future success.

7. It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our suffering brotherhood by any means at our command. Last, but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our Order. Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we here pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity, and political purity of our forefathers.

The Sovereigns of Industry.—This new organization was founded during

the winter of 1873-74, to secure to all the industrial classes the same benefits which the Grangers contemplated chiefly for the farming population. It had hardly been in existence one year before it had spread nearly throughout the Union. At its first National Convention, held at Philadelphia, January, 1875, among other proceedings of deep interest, the President, Mr. William H. Earle, said in his Address on the condition of the Order:

The nine original members paid each ten dollars into the treasury, as fees for their membership; with this sum we commenced promulgating our work. Although often compelled to replenish our treasury from private sources, we have printed and distributed about 150,000 documents. Subordinate Councils have been established in twenty-two States; even as far as Olympia, in Washington Territory, on the Pacific coast, a Council was last month organized. We have also ten State Councils, with New Jersey, Kansas, Minnesota, and Wisconsin nearly ready for theirs. I will not anticipate the pleasure we shall soon have in this convention, in listening to minute reports of the unequalled progress and success of these various Councils in nearly all parts of the country, from the delegates and friends here assembled. Suffice it to say that in New England alone not less than 150,000 persons are receiving direct material benefit daily, through the Councils of our Order. Not less than 10,000 barrels of flour are *shipped direct* from the flour mills of Patrons of Husbandry and others, monthly, to these New England Councils.

It is the almost universal sentiment of the laborers and artisans of this country that the great tendency of our times is against the welfare of the class we represent. We find wealth increasing in wonderful ratio in the hands of the non-producers. We find the power of non-producers increasing out of all proportion to their numbers or their rights. For these reasons we are forced to a consideration of all questions that stand connected with labor and capital, and their just relationship. In stating our purposes we emphatically proclaim that capital and labor must be friends. We deny no just claim of capital; we only protest against its unjust demands. We seek the practical and just remedy of a more equitable division of the results of the necessary alliance of capital and labor. Under existing commercial customs we find that just in proportion to the smallness of a man's wants is the increased cost of supplying them. We demand equity as well as humanity, by giving to the weak the advantage of associating together and becoming thereby strong, and obtaining supplies as cheap as though they were rich. In seeking to accomplish this result we find an army of non-producers—a vast number too many 'middle-men'—standing between the manufacturer and producer and the consumer. To remove a large portion of this unjust, unnecessary burden, we must have organization.

In this effort let us remember that the Order of the Sovereigns of Industry is for the *whole country*. We know no sex, creed, race, or nationality. We must cherish no local jealousies. In this glorious movement we know no North, no South, no East, nor West. We will work together in the true spirit of our preamble. The aggregation and concentration of capital at the expense of industry is surely tending to the destruction of popular liberty, personal and political integrity. We, the people, will protect capital in all just methods to secure remuneration for service rendered, but we will not protect capital in oppressing the people. Our end is simple, our plans are simple, our determination is fixed. We, the people, propose to unite in the interests of each other. Let us be wise in choosing the methods, the men, and the time to accomplish the objects at which we aim.

The NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY, assembled at Philadelphia, January 12, 1875, deeming it proper to make known the reasons for their organization and the objects they propose to accomplish, submit the following declaration: ¹

¹ Submitted by Bro C. Edwards Lester, of New York, from the committee on the principles and purposes of the Sovereigns of Industry.—*Official Bulletin*.

FIRST.—*Our Origin.*—We found the financial and industrial system of the nation, upwards of a year ago, thrown into confusion, and threatened with general disaster. A panic in Wall street was followed by universal derangement and distrust. Credit was paralyzed, and the hand of Labor fell helpless at its side. There were thousands of strong men sent home from factory, store, and workshop, to stand idle while wife and children suffered. We asked what was the matter. Had too much work been done on this new continent? No! the business of turning it into a paradise for mankind had only just begun. The money had all disappeared. Where had it gone? Natural question! There was but one answer: back where it came from; into the hands of a favored class, who had obtained for nothing *the monopoly to print the money* of the nation and loan it to the people on such terms as they thought best. Then came the terrible disclosure that the National Government,—which is alone clothed by the Constitution with the prerogative of coining money and emitting bills of credit,—had bartered away this attribute of supreme sovereignty, to a favored class of men, who were allowed the enormous privilege of issuing nearly four hundred million dollars of paper promises to pay, by simply depositing, at Washington, Government bonds as security to bill-holders, while they would all the time be drawing on the same bonds six per cent. interest in gold, which they pocketed, with all they could make, as a speculating fund, out of the four hundred millions they loaned.

The evils arising from this system were dreadful.

The people were taxed over \$20,000,000 a year to pay for those idle bonds.

In addition, the people paid interest on the bank-bills—thus doubling the rates of money.

FIRST.—With this power, the currency of the country went into the control of the bankings, who could, and did, trade *on the credit of the Government alone*: and they could, by extending or contracting their loans, make money just as plenty, or just as scarce, as suited their own purposes.

This was the cause of the great panic of September, 1873, and all the disasters which have fallen upon honest industry ever since.

It was plain enough that the General Government had squandered away the credit of the people to favored monopolists, and taxed the same people for the privilege of being delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of tyrants who increased their profits by making money dear, to take advantage of the helpless sons of toil!

We must change all this. Either the Government must issue all the money the people need to carry on their legitimate business—greenbacks, which pay no interest and which are the best and cheapest and safest currency we ever had—or *give free banking to the people*, so regulated that currency may, at the option of the holder, be convertible into Government bonds at a low interest, and reconvertible on demand into currency, which would amount to the same thing. Make this great reform, and while bank monopolies would die, labor would live.

SECOND.—We found that other rights of the people had been given away to almost any combination of men who had the means of corrupting legislation, from the Common Council of a city to the Legislature of a State, and up to both Houses of the National Congress, and in this way town, city, county, State, and national debts have been piled up, till the taxes to pay the interest have impoverished the nation. The whole country knows the sad record only too well. All this must stop.

THIRD.—We found that these Corporate monopolies had grown so strong that the Kansas farmers, who lived far from the markets, were at the mercy of the Railroad Companies, and to get one bushel of grain to the sea-board, they had to pay three bushels for the transportation. Watered Stock, Consolidation of rival lines, expensive management, and general gambling, with greed and grasp all through, had wrought this. It must all stop.

FOURTH.—We found woman, in what we call this free land, divorced by custom and law from equal participation with men in the common blessings and rights of civil life, while she was released from none of its responsibilities. Nature had made her an equal partner in the business firm of a common humanity, and man, who dictated her share of the

proceeds, too often pocketing the proceeds himself, and passing over to her the other side of the ledger.

FIFTH.—Perhaps the worst is still to be told. All the while, the toiler was paying more than the rich man for all he bought; for the poor man's conditions of purchases as well as his wages were fixed by his employer. He had no choice of markets for the sale of his labor, nor for buying of the necessities of life. Thus the double curse fell on him, of selling his labor in the cheapest, and buying his goods in the dearest market. *All this had to stop.*

It began to end when the first Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry started, for working-men soon discovered two all-important things, viz. :—That labor is the only source of capital; and that the *mickles* of labor put together, made the *muckle* which means capital; and thus the toiler could look capital square in the face for the first time.

In this grand work the Grangers led the way. To them be all honor.

Our liveliest sympathies are with the great army of the *Patrons of Husbandry* in their noble work. We bid them God-speed as their irresistible host moves on to the fulfilment of its sublime mission. Like them we feel that those who own and till the soil, and feed the world, have a right with the universal brotherhood of workers, to govern it. The Feudal age has gone by. It is no longer the serf nor the slave who cultivates the earth. In this country, at all events, it is the intelligent freeman, whose fortunes are no more to be made the sport of unprincipled demagogues, nor of powerful and cruel monopolies.

But while the Patrons of Husbandry started their organization mainly for the vast agricultural classes, they cut no class of their fellow-citizens off from their sympathies. Their hearts were too great for that. They extended a friendly greeting to us the moment we entered the unoccupied field. *It was our object to extend the magic circle of co-operation wide enough to enclose all the children of labor.* To us, producers were everywhere sacred. All *unnecessary middle-men*, who stood as self-constituted tax-gatherers between the producers and consumers, reaping where they had not strewn, were avoided as drones in the great beehive of industry,—no better than men whose sole object was to live without work, and accumulate wealth without creating it. This numerous and hitherto rapidly increasing class, had become the curse of American society; barnacles on the ship, only to retard her progress.

But now when these gigantic evils are being investigated, and labor is preparing to throw off these encumbrances 'like dew drops from a lion's mane,' very many of us feel in doing this that we have but taken the first step on the road to a better system of social life. However successful this movement may be—and that it will be omnipotent, no thinking man can doubt—it alone would only lead to the mere accumulation of wealth, which in itself is always a misfortune, unless it is made the means of the better education of the people. Of what value was the colossal wealth of Spain to her, while the vast masses of her people were left in the Egyptian darkness of ignorance and superstition? No more than her monarchy of to-day is to her Republic of yesterday! What good came from all the early means, combinations, and strikes of the laboring classes of England, Belgium, and France, until reading-rooms were opened, courses of lectures delivered, and libraries for the masses established? The mere interests of dollars and cents are indeed primal and indispensable; but some bonds stronger than filthy lucre are required to give permanence and lasting power to such organizations. Intellectual culture, science, useful knowledge, mental training, the elevation of the *whole man*, of the *entire family*, of the *whole nation*, these are the grand fruits to be reaped from all other and lower efforts. The fact that there is a growing spirit of this kind among our Grangers and Councils, has awakened the attention, quickened the sympathies, excited the hopes, and commanded the respect of the best educated classes in America.

As one of this committee, I cannot close this brief paper without a slight tribute to the founders of the Order of the Sovereigns of Industry. I consider it our great good fortune that one of those pioneers is still at our head; and I believe that he is thankful that Providence has stationed him where he is enabled to do so much good to his fellow-men.

MR. PRESIDENT :—You have commanded the love of tens of thousands who never saw you ; and in your grand tours through the country and by every day's mail, you have evidence enough to satisfy any philanthropic heart, that you are already reaping the highest rewards which can be received or desired, by workers in the cause of humanity. Go on, then, brother ! you are nerved by the strong faith which has, through all the ages, sustained the greatest toilers, that the day would come when

“ Labor's son shall melt the cannon,
And the plough outlive the sword.”

Blessed be God ! some of us find our chief happiness, in trying to elevate the intellectual and social condition of our fellow-men.

‘ After times may *write* the Epic,
Let us *live* the Epic now.’

Hopeful signs for the Republic.—Before the last great panic came over the country, thinking men foresaw something that promised much worse for the future than any commercial revulsion that we have ever yet experienced, but which may yet overtake us. The spirit of irrepressible greed, and the passion for suddenly getting rich, ruled the nation. The money of the country was—most of it—diverted from the legitimate pursuits of labor, into the wild and uncertain channels of speculation. Neither the desires nor the demands of men bore any longer healthful relations with its labor and its rewards. Centralization of power for the control of money seemed to inspire every political and legislative movement. The claims of honest toil were nowhere allowed. Everything that had hitherto satisfied a reasonable ambition for the comforts of life, had to give way to the exorbitant demands of idleness and speculation. The old relations which had subsisted in a sounder state of society were broken up ; the money went to the wrong men ; those who deserved credit could not get it, nor sell the proceeds of their industry without ruin. The rights, the wants, the comforts, and the conveniences of the great multitude, were shoved aside to make way for the rampant and pressing requisitions of lust and power. The great chartered institutions of the country, established ostensibly for the public good, were diverted from their original designs. Rings and combinations were everywhere formed to consolidate power at the expense of the community. Railways, which had obtained enormous privileges from the people, for which it was understood they were to bestow corresponding benefits, ceased to be Transportation Companies. Original stock-holders, and contributors in money, and freights, to build and sustain the railways, found their interests utterly ignored. There was no equal or just scale of charges for carrying property. Railroad directors were well named kings, for they had obtained more than regal power ; they had consolidated corporation after corporation, until a few men, by watering stocks, and increasing debts enormously—due chiefly to themselves—ended in such exorbitant charges, that the vast interests of agriculture and manufactures were paralyzed, and many of them, like ship-building, nearly annihilated.

Banking institutions were favored by national legislation to such an extent they became the absolute monopolists of money. Values of every kind were

at the mercy of the money-kings ; and the resources of the nation, which had been so gigantic, shrank up to such small proportions that, in the first commercial crisis, men who had honestly acquired property found themselves unable to sell it, or to pay their debts. The whole system of business became rotten ; it was resting upon a false basis ; it was honeycombed with corruption ; it was made ineffective by uncertainty ; it was enslaved to a despotism more binding than tyrants inflict ; and the losses incurred by breaking up business relations, and disturbing the operations of labor, left us one year ago in a condition of exhaustion, weakness, and dependence far more painful to bear than even the inflictions which ordinarily come with the curses of war.

The mightiest of all the evil consequences which grew out of this dreadful state of things, was the blight which fell upon the vast interests of agriculture and manufactures. The earth is the original fountain of wealth : the soil feeds the labor of mankind, and when the agriculture of a nation or its productive industry is neglected, national prosperity begins to decline ; and if it declines far enough, national ruin follows.

When the gold fever originally seized hold of Spain and Portugal, after the discovery of America, agriculture, art, and manufactures began to be neglected or oppressed ; and just as the fever for sudden gain increased, just in that ratio did all the healthful pursuits of life decline. Sudden wealth was indeed acquired by individuals, but general poverty and destitution followed.

We saw something of the same causes in operation after the discovery of gold in California. That is now a rich State ; but its wealth has not come from gold mines, but from its fields of agriculture. It has been proved conclusively that every dollar that was raised in the form of gold or silver from the mines, cost double its value. The exceptional gain of one in a hundred, we heard of ; but only the observer on the spot saw the suffering and degradation of the other ninety-nine.

It were too long a story to try to tell how fatal have been the consequences of that madness which has transported the American people to live without work—to expect solid prosperity from any other source than the steady results of well-conducted industry. The injuries that have come to the great body of society through these causes are beyond estimate.

But better signs are now visible. Speculation is giving place to honest business. The outrages which corporations and monopolies have perpetrated upon the people of this country had grown so enormous that a great revolution had to take place. It began with a convulsion ; for society, like nature, has no remedy except in convulsion. The gathering of inflammable gases in a vast body, whether in a building or a mine, or deep down below the crust of the earth, must end in explosion. It is no more a law of nature in physics than it is in social life, that the beginning of a remedy lies in a violent upheaval—an irresistible outbreak of uncontrollable forces. But when this violence has passed, evils are found to work their own cure. In this way what would be the desolation of nature ultimately ends in enriching and

beautifying the earth. There is not indeed the same certainty that society will recover from corresponding disturbances, for many of the elder nations have gone to their graves and been swept with the besom of destruction because they had not vitality enough left to recuperate; and so the healthful stream of civilization flowed off into other regions.

But we hope, and doubtless shall experience, better results here. Before the evils we spoke of had become incurable, the nation began to look about for a remedy. Against the onset of consolidated capital and corrupt combinations of political power, *individuals* could make no headway. Fire had to be fought with fire. Hence the natural and sole remedy was resorted to—*combinations of millions* who, as *units* were weak, became irresistible when united.

The organization of the Grangers had no party political objects in view. They wanted to have statesmanship substituted for politics. They were working for something higher and far more important—a reform in the moral, the social, the business condition of the nation. They cared nothing for names nor party affiliations, for they came out cheerfully from old organizations that no longer had any charms for them, to unite for the accomplishment of great purposes that concerned the masses of the people who lived by honest labor, and especially those who owned the soil and tilled it with their own hands. They now find a gathering host of allies in the Sovereigns of Industry. These men are the natural nobility of the earth; they alone hold all the elements of power. From their hands are dispensed all the vital energies for supporting human life; for augmenting human prosperity. They constitute the primal basis upon which the fair superstructure of a great people and a strong civilization rests.

The magnitude of this movement cannot be measured by figures. The million of hard-handed tillers of the soil of this nation, in the processes of agriculture, and the swelling ranks of the younger Order of Sovereigns, are not to be measured in their strength even by their numbers, vast as they are. Their moral forces, combined as they are now, when directed on any point that is hostile to the public welfare, must tell. The moment the word is given forth, and with the unity which characterizes all such great movements, they will put *all bad men out of power everywhere*. It is, therefore, in some of these aspects of this mighty development of the social forces of the country, that we now see signs of purification and reform, for if they cannot come from these quarters, we have already passed the line of redemption.

These two organizations are the foremost representatives in this country of the co-operative principle, for which trade unions have during the last generation been working. The latter were based upon a foreign foundation. The former rest upon the solid principle of democracy, which has long been recognized as the law of society on this side of the Atlantic, and which will enforce itself as the law of society, sooner or later, among all the nations. They have as the scope of their efforts something grander than strikes; for

strikes are not American in their origin or spirit ; they are essentially European. In the old countries, the ignorant multitude, who had no voice in government, saw no other mode of relief. Like trampled beasts, they turned as the worm turns, when the foot of oppression treads on him. Despotism breeds desperate remedies. It is the voice of nature calling out for help ; it is the blind man striking wildly in the air, when he cannot see or describe but only suspect his foe. I have veneration for all men, as I have respect for all animals that turn upon their oppressors. It is the voice of God speaking through His children in obedience to the law of self-protection, which nature has planted in every human soul. A John Brown may act no wiser than the camel-hair-clothed prophet of the desert :—but close on his mutilated dead body may tread the footsteps of a grander martyr—as Lincoln's death sanctified the mad chivalry of Harper's Ferry, and embalmed its daring hero's name forever in the hearts of mankind as the Paladin of the New Age.—'How much dearer,' as Emerson exclaims, 'is freedom than life ! It is a part of our nature, and burns on forever a sacred flame. I have lived to hear that blessed name taken in vain, used in caricature, uttered with a sneer. It will not be so always. Prophets proclaimed it, noble men died for it, and felt the price cheap. None counted how much gold could be coined out of fetters. Dimly seen, imperfectly understood, its dimmest shapes, its shadowy visions even rising amidst bloody clouds, have been heralds of joy. Not brighter and more glad to the forlorn and weary traveller the first rays which look out through the golden dawn, than to commonwealths and men the daybreak of Liberty. I may regret, to be sure, that a dagger should ever have been hidden in a myrtle bough ; I may mourn that in the name of Liberty the least wrong should ever have been done ; would that the blessed form needed never but voice soft as the gentlest evening wind. More deeply should I mourn, my tears more hopeless, if I saw her assailed, nor hand nor voice lifted in her defence. Nay, as in the worst superstitions I welcome the divine idea of religion, as through dreams and filthy tales of mythology I see and bless the living God, nor ever feel more sure that God is, that truth is, and that man is made for God and truth ; so in and through frantic excesses of an incomplete and infantile freedom, I see, I feel, that Freedom is, and is sacred, and that it is everything to the soul of man. Carry me to Paris in the frenzy of its first revolution ; carry me to St. Domingo in the storm of its insurrection ; carry me to Bunker's Hill and its carnage ; carry me to Thermopylæ while its three hundred wait the sure death ; set me beside those whose names may scarce be uttered without contempt and hate—a Wat Tyler, a Nat Turner ; set me where and with whom you will, be it but man struggling to be free, to be himself, I recognize a divine presence, and wish not to withhold my homage. Pardon me, but in the slavish quietude of the ages, I see nothing but despondency. Freedom, be it wild as it may, quickens my hope. The wildness is an accident which will pass soon ; that slavish quietude is death. There is a grandeur in the earthquake or volcano ; in the dark, dank, offensive vault—something else.'

The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.—The fairy Crystal Palace—that crystal cloud of glass which we lifted into the air for our World's Fair in 1853, afterwards—1858—melted away with its treasures, in conflagration, and left us the beautiful Reservoir Park over its ashes. We had already participated in the Great World's Fair, at London, two years before, bearing away some of the noblest honors which were distributed among the nations. The next World's Fair in which we took a considerable part, was the Universal Exposition of Paris in 1867, where our exhibitors received three grand prizes; seventeen gold, sixty-six silver, and ninety-four bronze medals. Had we not been so recently unshackled from the engagements of the greatest of all known domestic conflicts, we should have contributed a larger portion of new things than all other countries. As it was, France and Germany were foremost in the fruit of skill, and in the finer products of art and science. England in the number and variety of her contributions to the wants of civilized men in the products of machinery; while the newly awakened energy of Italy clothed her department with some of the most exquisite blandishments of refined art. But appearing there as young America did, covered with the dust, and besmeared with the smoke of a thousand battle-fields, she took from the boiling cauldron of her heated life, only some of the cruder specimens of her massive wealth, inventive genius, and gigantic power.

The next grand International Exhibition was held at Vienna, in 1873, where the industries of nearly all the world were represented. Of our 643 exhibitors, 349 received prizes, diplomas, and medals. But the capital of Austria was too far away, for us to appear at our best. We were seen there only as some of our mineral mountains in the West, which indicate their treasures, only by superficial out-croppings, while the continent stands like those same mountains in their immensity, uncalculated, and incalculable in their illimitable resources.

In 1876 all will be changed. This Exposition will take place at home, where we shall be able, for the first time, to show to ourselves, or the world, a fair array of the resources of the continent, and indicate the progress our people have made in the arts of civilized life, during their first hundred years. The advantages which are likely to come to us, and to other nations, from this Centennial Exposition, can hardly be estimated.

Advantages to come from the Centennial Exposition.—However much selfish motives may prompt individuals in this Exposition, or how far it may have a tendency to inflame the national pride; however unfavorably our products may compare in any of the departments with those of other nations, it will, beyond all doubt, be attended with advantages for the masses of our people, which they could by no possibility derive from any other source. From this survey by actual sight, or through illustrated books and journals, every intelligent working-man in America can be pretty well informed; and at least his mechanical knowledge so increased, that his labor will afterwards become more valuable, and of necessity command a better price.

The effect will be a wider diffusion of knowledge, and a spirit of sharper rivalry between individuals, cities, districts, and States. A higher standard of excellence will be set up in every art, from the simplest to the grandest; of all processes, from the plainest manipulations of raw material, up to the application of chemistry in manufactures and mining; and last, but not least, in Agriculture, where most of the progress we have hitherto made has been limited to the substitution of machines for human muscles, since the illimitable field of chemical agriculture, on which our chief reliances for national wealth must always depend, has only been partially entered.

It is impossible to calculate the remote effects of this clustering of the fruits of civilization in what may properly be denominated the *Congress of the Democracy of the World*. It will be the first democratic assemblage to which *all mankind* have been invited. It is conceived on the broadest scale, and in the spirit of American Republicanism. Fortunately the last Congress of the United States turned a cold shoulder on this great enterprise. It was well, although the refusal was dictated by a mean and niggardly spirit, unless, indeed, we may lay it to the wisdom of the few men of honor and patriotism in both Houses, who, like Charles Sumner, believed that any appropriations by the National Legislature at the time, would do more harm than good to so great an undertaking. That Congress was covered with the slime of corruption, and if it had opened its polluted hands to offer money to aid the cause, it would have been a tainted gift. Far better was it, that such a Congress should be disbanded, and its members for the most part go back to their constituencies, to receive the contempt, which had been put upon them at the ballot-box. Thrice fortunate was the Exposition in going with clean hands to the people, where their appeal had only to be made to be answered.

We had had an age of adventure and discovery, which gave us a continental home—an age of chivalry and patriotism, which gave us free institutions—an age of labor, invention, and economy, which gave us wealth—an age of inquiry and leisure, which gave us science and learning—an age of private and public virtue, which gave us public and private prosperity. But now we had reached the age of gold, which brought with it corruption. The men who guided our political fortunes, and made and executed our laws, had, for the most part, sought for power only to plunder wealth they could not honestly earn. They unblushingly thrust their hands into the public treasury up to the armpits; and hundreds of millions of dollars were stolen from the people. Such was the Congress of the United States, which, in one act at least, obeyed the will of a sovereign nation—in cutting short all such appropriations, and leaving the masters of the politicians to attend to their own business. The most dangerous rock on which the Centennial Exhibition could run, had lifted its head in a clear daylight, and the noble ship could tack and go on her course.

It is no part of the historian to prophesy, but he, like other writers, may indulge in the pleasure of hope. On this fair summer day, May 21st, 1875,

the brightest prospects are opening upon the Centennial Exhibition of the coming year. Heaven send triumphant success.

But however brilliant that success may be, and however grand the benefits which are to come to us, and the nations that will assist on the great occasion, the friends of human progress may congratulate themselves before the great event itself shall have taken place.

But the grandest of all the exhibitions that will be made at Philadelphia—the *new thoughts of the new age*—will rise far above, yet still embracing whatever contributes to the material welfare of the human family.

Thoughts that have long been locked up in the brains of philosophers, will there be made known. Aspirations that have thrilled only the hearts of philanthropists and scholars, will there be poured out. There the dreams of idealists from Plato's days will begin to find their realization. The prophecies of the sages of all time will begin to be turned into history. Then will be witnessed the dawning of what living men will yet see—a *democratic commonwealth of all nations*. The enactment of a new law must go forth, recognizing the integrity and sacredness of individual and national liberty—freedom for the man, and undisturbed freedom for the State—however small the State, however obscure, neglected, or hitherto oppressed the individual.

By that tribunal the morality of governments will hereafter be tried; and from that source the streams of elemental fire will spring forth to regenerate the nations. Hereafter the world's table of God's bounty is to be spread for all, as the table of Christ's love should by the Church have been spread for the last wanderer of earth long ago. His principles are yet to triumph. They can triumph, and were intended to triumph, only side by side with the development of correct ideas on the subject of human rights; they can triumph by God's appointment in no other way.

Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the times, may reassure himself by looking at his acts in an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realize the fact, that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external circumstances to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force constituting, with other units, the general power which works out social changes—and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction, leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing, that he has in him these sympathies with some principles, and repugnance to others. He with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the times. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are his children, born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the UNKNOWN CAUSE, and when the UNKNOWN CAUSE produces in him a certain belief, he is thereby authorized to profess and act out that belief. . . . Not as adventurous, therefore, will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees, he will fearlessly utter, knowing that let what may come of it he is thus playing his right part in the world—knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at, well; if not, well, also; though not so well.—*Herbert Spencer.*

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HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA IN WHICH THE FIRST CONGRESSES WERE HELD.

FIFTH PERIOD.

FROM THE CLOSE OF OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS.

ADVANCEMENT.

OUR BEGINNINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY OF NATIONAL
LIFE.

SECTION FIRST.

THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION OF 1876.

How the Author continues his work.—We closed the record of OUR FIRST HUNDRED YEARS in front of the Great Exposition at Philadelphia, whose gates were swung wide open for all the Nations to show what they had done to advance the prosperity and happiness of the human race. We also proposed to show what we had been able to achieve in this new Western World during the first century of our own national life.

The promoters of this enterprise were not accused of any unworthy spirit of ostentation, for we very well knew that our existence had been too brief to reach that supreme excellence which had crowned the labors and triumphs of genius for ages in the Old World. Our chief motive was rather to learn in a few months, from other countries, practical lessons which had cost them long periods to acquire ; while the debt might be partly cancelled by presenting to them even a higher and more valuable example of the beneficent influence of free institutions upon the entire mass of a great people.

Aside, therefore, from the material aspects of the bewildering array presented to the gaze of admiring and instructed millions, we shall dwell chiefly on other considerations which would be likely to impart nobler and more permanent impressions on our people, as well as on those of other lands.

Our participation in preceding World's Fairs.—The first of that series of International Expositions, which have proved of such invaluable service to the world, was opened in Hyde Park, London, on the first of May, 1851, by Queen Victoria in person. It closed October 11th. The number of visitors exceeded six millions, exhibitors seventeen thousand, more than one-third of

whom were foreigners. Vast as was the expense of construction and management, it was a financial success ; while the beneficent results that followed this first grand movement for the display of all the products of the peoples, the Continents, the climates, the Arts and the products of the human race, have far exceeded the estimates of the most enthusiastic of the promoters of that pioneer movement. The records of that Exhibition have passed into the Literature of all nations ; but they immediately concern this history, no further than the part which our Countrymen took in the imposing display.

Our part in the Exhibition.—Our people manifested a surprising indifference on the subject, and made no great preparations for the occasion. There was no encouragement for any hope of prizes in competition with older nations, in the broad and diversified realms of those Arts which had been so long cultivated ; since the necessities of our new life in a wilderness world had neither given us surplus wealth, nor allowed us surplus time for anything beyond the imperious claims of primitive wants. The distance too, was a great drawback to the transportation of heavy products, and Government aid extended little beyond providing a national vessel to carry our contributions to London. A large space had been allotted to American exhibitors, and for a long time that unfilled space was the subject of no little unfriendly criticism. The Press of Great Britain was one prolonged satire on the country, and so low was the appreciation Americans put upon themselves, that our own journals, their editors and correspondents, saw little but cause for humiliation in our meager display at Hyde Park.

But soon the scene began to change. A pile of gold medals lying in some obscure place, were waiting for inscriptions which would record achievements done on this side of the Atlantic, of perhaps far greater importance to the world than the entire wilderness of art and products from all the rest of the globe.

Collins, Steers, Colt, McCormick, etc.—The Collins steamers were shortening the distance across the Ocean, and the Yacht America was on her flight to British waters, where she was to outstrip every vessel of the Royal Yacht Squadron. Colt's revolvers were to revolutionize fire-arms as effectually as Steers' models were to set aside the naval architecture of the 'Mistress of the Seas,' while the American reapers were to walk over the wheat fields of England. And some scores of other fruits of American inventive genius were to have their claims of superiority acknowledged by the jury of all nations.¹

¹ At a naval banquet given by the City of New York to the officers of the Frigate St. Lawrence—the vessel which had conveyed the American products to the World's Fair—many eloquent speeches were delivered, among which one of the most striking and appropriate was that by Mr. Luther R. Marsh. The following extracts are worthy of preservation :

In rendering honor to those who have officially rep-

resented our country in its contributions to the recent Exhibition at London, we honor the country and the cause. Our Navy, sir, has not been idle, or its state inglorious. It has borne the stars in many a terrible conflict, and won renown amidst the whitening foam. But, sir, in the bright rosary of its achievements, there will be counted few, if any, deeds of more substantial utility, than that of the frigate *St. Lawrence*, when she

Paris International Exposition, 1855.—The opening ceremonies took place May 15th, 1855, and were presided over by the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugenie. It was visited by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, this being the first visit of an English Sovereign to Paris, since Henry V., who passed Christmas there in 1422. The exhibitors from the United States were awarded one hundred and forty medals.

London International Exposition, 1862.—The building was vast, covering sixteen acres of ground, but by no means corresponding in beauty to its predecessor in Hyde Park. The splendor and success of the Exhibition were seriously interfered with, by the death of Prince Albert, to whom the scheme of International Exhibitions was more indebted than to all other men. Here the Americans received their full share of honors, many of them marking notable progress in every department of American industry.

Paris International Exposition, 1867.—It was formally opened by the Emperor Napoleon, April 1st, and closed on the last day of October. Here our participation was larger, and more brilliant than in any of the preceding World's Fairs. Our exhibitors received three grand prizes, seventeen gold medals, sixty-three of silver, and ninety-four of bronze. This Fair excited greater and more genial interest in America than any which had preceded

took to the old world the evidence of the progress of the New. No such convocation had the world beheld before. There was no array of hostile armies. No shock of battles frightened the earth. But all nations carried thither the products of their labor and invention—the embodied thoughts of the age—and placed them side by side in peaceful competition. A hundred languages were fused in the very heart of England. Innumerable costumes varied the scene. From Siberian snows, and burning sands, from the Orient and from the Occident, came tribute upon tribute of the good-will of the whole family of man.

In the accomplishment of her part of this peaceful drama, America freighted, with her quota, the good ship *St. Lawrence*. She sent such contribution as best illustrated the character of her people, and furnished demonstration of her advance in the practical arts of life. But her gifts lay, at first, slighted and sneered at. They were not understood. "A failure," "a failure," starts to European lips. The Thunderer—the Jupiter Tonans of the Press—vilified the American, and lauded the Indian compartments. True, there were, among these Western gifts, no gauzes more ethereal than gossamer—no damask of richest dye, no velvet housings, jewel-hilted swords, or barbaric pearls; no grapes of amethyst, or cherries of cornelian; no "stuffs so subtly woven that the gold swam to the surface of the silk, like cream, and curdled to fair patterns." But it was at length discovered that in the neglected department of the Crystal Palace, devoted to America, there lay energies, combinations, potentialities, which the oldest nations had not dreamed of. Here were implements, coarse, it might be, and unpolished, compared with the exquisite fabrics of luxurious design; but there were germs of strength within them, which could

fell primæval forests, and plant great cities in their stead. Here, simplicity, engirt with power, displayed the prerogative of Genius. Here were instruments, not poetic, not artistic, but filled with brawny muscles and sinewy strength. No rich mosaic inlaid their surfaces, no enamelled sentiment embroidered their exterior. But they were purposes—principles—made visible, tangible and strong, in the coarse guise of wood and iron. They had Yankee souls within them, and no concealment or neglect, no jeers or sneers, could prevent them from working out their destiny. India sent her Kohinoor, Cashmere her dainty textures, and Turkey her ornamented calumets. But these did not evince an onward march on the great pathway of Time. The "Mountain of Light," though of purest ray serene, had reposed in the dust for ages. The finest web of the Indian loom—which Beauty's self might wear—had scarce improved in half a century, and the ancestor of the Turk had seen the wreathing column ascend from bowls of equal elegance. But America commissioned a plain, unostentatious, practical reaper to go amidst the astonished husbandmen of a nation famous for agricultural perfections. The broad acres of old England acknowledged its sway—their golden sheaves bowed before it. By our swift steamers, we narrowed the Atlantic by a day. Our light yacht danced on English waters, and outsped the fleetest of English sails. These were positive advances—real acquisitions—conquered from the domain of the great unknown. They were not the slow result of patient toil expended on the polish of a gem, nor waste of years in fruitless filigree. They were new powers, snatched from the armory of Nature. As typical of national progress, of actual and substantial achievement, they were of greater worth than all the baubles that sparkle in Indian sands.

it; since from the beginning of our Alliance with the gallant French nation, bonds of friendship and sympathy were formed, stronger than had ever existed between us and our so-called parent country, and which have strengthened from generation to generation, until they now seem indissoluble. Paris is to Americans as much a home as New York.

Vienna International Exhibition, 1873.—It was opened May 1st by the Emperor of Austria in the Prater of Vienna, and closed October 31st. It was the grandest, if not the most successful of all the World's Fairs, and our contributions were numerous and worthy. We were represented by six hundred and forty-three exhibitors who bore away three hundred and forty-nine prizes. Those contributions which attracted the deepest interest, and commanded the highest admiration and respect, concerned chiefly our social advancement. Among them were the International Bureau at Washington, the Light-house Board of the United States, the School system of Massachusetts, and that of the Smithsonian Institute at Washington; all of which received grand diplomas of honor.

The Centennial Exposition of 1876, at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.—Ample preparations had been made under the direction of Commissioners appointed by the Governors of every State. The invitation was extended to the whole world, and all the world seemed to be there. The best products of all nations were brought, and with the exception of such splendors as Royalty and Imperialism are supposed to lend to such scenes, it surpassed in dignity, variety and value, any World's Fair that had then been held.

It was opened on the 10th of May, but the morning dawned gloomily. The air was damp, and the sky overcast; disappointment overspread the faces of the vastest assembly that had ever gathered on this continent. What was to have been a celestial omen on this proudest day of the hundredth year of the Republic, would have been interpreted by Greeks and Romans as the withdrawal of the favor of all the Gods. But as the saddened hours went by, the Heavens opened with the mounting sun; every cloud melted away, and the Centennial City, with all its spires and domes, was bathed in golden summer light, while the fairy Crystal Palace rose in the distance over the trees and flowers and waters of Fairmount Park, in all its magnificence, in honor of labor, more beautiful and imposing than Royalty had ever erected for its own glory.

Organization and duties of the Judges.—Many improvements over any previous World's Fair were adopted, especially in the appointment of the Judges of Awards, and the rules by which they were to be governed. Two hundred and fifty Judges were appointed to make Reports, one half of whom were foreigners, and one half citizens of the United States. Great care and perfect impartiality prevailed in their selection, the Americans being chosen by the Centennial Commission, the foreigners by the Commissions of each country. Professor Francis A. Walker was unanimously selected as chief of

the Bureau of Awards, and he performed his exacting duties with marked ability and acceptance. In fact the Reports, being prepared by the most eminent experts from the different countries, embraced the ripest learning in each department then represented by the science and knowledge of the world.

As might have been expected, the excellence of the American exhibitors was chiefly observable in mechanical inventions and discoveries designed for the saving of labor, and the promotion of the material advancement and prosperity of mankind. In general terms, it is only just to say that in this sphere the Americans showed marked superiority over all other nations. The records of the Patent Office had already prepared the world to expect such a result—the number of American inventions secured by Letters Patent having already reached nearly a quarter of a million. The nature and results of the exhibitions in that vast range of inventive ingenuity were so fully made known to the world that their repetition here is unnecessary.

It was in Group XXVIII., concerning Education, that we appeared to the best advantage. This Group embraced Educational Systems, from the most elementary, to the highest grades of learning. Of American representation under this Group, the final report says:—‘The world had a right to expect that when America invited the other nations to accept her hospitality, and to compare their industrial and social progress on American soil, there would be an illustrative display somewhat commensurate with the vastness of her resources, the intelligence and energy of her people, and their real as well as rapid progress in all the arts of civilization. Industrially speaking, this reasonable expectation found gratifying realization; for while many of the States did very little compared with what they might have done, and some did almost nothing to represent their resources and industries, the total of the exhibition in the industrial Groups was great and impressive. Even socially speaking, the people of every class and profession who thronged the Exhibition through its grounds and halls in numbers unparalleled, bore unconscious testimony to the elevating power of those institutions and agencies, political, educational, and religious, which have given Americans an honorable rank among the most intelligent, temperate, and self-governed peoples in the world.’

But a just and severe criticism on the indifference of the Americans towards a display of their educational system at all adequate to the actual facts, is very plainly given. Abundant praise was awarded to the Officers in charge of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories under Dr. Hayden, and to the work of Professor Powers, under the subdivisions of Geography, Geology, Natural History and Ethnography; to the Department of Agriculture for its complete scientific, economical, and statistical exhibition; to the Bureau of the Coast Survey, and to that of the Signal Service; to the Smithsonian Institute, which was magnificently represented by typical collections from the National Museum formed under its direction, as well as to the almost endless ranges of the systems and appliances of edu-

cation for promoting industry, science, art, and literature, all of which commanded substantial praise, as their exhibits excited universal interest.

The American branch of the Exposition would have been more imposing and complete, but for two circumstances: Those Americans who had the best things to show, felt satisfied with the Awards they had already received, and World's Fairs had so rapidly succeeded each other, that what enthusiasm was manifested arose chiefly from the general curiosity to witness so attractive a spectacle; and the national Government had treated the whole matter with extreme niggardliness which contrasted very poorly with the liberality displayed by foreign States, many of whom made munificent provisions, choosing their best men and their finest products. The contrast between the spirit of our citizens, and that of the Government, was sufficiently striking. It was a gala summer for our people, many of whom embraced the opportunity to visit the old Centennial City, with the Metropolis of New York, and other attractive scenes which they had never looked on before. The representation seemed to correspond in a singular degree with the amount of the population through all the States and Territories, and the extent may be best understood by the number of admissions which reached nearly ten millions. The long period of six months gave abundant opportunities for an attendance from every section of the country.

So far as the beneficent effects of this grand array of the products of the multiform industries of the Earth were concerned, they could not be estimated at the time, nor could they ever afterward be measured. With the multitude curiosity was more than gratified, but it was often remarked that the keenest observation and the intensest study characterized vast numbers who would hardly have been suspected of such serious thought. Americans are eager to see, tenacious in their memories, and quick to profit by their observations. While there may not have been much to furnish aliment for original invention, there was a great deal to inflame the spirit of creative adaptation. Whatever there was that held the eyes and captivated the fancy, was permanently photographed on countless minds. Many of the finest products of art brought from abroad, soon found their counterparts here, and often supplemented by beautiful imitations which have since surprised their original authors.

But there was something more than this. The Exposition was for six months a great University of education. It was a broad field of study, comparison and suggestion. The same impressions were made on the minds of visitors from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the cold lakes of the north, to the fervid shores of the Gulf of Mexico. To the more stolid and uneducated, it was a Public School. To the susceptible, a panorama of inspiration, and infinite images of beauty were forever to linger in the memories of even the giddy and thoughtless. A whole Continent was enriched in its Schools and its homes, with fadeless forms of use and beauty.

It was also a great Congress of the chief Scientists of the world. There were gathered the men to whom is committed the responsibility of holding

torches of light over their own generation, and transmitting them to the future. The hundred and twenty-five Judges from foreign nations were among the best they could send. They came to learn, as a respite from the hard toil of teaching, and their Reports, submitted with all the gravity and deliberation that characterize the words of such men, made a deep impression upon American thinkers; for those Reports displayed not only the profound knowledge of eminent specialists, but admirable candor in the free expression of their criticisms without fear or favor. They well knew what they were doing. Where they blamed us, we deserved it; where we were found to have cherished exaggerated estimates of ourselves, we were 'taken down'; in those things where praise was awarded, the reasons were plainly given, their judgments being so chastened by acute discrimination, and their adverse criticisms tempered by so humane a spirit of kindness, that the result was felt at the time to be healthful and inspiring, and not depressing except to those whose ignorance, pride or vanity had inflated them too far.

Another result followed.—The fruits of their observations were taken home with them to the countries from which they came. They bore with them vivid pictures of life in the New World. Whatever they saw here that would advance the knowledge of their countrymen, they carried with them. If the representatives from the polished nations of Europe found only a few striking examples of our culture in the fine arts, which in their nations had reached such superb excellence as centuries had given them, they observed many valuable things in which their people were lacking, and which would enhance their well-being, and bring along to the masses a better age. Nor did these Savants from abroad find any lack of progress here in the realms of Science. Among those studies which had chiefly occupied their lives, they were not unfrequently surprised to see that in some departments scientific research had been pushed further, and the instruments for its cultivation improved or multiplied. With the modesty which always distinguishes learning, they freely communicated whatever they knew that would enrich our own sphere of study and elaboration. One of the highest results of previous World's Fairs had been secured by this direct intercourse of the Savants of widely separated countries.

In earlier ages, before the art of printing and increased facilities of travel, unobstructed by national jealousies, the transmission of knowledge between nations was slow and tiresome. All foreigners had serious difficulties to overcome in penetrating other nations. It was by a most fortuitous accident that the founder of the Religion and the Civil Code of the Jews became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The spirit of adventure which started out the Argonauts to the Asiatic shores and waters, reaches so far back into the dim pre-historic times, that the expedition itself has been long reckoned among the Myths. The Greeks were not ashamed to own how much they owed to Homer, Herodotus, and Plato for their knowledge of Egypt, and the primitive nations of Asia.

And so down through the Centuries, up to the period of a knowledge of the printer's art, and the great age of maritime exploration, the pioneers of

knowledge went on their toilsome way, and its accumulation was slow. Nor did the idea of the dissemination of 'knowledge among men' early get possession of the human mind, nor has its appreciation reached but a partial fruition even to our own times. It has met its first fruits on a broad scale, only in these Congresses of Nations, where they have in friendly counsel met together without impediments or restraint, to compare their progress in the useful arts for the benefit of all comers. Nor had opportunity arisen for auspices so favorable to the realization of this great idea of the unrestricted intercourse of nations, as in the Exposition at Fairmount Park. The American Historian can say this without arrogance or exultation; a broad, free, Continent, bearing with its name larger views of human advancement than the world had seen before, gave a new inspiration with new ideas, to the rest of the world. It was the first proclamation of the last and best hope of man, *a universal brotherhood of peace and good will*. This idea had not before fairly filled the American mind, nor had it so profoundly impressed the minds of the best thinkers of other lands. Those eminent men did not conceal, while they were here, nor did they in their writings after they left, that they were more impressed with the true grandeur of man's estate in such a universal home for the race, when they saw the practical workings of humanity in this land. The Americans had put forth no great pretensions at Fairmount. They had measured themselves by their works at all the great Fairs of Europe, and been accorded more honors than they expected; but here they 'took the whole thing as a matter of course.' There was less boasting and ostentation than some of us and most of the foreigners expected. In fact the great body of Americans had begun to feel that it was no longer necessary either to boast of what we had done, or to solicit praise where we had once expected nothing better than sufferance or toleration. This certainly was a notable change. Such modesty became us well, if it did come late.

If all these fruits of the Centennial Exposition were not apparent at once, and indeed if they have not very deeply impressed the rest of the world up to the present time, they are growing more and more apparent in the journals, and literature, and consciousness of mankind. They will work themselves deeper and deeper as time goes by.

SECTION SECOND.

POPULATION.

The readers, if such there be, of the thousand preceding pages will naturally expect this Continuation to harmonize in manner and spirit with what has gone before. Now as then, the writer is restricted within limits so arbitrary as to preclude diffuseness or amplification. I shall therefore esteem myself fortunate if I am able to do justice to so many themes which crowd

upon the mind, as the field grows broader with every step in our national advancement. American life has expanded over larger spheres of experience and development, in a ratio far exceeding the calendar of time. Our life can no longer be measured by the steady passage of patient years, but by the lightning flight of decades. Although the average longevity of a generation in all civilized nations, is known to be on the increase, but only in an imperceptible ratio as years are commonly measured.

The devices of man, and the exigencies of this new age, have vastly lengthened out the period of execution and achievement. In no country probably, can these words have, or ever have had, the significance with which they are understood as we understand them here. Men live longer in this country than they have ever lived before, because we produce more results in a day, than the last generation did in a week. At this fearful rate of speed are we compelled to go. Our movement is accelerated in a geometrical, rather than an arithmetical ratio. Men are thinking quicker, and they are obliged to move quicker. All this applies to life here in all its scenes of activity. Youth sooner emerges into manhood, and manhood attempts with cheerfulness, what would only a little while ago have been contemplated as among things unattainable. Men are no longer astounded at the announcement of the building of Continental Railways by a few mechanics, at a speed which levels dense forests faster than an army of woodsmen have ever done before. Distances, however vast, are annihilated. Rivers, however broad or deep, have ceased to be obstacles to travel or transportation. The Locomotive carries over solid land, bread and meat for a great Army, a thousand miles, three times faster than the most powerful steamer can carry a fraction of the same burden through the cleaving waters of the sea. Men are now talking with each other in an audible voice, at vast distances, and quicker than thunder can be heard, or lightnings flash. In fact we have nothing left to measure our movements by. The chronometer lags behind us, for the news of the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir is fought in San Francisco nine hours before Wolseley's cannon are fired on the banks of the Nile. We are expected to do a great deal more in an hour than our fathers did while the Earth was going around the Sun. Only that we could do our work as well!

Growth of Population by decades, from 1800.—In that year we numbered 5,308,483. In 1810, we reached 7,239,881. In 1820, 9,633,822. In 1830, 12,866,020. In 1840, 17,069,453. In 1850, 23,191,876. In 1860, 31,443,321. In 1870, 38,558,371. In 1880, 50,135,783. At less than the preceding ratio, the Census of 1890 will give us about sixty-three millions.¹

¹ One hundred years ago the population of the United States was three millions, and that of Great Britain, when we broke away from its control, was about seven times as many. In ten years our numbers will be about twice those of the United Kingdom. . . . Many who now live will see one hundred millions of busy inhabitants within our borders. There may be a falling off in the ratio of our increase during the next

thirty years, but not enough to lower it within the numbers I have stated. If the rulers of Europe adhere to their policies of ambition and wars; if their inhabitants continue to fly from their homes; if their governments are pestilential in their destruction of life, we shall see greater movements to our shores than any heretofore witnessed. In our contest with Europe we take and will continue to take each year, by immigration, greater

What we have done has, from the first, corresponded with the increase of our population, and the power of this population to produce results, has been vastly greater than its increase in numbers. The multiplying of power through the substitution of wood and metal for human muscles, is almost as difficult of calculation, as to compare the work done by our fifty millions, with that of the thousand millions of Asia.

SECTION THIRD.

AGRICULTURE.

Although the prosperity of a nation is not necessarily measured by the amount of its population—since a surplus of souls has generally bred misery among the masses—yet with free land to till, the primal source of the well-being of any people has always depended on the wealth they could draw from the cultivation of the earth. In all such cases—other things being equal—an increase of population augments wealth. This has been illustrated with great force in this country, where public and private wealth has increased in a corresponding ratio to the increase of population.

The tillage of the soil underlies all the other avocations of men as their basis and substratum. Like the primal rock whose gigantic ribs and bones sustain the waters and their fleets, the fertile ground and its array of verdure, the lordly tree and modest flower, man and his mansions—so Agriculture upholds all other employments and provides the foundation, too often forgotten, on which they are erected. It is the fuel that feeds them all. It gives motive power to the great locomotive of human achievement. Without its aid, mortal activities would stagnate and die. Art would sink into the dust; science stop in its triumphant demonstrations, and commerce languish and expire; and every avenue pursued by human enterprise, now margined with beauty, covered and lost under the arid sands of the desert. The merchant sends his stately argosies abroad, and with far-seeing vision considers how the wants of one people may be supplied by the productions of another. And yet he interchanges but the results of Agriculture in their original or modified forms. If he brings over the waves the aromatic leaf of China, the coveted berry of Java, or the spices of the Indian Isles, he but supplies our

numbers of "prisoners of peace" than war has ever wrested from one nation and forced under the domination of another. They are not victims of force; they are not unwilling captives; they join our side and help us on to greatness and power. They bring us arts, and skill, and labor. They enlarge the minds and sympathies of our people by lifting them above mere provincial prejudice. The mingled European races have a vigor superior to any single lineage. We are forming what is not yet fully developed—the American character. Those who study the influence of this intercourse upon the common ground of our country, will be impressed with its improvements of all minds and characters. The citizens of Rome were not merely Italians.

They adopted those of other nations, and gave the freedom of their city to towns and provinces. Our ways to greatness are more beneficent. Immigration is better than invasions and conquests. If any one of the so-called great powers of Europe should take captive from one of its rivals numbers equal to a single year's immigration to this country, how deep would be the concern and how widespread the agitation over the question of the balance of power! How many councils would be held; how many diplomats would bewilder themselves and the world about plans to check the growing power of the successful country!—*Address of ex-Governor Horatio Seymour before The New York State Agricultural Society, January 21, 1880.*

wants with the tillage of the Orient. If his glad ship is freighted with the golden and mellow fruits of the Mediterranean, she yet spreads her canvas in the service of Pomona. Whether cocoa or the almond, grapes or figs, cotton or tobacco, flour or wool, meats or mahogany, appear upon his manifest, he is yet transporting substances which derive existence from the nurture of the soil. Nay though his invoice may register only the products of the loom, whatever form the fabric may assume, he traces back the origin of his cargo to the prolific earth, mingled though it may have been with mechanical, as well as agricultural labor.

Among the chief reasons why agriculture has not been brought to a higher grade of culture in America, is that our acres are so broad, and every man's fences enclose such ample fields, that it has not seemed necessary to devote so much labor to economical production, as in the more divided glebes of Europe. An English patch receives the spade, as many times as an American farm. In the great valleys and mighty plains of the West, where seas of land stretch to the setting sun, the common admeasurements of roods, rods, and perches, are superseded by the more convenient expressions of miles and leagues. Certainly if we have not more land to the acre, we have more acres to the land.

From the Census of 1880 the following statistics show the vast preponderance of the products of agriculture over all other American elements of wealth:—

Value of the principal Agricultural productions by Calendar Years:—In four items alone: viz., Breadstuffs, Animals, Animal Matter, and Cotton:

1877.....	\$1,644,820,578
1878.....	1,448,570,866
1879.....	1,919,954,397
1880.....	2,000,000,000

Agricultural exports for the same years:

	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.
Animals and animal matter.....	\$140,564,066	\$145,587,515	\$146,641,233	\$166,400,428
Breadstuffs, &c.....	118,126,940	181,811,794	210,391,066	288,050,201
Cotton, &c.....	183,253,248	191,470,144	173,158,200	221,517,323
Wood, &c.....	23,422,966	21,747,117	20,122,967	22,000,000
Miscellaneous	58,652,719	52,245,306	53,843,026	49,000,000
Total agricultural exports	524,019,939	592,861,876	604,156,492	746,957,952
Total exports	689,167,390	722,811,815	717,093,777	823,946,353
Per cent. of agricultural matter	76	82	84	90

Those were years of exceptionally good crops in all the different staples grown either for home consumption or export; and as the European nations to whom we look for a market had during the same period failed, from disas-

trous seasons, to harvest the usual quantity of farm products, a steady demand at good prices existed for our entire surplus of wheat, corn, cotton, meats, and dairy products, until the aggregate annual amount exported attained a value of more than \$271,000,000 in excess of the value of similar exportations during any like number of previous years. These unprecedented crops afforded constant and profitable occupation not only to the farmers but to the manufacturing and commercial classes, as well as to the great transportation companies whose trains and fleets had uninterrupted and remunerative employment, notwithstanding their own increased capacity and the ever eager competition of new lines. Indeed there is no profession, no trade, no occupation, no man so rich and exalted nor yet so poor and unknown, but shared in their widespread and beneficial influences.

Excess of rain in the early portion of the next year—1881—followed by prolonged drouth, gave us a somewhat reduced harvest. But the abundance of 1882 far exceeded any previous season, the wheat crop approximating six hundred million bushels, the corn exceeding seventeen hundred millions, and almost every crop augmented in proportion.

Thus far we have cast but a bird's-eye view over the immense field. We must now give more specific records, endeavoring to escape tiresome proximity on the one side, and indefinite generalizations on the other. The preceding aggregates furnish but a very shadowy idea of the mighty resources which our industries have begun to develop from the surface of the earth, which we have only hastily scratched over in places, or from its bosom, which we have only just begun to penetrate.

Wheat :—From 152 million bushels in 1867, to 500 millions in 1882. Increase per capita, from 4 to $8\frac{3}{4}$ bushels.

Indian Corn :—From 868 million bushels in 1867, to 1,717 in 1881. Increase per capita, from $23\frac{1}{2}$ bushels in 1867, to 33 in 1882.

Rye :—From 15,365,500 bushels in 1871, to 24,540,829 in 1880.

Oats :—From 255,743,000 bushels in 1871, to 417,885,380 in 1880.

Barley :—From 26,718,500 bushels in 1871, to 45,165,346 in 1880.

Buckwheat :—From 8,328,700 bushels in 1871, to 14,617,535 in 1880.

Potato Crop :—From 120,461,100 bushels in 1871, to 1,381,255,720 bushels in 1880.

Hay :—From 22,239,400 tons in 1871, to 31,925,233 in 1880.

Cotton Wool :—From 1,892,664,987 pounds in 1859, to 3,199,822,682 in 1881.

Tobacco Crop :—From 426 million pounds in 1871, to 460 millions in 1881.

Coal, Anthracite and Bituminous :—From 31,077,994 tons in 1869, to 80 millions in 1880.

Wool :—From 90 million pounds in 1862, to 240 millions in 1881.

Fermented Liquors :—From 196,603,705 gallons in 1869, to 443,641,868 in 1881.

Distilled Spirits, embracing Bourbon and Rye Whisky, Alcohol, Rum,

Gin, High Wines, Pure Neutral or Cologne Spirits, and Fruit Brandy :—From 54,298,070 in 1869, to 119,429,356 in 1881.

Sugar, Molasses, and Rice (produced in Louisiana) :—From 1850 : Sugar, 269,769,000 pounds ; Molasses, 12,000,000 gallons ; Rice from 35,080,520 (in 1878) to 61,331,340 in 1881, and to 272,982,899 of Sugar ; and 15,255,029 gallons of Molasses to 1881.—Product of the same articles in the rest of the United States : Sugar, from 87,043 pounds in 1869, to 178,872 in 1879 ; Molasses, from 6,593,323 in 1869, to 16,573,273 in 1879 ; and Rice from 73,635,021 in 1869, to 110,131,373 in 1879.

No historical or statistical writer needs any apology for dwelling on such facts for the prosperity and well-being of the human race depend more upon an abundant and unfailing supply of food, than upon all other conditions. There has not been hitherto, nor is there likely to be hereafter for ages, any fear of a famine in North America ; nor that the so-called over-populated countries of Europe will again suffer from this cause, except through the curse of war.

To do a full measure of justice to this great subject is beyond the limits of any book which men have time to read or write ; for before its author laid down his pen, he would find that his subject had escaped his entire record. But there are certain things which compel our attention, that, although matters open to the commonest observation, are not sufficiently understood. Numerous and able as are our writers on Agriculture, there are certainly not many who have treated this subject in so broad and philosophical a spirit, as ex-Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. He stands between the farmer at his plow, and the Statesman in his cabinet, sympathizing with, and instructing both. It would seem to be an injustice to the reader, not to put before him some of the luminous words that have come from his lips on this subject of which he has made a most careful and practical study on his own acres, and whose relations to the prosperity of this nation he has unfolded with the matchless perception of a Philosophical Statesman.

In his Address before the New York State Agricultural Society, January 21, 1880, when he resigned its presidency, he dwelt with great clearness and effect on the International Relations of American and European Agriculture, under several prominent divisions, which are worthy of the profoundest consideration of publicists and statesmen, *viz.* :—

The results of drawing the Old and New Worlds closer together.—“When America was discovered, it was so remote from Europe, in view of the difficulty of reaching it, that it was called a new world. It was regarded as we now look upon planets, and for more than a century but little was known about it. We could only be visited by long and dangerous voyages. Measuring distance by time, it was a year's distance from Europe. But art and science have, as to time and intercourse, drawn the continents together, until they are so closely moored that it is easier to pass from one to the other than it is to traverse their respective territories. This fact, that North America, with its vast extent of fertile vacant lands, thus almost touches Europe with its over-crowded population, is one which excites the most varied speculations with regard to the results which must follow, bearing upon all phases of civilization, politics and power. History tells of no event more striking or significant.

There is now what properly may be called a conflict between our agriculture and theirs. During the past year we have fairly 'bombarded Europe with casks and barrels of animal and vegetable food.' While these relieve famine, they also excite alarm in many quarters by their effects, not only upon their agriculture, but upon social and political organizations. It has become a contest between American farmers and European land-owners. Let us compare the power and resources of the combatants. As the Canadas are occupied by a people speaking the same language, and living under laws similar to our own, I include them in my terms when I speak of our side in this competition. When I speak of our Continent, I do not include Mexico. It is, geographically, one of the connecting links between North and South America, and not strictly a part of either."

What Territories are Held by the Parties in this Contest.—"North America exceeds Europe in extent and fertility. Its boundaries reach to both of the great oceans of the earth. Its soil and climate are more favorable to abundance and variety of food. Although our population is only one-sixth that of Europe, we have enough to meet its wants in this year of its distress, and all that we have parted with has made no scarcity here. It has not carried up the price of food as much as it has advanced the wages of labor. The variety of our farm products, is a protection against disasters from unfavorable seasons, as some grains are helped by causes which harm others. If an entire wheat crop should be cut off, it would be a great loss, but it would make no hunger here, for it amounts to only a quarter of the product of Indian corn. We have not only a greater variety of the fruits of the earth, but our climate gives them to us in succession, which adds greatly to their value, and to the comfort and enjoyment of our people. Before winter has relaxed its hold upon the North, we begin from the borders of the Gulf of Mexico to get fruits and vegetables. Free and cheap intercourse between all parts of our common country, gives the luxuries of that semi-tropical region to all sections. Following the northward course of the sun, the season for these varied products is prolonged. We look to their approach from the South to the North rather than to an almanac, to tell us when the summer glow shall give life to vegetation over our vast continent."

The Influences of the Topography of the Continents upon their Agriculture.—"But it is not only in extent of territory and in abundance and variety of products that nature favors us. While in Europe, short rivers and narrow valleys tell of frequent ranges of high lands which hinder commerce; with us lakes and rivers bind our States together with silver links in ways that give us a ready and cheap exchange of all that we raise or make. Spread out before you the maps of the two continents, and note the different influences of mountain ranges and river courses. Leaving out of view the great streams and plains in bleak northern Russia, and of the Danube in Eastern Europe, and you will see that the rivers are navigable for short distances, and their valleys are of small extent. The Danube is not as long as the Missouri branch of the Mississippi River. You may divide the valley of the Mississippi into sections which will be equal in area to Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Italy and Spain combined, and still there will be about one-sixth left to represent minor countries. Those I have named have only 1,073,000, while the valley of the Mississippi has 1,257,000 square miles of territory. Its waters make about ten thousand miles of navigation, more or less perfect, while its valleys give level routes to a vast system of railways. In our country we have now, of these, nearly ninety thousand miles in length, and they are rapidly extending into new regions."

Mr. Seymour spoke further on the influence of Political Organizations upon the prosperity and agriculture of the two continents, and traced the effects upon Farming and farmers, and the Stability of the Union, of the division of our agriculture into grain departments. He next dwelt on the influence of

American Agriculture upon the Social and Political Systems of Europe, assigning the reasons why its people cannot hereafter,

"with the same labor, on the same soil, raise enough to supply their wants, except for the small amount which they have heretofore imported. Why can we expect, with ordinary seasons, that we can sell them more than we have done in past years; why, although we may raise grain and make provisions for less than they can, may not the effect of this be merely to reduce the price which farmers will get, and not the amount of food they will produce? Our exports to Europe were large and growing before the failure of its crops. These questions bring into view some facts of great interest in many respects. In the first place, where farmers own their lands, as they do with us, all that they can get for what they sell goes to those who labor upon the soil. But as a rule in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain, what is made upon farms must support at least two and sometimes four classes of persons: the tenant, who does the work; the landlords, and usually some agents or middlemen, who hire and sub-let to tenants. Church rates and many other charges must also be paid. When our cheap grains reach their markets, as they will hereafter, and govern the prices of produce, they disturb existing arrangements. The tenant must have enough to live upon then as now; taxes and tithes must be paid, and only what is left will go to the owners. This class are to suffer. If you read the debates in Parliament, you will see that an attempt is made to excite sympathy for British farmers. But the parties who really are affected are British landlords. The conflict is not between American and British farmers, but American and British land-owners. If the cost of produce falls, rents must come down, for tenants can pay no more, and landlords will get no more than prices will give. The tenant cannot live upon less than he now gets, and the loss must fall upon the owner. Beyond this diminution of revenues, there is a difficulty which affects the structure of political and social organizations. The nobility are landlords. In Britain they are recognized as one of the estates of the government. A class of them constitutes the House of Lords. The theory of most of the European governments is, that families who have personal and political rights beyond the mass of the people, to uphold the dignity and power of their rank, should have large estates, and these must in the main consist of lands. As this rank is hereditary, it must be strengthened by hereditary estates. Personal wealth is too evanescent, too changeable to admit of its being secured by entails. But the tenure of lands can be so arranged that they may be held by families, and made safe from division by the laws of entail and of primogeniture. As Mr. Gladstone has said: 'In England inequality lies embedded in the very basis of the social structure. . . . Heredity is in the heart's core of Englishmen.'"

"Our cheap and fertile lands, and the low cost of sending our products to Europe, may work great changes in the condition of the higher classes and the tenures of real estate. This explains the uncasiness they have shown when we send food to relieve the hunger of their people. It is not this merciful work, but the fear that hereafter we may reduce their resources, which disturbs them. If we do, their large estates cannot be held by their present tenures; they must be sold or divided. It is not necessary to dwell upon the great changes this would make in the social and political aspect of Great Britain. The fear of this has already given birth to plans for taxing all food brought from other countries. This has led to a controversy between the landed and manufacturing interests. Britain has been called the workshop of the world; but its artisans are now pressed by competition from many quarters, and are suffering from the low wages they get. How, then, can government tax their food? If this harsh plan be adopted, it will send many of its skilled workmen to us, while those who remain will carry on their trades with increased cost for food, when they are subjected to sharp competition by the very workmen driven to this country, where all the necessities of life are so much cheaper. They must take our grain, or give up classes of their people. We cannot foresee what course they will take, for no one can read the debates in Parliament, without being struck with the ignorance of members, not only with respect

to our States, but their Canadian Colonies. If their statesmen are as ignorant with regard to their dependencies in Asia and Africa, as they are about those on this continent, the British Empire is in great peril of dishonor and disaster. The result probably will be that the land-owners will find that they must not only reduce their rents, but they must also change the character of their farm products, and buy most of their grain, and many of their provisions from us, and our markets in future will be thus enlarged.

"If they tax imported food, they will break down their manufactures, destroy their home markets and bring disaster upon their country. If the Continental nations tax food, in addition to military and other burthens, they will drive away their young and active citizens and reduce their military strength. Monarchs will be safer from bullets when food is cheap and abundant."

Why our Home Markets are Made Good by the Character of our Climate.—"I have dwelt upon foreign markets, as they deeply concern us; but we must not overlook home transactions, which are still more important. The prosperity which agriculture has given to all other industries will now re-act in its favor and make new demands for its products. Near-by cities and towns make the best customers for our farmers. They buy many things which will not bear long transportation, and which are free from a wide-spread competition. For this reason, in their vicinity, lands bear the highest prices. Those lying near the city of New York sell for sums far beyond those which can be got for better qualities in other quarters. The farmers of New York are helped and not hurt by the currents of commerce from the West. These make the wealth and population of our cities. Manufacturing and mechanical industries, built up by cheap bread, make demands for vegetables, fruit, milk, butter and other articles produced in the immediate vicinity of these home markets. I know that some think that if it cost more to bring produce to us, if charges on canals and railroads were higher, that our farms would be increased in value. This is a great error. They would turn away our commerce. They would tax not only the food of those engaged in varied industries, but of more than two-thirds of our farmers. They would diminish the population of towns and cities, and thus drive away our best customers. Most of my own property is in farms and land, and I have given much thought and study to this subject. If we suffer our canals to be broken down, and thus lose all control of the course of trade; if we consent to any policy which diverts it from our State, we shall undo the work of our fathers, who, by a wise commercial policy, lifted it up from a low to the highest position in our Union, by drawing the enriching currents of trade through its territories. Along the routes of these, all pursuits and industries have been multiplied. When these are crippled or destroyed, our farms will lose a large share of their value."

The danger which threatened the New York System of canals, Mr. Seymour was greatly influential in averting, and in the autumn of 1882 the people of that great Commonwealth, by an overwhelming majority, decided at the ballot-box, to tax themselves whatever sum might be necessary, after abolishing all tolls, to keep them in full repair for free navigation. Some time before, an amendment to the Constitution of the State had been enacted, which limited the appropriations for keeping the canals in repair, to the receipts from tolls. Those receipts had fallen so low that they were not adequate to keep the canals in an efficient condition. The managers of the Railways of the State, opposed all their strength to prevent the abolition of that amendment.* But at the last moment the interest of the people was aroused, and they gained the victory. Monopoly—the chief danger of our times—received its well-deserved rebuke, and to no man is so much praise due as to Mr. Seymour, the farmer and the sage.

In reply to the common complaint of foreign writers, that we are too much in a hurry, Mr. Seymour says :

"Sir James Campbell, in his recent book about our country, speaks of the size of our cities as disproportionate to the number of our people. A comparison of the relative size of the towns on the Continent of Europe and those of the United States makes this fact more striking. Although they have been so recently settled, their cities are outstripping those of other countries. The character of our climate explains this."

"Strangers say that we are always in a hurry; so, too, is nature on this continent. It does its work quicker than elsewhere. When winter gives up its grasp upon the vegetable world it springs into life, unfolds its leaves, and yields its fruits in less time than is required in Europe. Our grain grows and ripens in a period at least one-quarter less than in Great Britain. Indian corn at the West sends up great stalks eight or ten feet high and more than an inch in diameter, making food for cattle, and matures their abundant yield of grain for human use within four months from the time the farmer puts seed in the ground. The rapidity with which the products of our fields are ripened makes one of the necessities for the use of machinery. Grain must be gathered in quicker ways than those used in other countries. This fact has had much to do with the invention of methods more ready and effective than the sickle and the scythe. Many of our crops would spoil in the fields if we relied upon labor as it is employed elsewhere. Here nature not only hurries all its processes, but it is sharp and exacting in its changes. In the summer its heat gives us the plenty and indulgences of a semi-tropical climate. When, in a short time it has perfected these for our use, it forces us to gather them in without delay, for it soon brings its frosts and arctic winters which drive us to meet new and varied wants, by other and varied industries. Our seasons do not slowly change, but they excite and stimulate us by marked contrasts of heat and cold, of green fields and of wide-spread deep coverings of snow and ice. Nature teaches and exacts activity of mind and body in our country. A full statement would show that the extremes of heat and cold in the northern belt of States will ever be among the most important influences in stimulating the energies, the prosperity, and the civilization of the American people."

Mr. Seymour concluded his Address with the following just and generous words :—

"Although we enjoy so many advantages, we must bear in mind that these will not of themselves give us prosperity. To gain this we must have intelligent and patient industry. The lack of these make many drawbacks. I have no skill as a farmer, but I am a lover of country life, and I hold my neighbors in high regard. I study their ways, I learn their virtues, and I learn their faults. Did time permit, I would speak of their errors and of many serious mistakes which they make in the management of their affairs. I may do so on some other occasion. We have many things to learn and many methods to improve, before farming will become what it ought to be in this country."

"To make clear the character of our continent, its fertility, extent and climate, strong terms have been used, which may seem to be exaggerations, calculated to mislead in some respects. The future will show their full influences. It is not probable we shall have, during the current year, such markets abroad as those which have given us wealth and business activity during the past six months. There is danger that these will be followed by a reaction in the prices of all kinds of property; that they have been carried above points at which they can be sustained. Prudent men will be cautious for a time, but the enduring facts set forth will govern in the end, and work out their results. We do not regard them in any spirit of ill-will or rivalry towards other countries. We hope and believe our prosperity will benefit all nations; that it will check abuses in Europe; teach monarchs that

they must study the welfare of their subjects. The mingling of all European lineages on our soil will soften prejudices and lead the people of other countries to look more kindly upon their neighbors. We have been enriched by full harvests here and by their failure elsewhere. But these failures, while they may help us, are subjects for deep regrets. If in the season before us, all the fields of the world shall yield unusual abundance, we will rejoice and thank God for his bounties to our fellow men in all quarters of the earth."

Silos and Ensilage.—We should glance at a very striking discovery in Agriculture recently made. The intelligent reader will require no minute explanations of the processes of preserving food for sheep and horned cattle. The first introduction was in 1876 by Mr. Morris of Oakland Manor, Maryland. He was the pioneer in Ensilage in America, and his practical success amounting to a demonstration attracted the attention of the principal farmers of the United States and Canada. We are indebted exclusively to Europe for this great discovery, as Europe itself is so deeply indebted to Baron Von Liebig as the father of agricultural chemistry.

The matter soon received attention from the Department of Agriculture at Washington, and in reply to a circular sent out from that quarter to all the farmers who were known to have made experiments in silos, requesting exact statements of their results, upwards of a hundred responses were returned, all of which were printed and sent broadcast over the land. It was the most important document that had ever come from the Department of Agriculture, and will probably be of more service to the farmers of America than any other publication that has emanated from that source. Although there was some diversity of opinion in regard to the extent of the actual gain, yet there was complete unanimity on the great and positive gain in the use of ensilage. Its superiority in use over the ordinary forms of feeding was clearly demonstrated, many of the correspondents raising the scale to the enormous extent of several hundred per cent. All this was the more surprising, since from their own accounts, the experimenters were little skilled in these new processes. The results of diffusing this information, is the most striking illustration of the extent and rapidity with which valuable knowledge on the vital subject of Agriculture, can be diffused over vast areas of soil, among an enlightened people.

SECTION FOURTH.

MANUFACTURES.

Their growth.—While they may constitute in narrow and thickly populated countries, their principal source of wealth as derived through commerce with foreign nations, they can hardly claim that rank here; nor is it likely that they will for a period to come. But while Agriculture ranks as our chiefest fountain of prosperity, yet in another sphere, manufactures contribute a vast and constantly augmenting source of opulence, independence and power. We will briefly consider the products of machinery, with whose hum

and clangor the songs of the labor of so many millions of our people are mingling.

The Government Returns for 1880, give us the following results, which are tabulated in Census bulletins 300 and 302, showing the capital invested in manufactures in the United States, the number of hands employed, the amount of wages paid, the value of materials used, and the value of products, for all the establishments of manufacturing industry, gas excepted, in each of the States and Territories, as returned at the census of 1880. The following are the totals :

Number of establishments.....	253,840
Capital.....	\$2,790,223,506
Average number of hands employed—	
Men above sixteen years.....	2,025,279
Women above fifteen years.....	531,753
Children and youths.....	181,918
Total amount paid in wages during the year.....	\$947,919,674
Value of materials.....	3,394,340,029
Value of products.....	5,369,667,706

States.	Establishments.	Capital.	Materials.	Products.
New York	42,739	\$514,246,575	\$679,578,650	\$1,080,638,696
Pennsylvania.....	31,225	474,499,993	462,977,250	744,748,045
Massachusetts.....	14,352	303,806,185	386,952,655	631,511,484
Illinois.....	14,549	140,652,066	289,826,907	414,864,673
Ohio.....	20,699	188,939,614	215,098,026	348,305,390

Next in order in value of products, but not in number of establishments, capital employed or value of material, follow : Connecticut, Missouri, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, California, Maryland, and Rhode Island, showing products ranging from \$185,680,211 for Connecticut to \$104,163,623 for Rhode Island. The other States and Territories are all below one hundred million in value of products.

Census bulletin No. 300 relates to specific cotton manufactures of the United States, and is supplemental to and amendatory of bulletin No. 46. The final figures of the specific manufacture of cotton yarn and woven fabrics, including some cotton hosiery, are as follows :

Number of spindles.....	10,653,435
Number of looms.....	225,759
Bales of cotton consumed.....	1,570,344
Number of persons employed, exclusive of administration, as overseers, operatives, watchmen, mechanics, yard-hands, or laborers,	172,544
Wages paid in the census year to these persons.....	\$42,040,510

It will be observed that the number of bales of cotton used in these specific mills is less than the consumption of cotton in the United States, according to the commercial statement for the year ending September 1, 1880.

In the report of specials we have accounted, in addition, for 40,597 bales. At that rate Mr. George W. Bond accounted for bales used in woollen mills, 94,071. Bales of cotton consumed, as reported above, 1,570,344. Total, 1,735,233. Additional since found by Mr. Bond, used in woollen mills, 5,540. Total, 1,740,773.

[NOTE.—The quantity used in woollen mills has since been increased to 99,611 bales.]

As this quantity was less than the current commercial statement for the cotton year, which ended three months later than the census year, and as I desired to check all my compilations, I sent for a return of cotton consumed in the cotton year to such a number of mills, North and South, as would give me a rule.

From these second returns I deduced the following result :

Northern mills, which consumed in the census year 704,244 bales, in the cotton year increased to.....	716,196
Southern mills, census year.....	146,384
Increased in cotton year to.....	151,510

At the proportion established by these figures the increased consumption of the cotton year over the census year was 30,221 bales.

The principal commercial statements of the cotton year were those of the National Cotton Exchange of New Orleans—1,705,334; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, of New York, 1,760,000 bales.

As there is a large amount of baled cotton used in upholstery, probably not less than 10,000 to 20,000 bales, I think the actual consumption of the cotton year was fully 1,760,000 bales, and the returns of the census are verified as fully as could be expected.

These statistics are official for 1880. But as the two following years were periods of great prosperity, the increase must have been considerably augmented.

SECTION FIFTH.

RAILROADS.

Road-Building in the Roman Empire.—We have sometimes been accused of comparing ourselves with the ancient Romans, and philosophical historians have traced certain striking resemblances between the Italian and the American Commonwealths. It would indeed seem strange, if with our more than imperial territory and boasted civilization, we should fall behind Rome in the policy which not only laid the foundation of that great Republic, but held it together ten centuries. Let the imagination go back eighteen hundred years, when that colossal structure overshadowed the world, and picture the bands of couriers standing by the fleetest Arabian horses in the court-yard of the Campidolio, waiting for the edicts of the Roman Senate, ready at the first signal to leap into their saddles, to carry the laws of Rome

to the farthest part of her Empire. We see those glistening helmets passing the archway, and we catch the last sight of them leaving a wake of fire from their horses' hoofs as they fly along the Appian Way, and the other great roads that led from Rome to the then three-quarters of the globe which owned her sway. Over those roads civilization took its course. A few days later, under the shadow of the all-conquering eagle, and a forest of lances, those edicts were read to the Roman legions, on the banks of the Indus and the Guadalquiver, the Danube, the Thames, and the Nile. Those roads were built for the people of Rome, and they were the cordons which bound the Empire together.

The Founders of States were, in ancient times, called road and bridge builders ; and no fact stands out more prominently in the history of nations, than that the strongest material element of civilization has been the roads and channels which opened between each capital and its dependencies, and between separate nations. When Benjamin Franklin was appointed the first Postmaster-General of the United States, he asked for facilities to carry the mails from the Capital of the Government to all the colonies, 'Since,' said he, 'the closer our connections, the stronger will be our Union'; and this policy being adopted, has been kept up to this day. The farther our Republic extended, the greater the necessity appeared for facilitating communication between the different States. We are all satisfied now, that the wider we have spread our territory, the stronger we have grown—and for the simple reason that we have followed out the policy of Rome, of uniting all our people by the most rapid and economic means of communication. Very little was done in opening the way for emigration to the West, until the Erie Canal, and the Cumberland Road were built. Before that time, the progress of our population westward was slow and toilsome.

The acquisition of California rendered it imperative to have the most direct intercourse possible with our Pacific possessions—Providence having decreed that our boundaries should be determined by oceans. There were no motives strong enough to induce private capital to build that railway, for there seemed no likelihood that as a private enterprise, it could ever reward its builders. But the People, in their organized capacity as a National Government, being the proprietor of the vast domain through which this road must pass, not only had the right to improve their property, as any other corporation, individual or public, may, but it saw a sufficient motive in the increased value that would be given to all the vast territories penetrated. However fertile the soil might be for agriculture, the farmers could have no motive for going to it. However vast the mineral wealth, no miner could be induced to start ; in fact, geographically, it was a *terra incognita*. Moreover, for purposes of national protection, a shorter route to our Western possessions was necessary in the event of international troubles ; while it was believed, as it has since been proved, that far more than the cost of the first Pacific Railroad would be saved to the Government, in reducing the expense of Indian wars, or rendering them improbable. There were two hundred

thousand Indians spread over that territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific. There could be little effectual or rapid progress made in the opening of those regions, unless by quick and effective movements of ponderable forces, by which population could be accelerated, and the homes of the settlers made secure. It may be alleged that the first Pacific Railroad cost the Government too much, and that individuals made too large profits. The same thing can be alleged against almost every other novel or great enterprise, whether undertaken by nations or individuals. But it is certain that in the increase of population, the augmentation of private wealth, the bringing of great areas of soil under cultivation, the discovery and development of the vast mineral wealth which has given to the country over fifteen hundred millions of gold and silver, in the establishment of new Territories and States, in the diffusion of the blessings of Christian civilization, and the grand impulse imparted to the peaceful conquest of the continent, the cost of the Pacific Railroad sinks into utter insignificance. Such was the wisdom of the policy, and such in part have been the immense results that have come from the construction of the first road to the Pacific. Events have proved that no measure has been adopted by the National Government, or by any or all the States, so beneficent, since the completion of the Erie Canal.

The Pacific Railroad had not been in operation many years, before thinking men saw that other railroads must be built; and if the emergency were not so great, the motives for their construction were strong enough to justify it, and the ultimate advantages were likely to prove still greater. Away to the North, lay a tract of country of even greater fertility, and containing perhaps still greater mineral treasures. Explorers demonstrated that within certain limits, following the isothermal belt, this route for a railway lay through regions better adapted to the construction of a road; while the geographical fact was patent to all reflecting men, that since the route lay where the parallels of longitude are narrower, the distance from Chicago to Puget Sound, was shorter by several hundred miles, than across the continent over broader degrees of longitude to San Francisco. A child could see this, by drawing a thread on a globe from New York to China and Japan, the East Indies and St. Petersburg,—that the saving in distance would be many hundred miles. The charter for the Northern Pacific Railroad was readily granted, because the Government was not asked to loan its credit, but only to grant such alternate sections of land, as when occupied, would bring the rest out of the wilderness into the market; although few of those who voted for the measure had any adequate conception of the great motives which moved the brave men who undertook the enterprise, nor much less of the high influence the building of that road would have upon the civilization of the world. The incorporators at once prosecuted their surveys, and pushed the work forward; and to-day the mighty enterprise would have been completed, had not the country been suddenly overwhelmed with a great financial crisis which ruined the principal bankers who had negotiated the cor-

poration's bonds, and paralyzed all the great interests of the country in common.

One of the strongest reasons for the early completion of this road, was the important fact that it is the direct route to Asia, and would effectually aid in giving us the control of the commerce of that old continent. The principal nations of Europe have for centuries been striving for the control of that trade. England, Portugal, Spain, and Holland, were long in rivalry which should win the prize by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; while before that, the Italian Republics, then the greatest commercial nations on the globe, had from the time of the Crusades, controlled it by overland caravan routes. Later, we saw England building thousands of miles of railway through India towards China, and the Czar of Russia pushing railways and armies across his own Siberia, and further south, towards the gates of India and China. A late stroke of statesmanship was the purchase of a controlling interest in the Suez Canal by Great Britain, a measure which agitated every court in Europe. But if we are wise, we shall seize that prize ourselves; and it can be done only by bringing New York nearer to Asia. We sometimes forget that the narrow distance of the straits dividing us from Russia, is not so great as from New York City to New Haven. We know, too, that the Emperor, the capitalists, and the people of Russia, look with the utmost sympathy upon our progress; and that from Puget Sound—with its vast forests and its solid mines of iron and coal, to furnish the best facilities for ship-building on the globe—a line of steamers to the Amoor River, would be one of the most profitable enterprises ever projected.

It will not be very long before this matter will be better understood. Every year shows how the importance of our commerce with Europe is dwindling. We are now absolutely independent of her, since we can produce every article of necessity, luxury, and taste which we need at home. But her dependence upon us is increasing every hour, since she is not likely soon to be able to dispense with our cotton or tobacco, and nothing but our bread-stuffs and provisions stand between her and possible famine, Russia being absolutely the only European nation which raises bread enough for her own people. We should therefore look for the direct trade with Asia, where the barriers which have separated two-thirds of the human race from intercourse with the civilized world, are fast melting away. This continent is much nearer to Asia than Europe can ever be; and as the direct, and by far the shortest line from New York to those eight hundred million people, is by the Northern Pacific Railroad, it is inevitable that this road must be completed as a necessity of commerce, and the sooner it is done, the better.

The same arguments which enforce the wisdom and the necessity of opening the Northern route to the Pacific, apply with no little force to the construction of several roads from the borders of Texas, to the Pacific. Their simple rehearsal would carry their vindication.

Number of Miles of Railroad in Operation:—

	1865.	1870.	1875.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.
New England States.....	3,834	4,494	5,638	5,814	5,873	5,903	5,997
Middle States.....	8,539	10,964	14,455	15,142	15,454	15,679	15,949
Southern States.....	9,129	11,163	13,287	13,812	14,019	14,333	14,908
Western States and Territories..	13,350	24,587	38,254	41,169	43,132	46,963	52,588
Pacific States and Territories..	233	1,677	2,462	3,152	3,298	3,619	4,229
Grand total.....	35,085	52,885	74,096	79,089	81,776	86,497	93,671

Since the date of the above we append the record of Railroad progress till the year 1883, which shows a still greater ratio of advancement.

RAILROAD BUILDING.

The Chicago Railway Age reports that 1,068 miles of road were completed in October, making 9,143 miles in ten months of 1882. About the close of October last year, only 5,763 miles had been reported for the year to date. But this is only what may be called the running count; it is impossible to get returns from quite all the railroads that are building or extending lines, and the addition at the close of the year of mileage not included in monthly or weekly reports, swells the aggregate about ten per cent. Hence it may be inferred that more miles of railroad had been completed from January 1 to November 1, 1882, than during the entire year 1881. In the months of November and December last year, the completion of 2,803 miles was announced, and after the close of the year about 820 miles not previously reported, but built at some time during the year, were discovered and added. If the construction during this and the next month, equals that of the last two months of 1881, the running report will show an aggregate of about 12,000 miles built in 1882, and there will still remain some addition for roads previously overlooked.

The building in October was largely in the far North. Over a third of the whole was along the Canada border, 172 miles in Minnesota, 131 in Dakota, and 62 in Montana; total, 365 miles. West of the Mississippi, along the Southern line only 142 miles were built, including only 60 in Texas. In Colorado 47 miles, and in other central States west of the Mississippi, 94 miles were built, making 141 miles. Adding only 33 miles for California and Oregon, we have 681 miles built in October west of the Mississippi River. In States south of the Ohio and Potomac, and east of the Mississippi, only 112 miles were built; in the Northern States east of the Ohio line only 64½ miles, and in Northern States between that line and the Mississippi 211 miles, including 55 in Ohio, 33 in Michigan, 36 in Indiana, 49 in Illinois, and 38 in Wisconsin. In all States east of the Mississippi only 387½ miles were built. Running a line along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Lake Erie

to the Gulf, we find only 176 miles of road built east of that line, and 892 miles west of it.

Apparently the record of railroad building in 1882 will include over 12,000 miles of road, an addition of nearly one-eighth to the entire mileage of the country in a single year. It is hard to believe that so marvellous a concentration of capital and industry in one branch of business can prove healthful or profitable. The country did not seem ill-supplied with railway facilities at the close of 1880, and it had been increasing its mileage even then at a rate deemed by many almost alarming. But it then had only about 95,000 miles in operation, and by the close of 1882 will probably have 116,000, an increase of twenty-two per cent. in two years. There has been no increase at all corresponding to this in population, in wealth, and resources, in any branch of production, in foreign trade, or in domestic trade. With nearly a quarter more railroads to move our products, we have an aggregate of products to be moved scarcely greater than we had at the close of the census year, with a much smaller demand for our products from abroad, and considerable evidence that the home market is not at present sufficient for the supply. Yet we have put into new railroads not far from five hundred million dollars in actual cash within two years.

SECTION SIXTH.

GROWTH OF WEALTH, AND ITS RATE OF INCREASE.

In Periods from 1798 to 1880.—In a very able and carefully prepared *résumé*, in *The International Review*, May, 1882, appear the following considerations and tables, which doubtless approximate close enough to the facts to be reliable. The author, Mr. Henry Gannett says :

“It is obvious that the wealth of an industrious and prosperous community should increase faster than its population. The wealth of the country being the aggregated wealth of its citizens, any increase of their income over their expenditures adds to the total wealth of the country. That this is continually on the increase is too apparent to require discussion. Every year adds to our stock of labor-saving machinery and increases its usefulness; waste lands are being rapidly reclaimed and devoted to the service of man, and better modes of culture are continually being adopted. Means of transportation are rapidly being extended, and by their means capital is constantly being handled to greater advantage, and markets for agriculture and manufacturing products are continually being extended.

“At what rate has our country been increasing in wealth? That it has been in excess of that of population is the general belief, founded on good grounds, and this in spite of the immense immigration to our shores of the poverty-stricken peasants from the Old World. I have collected certain data bearing directly or indirectly upon the question of the valuation of the country at past periods since the beginning of the century, and have attempted to make estimates of the valuation from these data at the end of each decade. Of course, estimates of this kind can lay no claim to accuracy; they can be regarded only as the merest approximations from which only general conclusions can with safety be drawn.

“Looking over the ground for material on which to base estimates, we find first that the censuses of 1880, 1870, 1860, and 1850 give at once the principal item sought for—the total

valuation—in the first three, divided as real and personal property. These figures are as follows:

	ASSESSED VALUATION.			TRUE VALUATION.
	Real Estate.	Personal Property.	Total.	Total.
1880	\$13,036,512,692	\$3,866,242,941	\$16,902,755,893	\$40,000,000,000
1870	9,914,780,825	4,264,205,907	14,178,986,732	30,068,518,507
1860	6,973,006,049	5,111,553,956	12,084,560,005	16,159,616,068
1850 .....	.....	.....	.....	7,135,780,228

“These true valuations show a rate of increase of wealth as follows: From 1850 to 1860, 126 per cent.; from 1860 to 1870, 86 per cent.; from 1870 to 1880, 33 per cent., being a rapidly decreasing ratio, until, in the decade 1870 to 1880, the increase in wealth is but a little greater than that of population. Examining, however, the changes in assessed value of real estate, a more constant ratio is detected. Thus, from 1860 to 1870 the increase was 42 per cent., while in the succeeding decade it was 32 per cent.

“The valuation of 1850, as above, is, it may be premised, very uncertain. It was the first attempt made by the General Government to obtain the total valuation of the country, and, as will be shown further on, there are very good grounds for suspecting that it is much below the true valuation. Prior to 1850 the figures bearing upon this point are very scanty; indeed, the only figures that are at all complete consist of the valuation of houses and lands made in 1798 for the purposes of taxation for the support of the General Government. This valuation, which may be regarded as representing the real estate of the country at that time, showed a total of about \$620,000,000. In 1815 and 1817 valuations were made of the real estate in a number of the States for a similar purpose, but, unfortunately, this was not done generally, as a provision in the law allowed the Governments of such States as preferred, to assume their share of the amount to be raised by the tax, and, therefore, in these States there was no valuation made.

“A comparison between the valuation of real estate in 1798 and that in 1860, 1870, and 1880 will suffice for the determination of the average rate of increase between these dates in valuation of real estate. This, however, predicates little or nothing regarding the increase in valuation of the personal property, which, while it has undoubtedly been greater than that of the real estate, has not, by any means, been dependent upon it. In order, therefore, to form an estimate of the valuation of the country prior to 1850, it would be necessary to look elsewhere and approach the subject indirectly.

“There are a number of classes of data—elements, as they may be called—of the national wealth which give indications of its condition. Among these may be mentioned its imports and exports, the receipts from customs duties, the capital invested in banking and the banking circulation, the amount of specie, the amount of tonnage employed in the foreign trade, and the expenses of carrying on the General Government. These different classes of statistics may separately give very different and contradictory results regarding any special period; still, their average may fairly be considered as representing the approximate condition of the country's resources. The amount of imports may be regarded as affording a tolerably direct indication of the financial condition of the country. When in prosperity the country spends money freely, especially in luxuries, most of which are obtained from abroad, while in the reverse condition, as might be expected, the amount of imports would decrease to the minimum consistent with supplying actual necessities. The amount of customs duties varies to a certain extent with the amount of imports, and, other things being equal, is rather an exaggeration of them, as the duties are levied mainly upon luxuries. This factor is, however, dependent upon the tariff as laid by the Government. The amount of exports is scarcely inferior, as an indication of wealth, to the imports, but it is less sensitive to the

oscillations of the financial situation. In a time of prosperity our products are at first used more freely at home, so that a certain degree of prosperity is generally attained before it shows itself by an increase in exports. Again, the exports are largely controlled by the state of the foreign markets. Of course, if we cannot pay freight, and at the same time sell as cheaply in foreign countries as the products of those countries can be sold there, we cannot afford to export. The amount of shipping engaged in our foreign trade is, of course, closely allied to the total of exports and imports, and as such plays but a secondary part in any estimates.

"The amount invested in the banking business and the amount of bank circulation can be considered simply as elements of wealth without affording any general indication of the condition of the country, excepting so far as they indicate greater or less activity of capital. The amount of specie in the country is of very little value as an indication of the national wealth. This is especially true of the United States, inasmuch as the immense production of gold and silver in this country during the last thirty years has been vastly in excess of any other element of wealth. More than that, our statistics regarding the amount of specie in the country are very vague and scanty. The estimates which have been made for early periods are very discordant. Mr. Knox, the Comptroller of the Currency, quotes an old estimate made for the year 1776, of \$4,000,000. For 1791 estimates range from \$9,000,000 to \$16,000,000. In 1821 the amount may be given with greater confidence as between \$18,000,000 and \$20,000,000. An estimate by Tucker places the amount in 1841 at \$57,500,000, while in 1879 Mr. Burchard places the amount at \$398,541,683, and in 1880 at \$501,555,711. These figures, if they indicate anything, show a ratio of increase of nearly or quite 5,000 per cent. since the beginning of the century.

"The expenses of the General Government might be expected to keep pace in some degree with the valuation of the country, and would unquestionably do so were there no disturbing elements introduced; but, as a matter of fact, wars and other events calling for abnormal expenditures will inevitably produce abnormal disturbances in the governmental expenses. Still, the results given by this class of statistics cannot be considered as by any means valueless, and they have been used, in connection with the other classes of statistics mentioned, in the belief that the abnormal variations will be to a greater or less extent counteracted and overbalanced by the others.

"The following table gives, in millions and tenths of millions, the expenses of the Government, the bank capital and circulation, net imports and domestic exports, customs duties, and the tonnage employed in American trade for each decade from the beginning of the century. In the cases of imports and exports and customs duties, in order to avoid accidental variations due to minor local causes, the mean of the ten years extending from the fifth year preceding the period in question to the fifth year after it, has been taken excepting in the case of 1880, where I am perforce obliged to use the figures for that year only.

"In regard to the tonnage employed in American trade, I have been unable to obtain the amounts employed in 1840 and 1850.

DECADES.	Expenses of Government.	Bank Capital.	Bank Circulation. *	Net Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Customs Duties.	Tonnage employed in American Trade.
1800.....	\$10.8	\$31.3	\$10.5	\$49.7	\$37.4	\$8.7	807
1810.....	13.6	50.0	25.0	53.6	32.6	10.7	987
1820.....	19.3	137.2	44.9	70.8	56.8	19.0	880
1830.....	24.6	145.2	61.3	77.9	65.4	23.1	1005
1840.....	24.3	358.4	107.0	108.0	99.2	21.2	....
1850.....	40.9	217.3	131.4	183.4	175.8	41.3	....
1860.....	63.2	421.9	207.1	279.6	277.9	57.1	5000
1870.....	293.6	630.0	294.0	489.1	465.2	171.5	6270
1880.....	264.9	660.5	343.8	741.5	833.3	182.8	15240

"All the columns in the above table show one marked feature in common, a gradual increase from 1800 up to 1850 or 1860, and from that date to 1880 a very rapid increase, almost a leap. The increase in the expenses of the Government from 1860 to 1870 is, of course, due to the war of the Rebellion. The increase in the banking business, as indicated by its capital and circulation, in the imports and exports, the customs duties and tonnage, imply an immense extension of active capital, and show that, while our progress has been steady and sure during the first five or six decades, in the last two or three it has been extremely rapid.

"In the four following tables is shown the rate of increase of each of these seven elements; first, with relation to the status in 1880; second, related to that in 1870; third, to that in 1860, and fourth, to that in 1850. The figures are given in percentages:

Rate of Increase from the Several Periods to 1880.

DECADES.	Expenses of Government.	Bank Capital.	Bank Circulation.	Net Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Customs Duties.	Tonnage employed in American Trade.
1800	2,353	2,010	3,174	1,392	2,128	2,001	1,788
1810	1,848	1,221	1,275	1,253	2,456	1,608	1,444
1820	1,273	381	666	947	1,367	862	1,632
1830	977	355	461	852	1,174	691	1,416
1840	990	84	221	587	740	762	....
1850	548	204	162	304	374	343	....

Rate of Increase from the Several Periods to 1870.

DECADES.	Expenses of Government.	Bank Capital.	Bank Circulation.	Net Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Customs Duties.	Tonnage employed in American Trade.
1800.....	2,619	1,913	2,700	884	1,144	1,871	677
1810.....	2,059	1,160	1,076	813	1,327	1,503	535
1820.....	1,421	359	555	591	719	803	613
1830.....	1,093	334	380	528	611	642	524
1840.....	1,106	76	175	353	369	709	...
1850.....	618	190	124	167	176	315	...

Rate of Increase from the Several Periods to 1860.

DECADES.	Expenses of Government.	Bank Capital.	Bank Circulation.	Net Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Customs Duties.	Tonnage employed in American Trade.
1800.....	485	1,248	1,872	463	643	556	520
1810.....	365	744	728	422	752	434	407
1820.....	227	208	361	295	389	201	468
1830.....	157	191	238	259	325	147	398
1840.....	160	18	94	159	180	169	...
1850.....	55	94	58	52	58	38	...

Rate of Increase from the Several Periods to 1850.

DECADES.	Expenses of Govern- ment.	Bank Capital.	Bank Circula- tion.	Net Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Customs Duties.	Tonnage employed in Ameri- can Trade.
1800	279	594	1,151	269	370	375	....
1810	201	335	426	242	439	286	....
1820	112	58	193	159	210	117	....
1830	66	50	114	135	169	79	....
1840	68	Loss 39	23	70	77	95	....

“The following table gives the means of the above rates of increase:

Mean Rates of Increase.

1800-1880	2,121	1800-1870	1,687	1800-1860	827	1800-1850	506
1810-1880	1,591	1810-1870	1,210	1810-1860	550	1810-1850	322
1820-1880	1,028	1820-1870	723	1820-1860	307	1820-1850	142
1830-1880	847	1830-1870	587	1830-1860	245	1830-1850	102
1840-1880	564	1840-1870	465	1840-1860	130	1840-1850	49
1850-1880	323	1850-1870	265				

“The valuation of houses and lands in 1798, compared with the assessed valuation of real estate in 1880, 1870, and 1860, shows the following rates per cent. of increase: 1798 to 1880, 2,003 per cent.; 1798 to 1870, 1,499 per cent.; 1798 to 1860, 1,025 per cent.—results which agree quite well with those above deduced, when the fact is considered that this is but one of the two elements of the valuation.

“From these tables showing rates of increase, and from the valuations of 1880, 1870, 1860, and 1850, as given by the census, are deduced the following valuations at the different decennial epochs. In the first table these valuations are deduced by reduction from the valuation in 1880, the second from that of 1870, and so on. The range among the results for each period is, of course, due in the main to the character of the valuation from which the reductions are made, and shows that the valuations of 1880, 1870, and 1860 are in a high degree accordant with one another; while that of 1850, on the other hand, is decidedly too small, all the determinations made from it being only about two-thirds as great as those from the other census determinations. Moreover, the results for the valuation of 1850, as determined from the census figures of 1880 and 1870, although not agreeing closely, are much larger than those given by the census of 1850. On these accounts I have decided to adopt the result given by comparison rather than the census figures.

“The amounts are given in millions of dollars.

DECADES.	Valuation as deduced from the Census Valuation in			
	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.
1800	\$1,801	\$1,683	\$1,743	\$1,178
1810	2,365	2,295	2,486	1,691
1820	3,578	3,653	3,970	2,949
1830	4,224	4,377	4,684	3,533
1840	6,024	5,322	7,026	4,789
1850	9,456	8,238	.....	.....

"Taking the means of the above results, with the exception of those derived from the valuation of 1850, we obtain, as the approximate valuations at the several epochs in question, the following, which are placed in juxtaposition with the decennial rates of increase, the population, its rate of increase, and the per capita valuation :

DECADES.	Valuation, Millions.	Per Cent. of Increase.	Population.	Per Cent. of Increase.	Per Capita Valuation.
1800	\$1,742	...	5,308,483	...	\$328
1810	2,382	37	7,239,881	36	329
1820	3,734	57	9,633,882	33	386
1830	4,328	16	12,866,020	34	336
1840	6,124	41	17,069,453	33	359
1850	8,800	44	23,191,876	36	379
1860	16,160	84	31,443,321	35	514
1870	30,068	86	38,558,371	23	780
1880	40,000	33	50,155,783	30	798

"It will be seen that the rate of increase of wealth is everywhere greater than that of population, except in the decade between 1820 and 1830, where it falls very decidedly below it, and that the amount per capita which is reached in 1820 is greater than at any subsequent period up to 1860.

"As was pointed out before in this article, the first half of the century witnessed a gradual, but tolerably steady growth. During this period the average increase in wealth exceeded but little that of population, the average ratio being as 39 is to 34½. The most salient features of this half of the century were the unusual rise between 1810 and 1820, and the period of great commercial depression between 1820 and 1830, as illustrated by a gain of but 16 per cent. In the decade between 1850 and 1860 the valuation of the country appears to have made an immense advance, which was continued from 1860 to 1870 in spite of the war—or was, more probably, fostered by it—until the past decade, when the long-continued commercial depression, with the accompanying shrinkage of values, reduced the rate of increase, as shown above, to 33 per cent. The past decade cannot, therefore, be considered as a normal one, and it is believed that the census of 1890 will show a valuation which will bring the average of the period between 1870 and 1890 more nearly to an equality with those immediately preceding.

"The great increase in valuation between 1850 and 1870 was, however, due, in all probability, only in part to an increase in intrinsic values, a part being caused by a relative decrease in value of our circulating medium by which all values are measured, caused by the immense amounts of gold and silver produced by California and the other western States and Territories, during that period."

SECTION SEVENTH.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

The Report issued by the National Bureau of Education for 1880.—It is a massive volume of statistics, which, with the numerous illustrative pamphlets from the same source, concerning the state of education in most of the civilized countries of the world, constitute a library of facts, of very great value, of which we can scarcely find space for even the briefest summary. These publications reflect the highest credit upon the able commissioner, the learned and indefatigable Hon. John Eaton.

In submitting his Report for 1880, the Superintendent says :—

“The matter at the disposal of the Office relates to an indefinite number of topics bearing upon the education of the young, and its publication would tend to promote the intelligence, virtue, and liberty of every individual and every community in the nation. The citizen draws from the nation the final guarantee of his rights and privileges; to his character the nation confides its peace, prosperity, and perpetuity, but leaves the legal control over the education which largely determines that character to the State in which he lives; and the State in turn leaves much of the responsibility to the community of which he forms a part. Each agency has its part to do in this great work, though each may omit to exercise some portion of its powers.¹”

“The nation contributes to this general enlightenment as a liberal patron of literature, science, and culture; the great school funds of most of the States, the endowments of State universities and agricultural colleges, have come from the beneficence of the national hand; copyrights for literary productions and patents for useful inventions bear the national stamp; and the largest sums for the promotion of geographical, geological, and ethnological research come from the national treasury. If it be allowed that these are right and expedient measures, certainly then the right and expediency of furnishing all the information demanded of the Office cannot be questioned. However the funds are applied, whether for clerical work, or research, or for printing, they contribute directly and exclusively to the purpose specified in the act creating the Office.²”

Total Population of School Age in all the States and Territories from 1871 to 1880 inclusive.—Increase from 9,632,969, to 15,202,962. Number enrolled in public schools, from 6,393,085, to 9,785,521. Number of teachers (of both sexes) from 180,635, to 280,644. Public School income, from \$64,594,919, to \$83,950,239. Public School expenditures, from \$61,179,220 to \$80,732,838. Permanent School Fund, \$41,466,854, to \$122,878,839. Salaries of School teachers in 1880, \$55,158,299. Grand total, \$80,732,838.

A great increase in normal schools and schools for preparing teachers is noticeable, from 65 in 1871, with 10,922 students, to 220 in 1880, with 43,077 students. Still more remarkable is the growth of the kindergärten system, from 42, with 1,252 pupils, in 1873, to 232 in 1880, with 8,871 pupils.

¹ “The memorable words of Bishop Doane, in 1838 to the people of New Jersey, are as true now as when they were uttered, and as surely applicable to the nation as to the State or the community :

“We say that *knowledge is the universal right of man*; and we need bring no clearer demonstration than that intellectual nature capable of it, thirsting for it, expanding and aspiring with it, which is God's own argument in every living soul. We say that the assertion for himself of this inherent right, to the full measure of his abilities and opportunities, is *the universal duty of man*; and that whoever fails of it thwarts the design of his Creator, and in proportion as he neglects the gift of God dwarfs and enslaves and brutifies the high capacity for truth and liberty which he inherits. And all the experience and every page of history confirm the assertion, in the close kindred which has everywhere been proved of ignorance and vice with wretchedness and slavery. And we say further, that the security of this inherent right to every individual,

and its extension in the fullest measure to the greatest number, is *the universal interest of man*; so that they who deny or abridge it to their fellows, or who encourage or from want of proper influence permit them to neglect it, are undermining the foundations of government, weakening the hold of society, and preparing the way for that unsettling and dissolving of all human institutions which must result in anarchy and ruin, and in which they who have the greatest stake must be the greatest sufferers.”

² “The statute establishing the Bureau says its duties and purpose ‘shall be to collect statistics and facts showing the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.’”

The number of colleges open to women has doubled in ten years, as have also the agricultural colleges and schools of science.

In theology there is an increase of 60 per cent. in the number of schools and students; in law, an increase of 60 per cent. in number of institutions, and of 80 per cent. in number of students; in medicine, the institutions have increased in number 50 per cent., and the students 100 per cent.

Statistics are also given in relation to schools for the blind, deaf, and dumb, reform schools, orphan asylums, schools for training nurses, and schools for Indian boys.

A report of examinations made to ascertain the proportion of the children affected with color-blindness and near-sightedness is also inserted, as well as interesting facts in relation to school litigation, and exemption of school property from taxation. Altogether, the report is one of great and permanent value and interest.

The following table is too comprehensive to be omitted :

Statistical Summary of Institutions, Instructors, and Students, as collected by the United States Bureau of Education, from 1871 to 1880.

	1871.			1880.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
City schools.....	....	19,448	1,417,172	....	29,264	1,710,461
Normal schools.....	65	445	10,922	220	1,466	43,077
Commercial and business colleges..	60	168	6,460	162	619	27,146
Kindergärten.....	....	....	....	232	524	8,871
Institutions for secondary instruction	638	3,171	80,227	1,264	6,009	110,277
Preparatory schools.....	....	....	....	125	860	13,239
Institutions for the superior instruction of women.....	136	1,163	12,841	227	2,340	25,780
Universities and colleges.....	290	2,962	49,827	364	4,160	59,594
Schools of science.....	41	303	3,303	83	953	11,584
Schools of theology.....	94	369	3,204	142	633	5,242
Schools of law.....	39	129	1,722	48	229	3,134
Schools of medicine, of dentistry, and of pharmacy.....	82	750	7,045	120	1,660	14,006
Training schools for nurses.....	....	....	....	15	59	323
Institutions for the deaf and dumb.	38	242	3,539	56	418	6,657
Institutions for the blind.....	26	388	2,032	30	532	2,032
Schools for feeble-minded children.	9	....	886	13	486	2,472
Orphan asylums, industrial schools, and miscellaneous charities.....	....	....	....	430	4,217	59,161
Reform schools.....	20	....	5,897	68	1,054	11,921

We can now leave the further consideration of the *System of Popular Education*, which as the corner-stone of our temple of higher learning, received such ample space in preceding Sections, and give some attention to institutions for maturer studies.

In an admirable paper—*International Review*, September, 1881—a learned and careful writer thus speaks of the *Endowments of Colleges* :

"The three hundred and fifty-eight colleges of the United States report the value of their 'grounds, buildings, and apparatus' to be \$36,871,213; and the amount of their productive funds, \$37,071,958. The property of the wealthiest, together with their entire annual income, is thus estimated: ¹

	Buildings, Grounds, etc.	Productive Funds.	Annual Income.
University of California.....	\$805,000	\$750,000	\$105,000
Yale College.....	.....	587,000	136,000
University of Iowa.....	400,000	218,000	32,000
Bowdoin College.....	400,000	221,000	26,000
Johns Hopkins University.....	.....	3,000,000	180,000
Amherst College.....	400,000	410,000	51,000
Harvard College.....	.....	3,615,000 ²	231,000
Tufts College.....	250,000	600,000	38,000
University of Michigan.....	450,000	.....	about 50,000
University of Minnesota.....	200,000	425,000	42,000
Washington University (St. Louis).....	300,000	500,000	80,000
Rutgers College.....	400,000	313,000	29,000
College of New Jersey.....	800,000	859,000	75,000
Hamilton College.....	320,000	260,000	24,000
Cornell University.....	912,000	1,263,000	100,000
Vassar College.....	689,000	281,000	63,000
Dartmouth College.....	100,000	450,000 ³	46,000 ³
Columbia College.....	853,000	4,763,000	315,000
Union College.....	430,000	300,000	29,000
Oberlin College.....	400,000	120,000	12,000
Lafayette College.....	675,000	.....	23,000
Lehigh University.....	600,000	1,900,000	76,000
Brown University.....	.....	600,000	66,000
Vanderbilt University.....	450,000	600,000	42,000
University of Wisconsin.....	350,000	483,000	32,000

"In comparison with the University of Oxford and of Cambridge the wealthiest American colleges are poor. Previous to the last decade little was known of either the property or the income of these universities; but the report of the commissioners published in 1874 showed that in 1871 their entire income (including the colleges) was £754,000. Of the value of their property it was and is impossible to form an exact estimate; but a principal item was 319,718 acres of land. All Souls' College, Oxford, had in 1871 an income of £18,000; Merton, £17,500; New, £30,000; St. John's, Cambridge, £50,000; and Trinity about £60,000. Of the twenty German universities only three—Leipsic, Heidelberg, and Griefswald—are known to possess property, and this in an amount not sufficient to meet expenses. From the State treasury are drawn the funds necessary for the prosecution of the university's work. For their income the English universities depend mainly on their property; the German on State appropriations; and the American colleges on both property and tuition fees in about equal amounts.

"The State universities, of which there are not less than seventeen in this country, are established and supported by the governments of the Commonwealths in which they are situated. They are an integral part of the educational system of each State. Their buildings are public property, and the main portion of their funds is drawn from the public chest. But the funds and properties of other colleges and universities are derived principally from the gift and bequest of individuals.

"The history of the financial beginnings of the older colleges is very commonplace; the

¹ These estimates, as well as many that appear in other paragraphs, are based upon the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1878.

² Entire University.

³ All departments.

history of one is, in broad outlines, the history of all. It is a history of penury, of endeavors for an endowment, and of constant needs far outrunning the means of supply. That this was the condition of all the older American colleges, excepting William and Mary, which down to the Revolutionary War was the best endowed of all our institutions of learning, is well known; but it is not so generally recognized that the colleges founded in the present century have, with a few remarkable exceptions, passed through the same struggle for an ample endowment.

"Williams College received as its original fund about fourteen thousand dollars, one quarter of which was derived from the proceeds of a lottery, and the principal part of the remainder from the estate of Colonel Ephraim Williams. Bowdoin's endowment consisted mainly of several townships of land lying in Maine, and of gifts of James Bowdoin in both land and money. Amherst at the time of its establishment rejoiced in the possession of fifty thousand dollars, raised by small contributions, and in the generosity of other friends who gave, to a large extent, the materials and the labor which erected its first building. The struggle of Wesleyan University for a foothold was long and hard. Contributions for its endowment were, as President Fisk said, 'as meagre as the leakage of a miser's purse.' Oberlin began in the purchase of a tract of land three miles square at a dollar and fifty cents an acre by its missionary founders, Shipherd and Stewart. Kenyon was, like Oberlin, hewn out of the wilderness by Bishop Chase, supported by five thousand guineas from England. The large majority of the better colleges of the West, founded between 1840 and 1880, have been obliged to contend, year after year, against the most common and pressing wants. Their students have been few, and these few as poor in purse as the college. The salaries of their professors have too frequently been the merest pittance. Their funds have run so low that bankruptcy has constantly stared them in the face. They have been aided by donations from the churches of the religious denominations which they represent. Their presidents have besieged the liberal and wealthy men of the East for gifts or bequests. Many of them are now firmly established; but some others, not a few, cannot yet see the dawn of their financial prosperity.

"Within the last score of years donations to the colleges have been most numerous and munificent. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that since 1860 they have received amounts fully equal to their entire valuation in that year. In 1847, when Abbott Lawrence gave fifty thousand dollars to Harvard, it was said to be 'the largest amount ever given at one time during the lifetime of the donor to any public institution in this country.' Several colleges and universities have within this period been founded with endowments sufficient from their very beginning to make them independent of the whim of legislatures or of the income of tuition fees. Cornell University received by a Congressional land-grant nearly a million acres, besides five hundred thousand dollars from Ezra Cornell, whose name it perpetuates. Vassar also began with a gift of more than four hundred thousand dollars from Matthew Vassar. Smith received before its doors were open about half a million from Sophia Smith. Wellesley was at the outset well endowed by Henry F. Durant. The Johns Hopkins University possessed before it had enrolled a single student not less than three millions of dollars. The older colleges have added vastly to their resources within these last two decades. Harvard's property has tripled in value; Yale's in the various departments has increased by not less than a million and a half; Princeton's by more than a million, and Dartmouth's by a large amount. During President Stearn's administration of twenty-two years Amherst received more than eight hundred thousand dollars.

"If, as the Commissioner of Education has stated, over fifty million dollars have been given to the educational institutions of the United States, more than thirty millions were given to the colleges in the eighth decade of the present century. The amounts given in each of the first eight years, for which only are the statistics complete, are:

1871.....	\$8,435,999 ¹	1875.....	\$2,703,650
1872.....	6,282,461	1876.....	2,743,248
1873.....	8,238,141	1877.....	1,273,991
1874.....	1,845,354	1878.....	1,389,633

These sums were contributed in amounts running from a few dollars to hundreds of thousands, and in a few instances to millions. Among the most munificent of the benefactors, in addition to several already named, are George Peabody, Mrs. Valeria G. Stone of Malden, Mass., Johns Hopkins of Baltimore, Ario Pardee of Hazelton, Pa., John C. Green of New York, Henry W. Sage of Brooklyn, Samuel Williston of Easthampton, Mass., Joseph E. Sheffield, Amasa Stone of Ohio, Nathan Matthews, and Nathaniel Thayer of Boston, and Alexander Agassiz of Cambridge. The roll might be lengthened to indefinite limits, but these names represent the larger gifts. The gifts of the younger Agassiz in carrying on the Museum which his father founded already exceed three hundred thousand dollars. Nathan Matthews and Nathaniel Thayer have each given more than a quarter of a million to Harvard University. Amasa Stone gave five hundred thousand dollars to Western Reserve College, on condition of its removal from Hudson to Cleveland. Samuel Williston gave one hundred and fifty thousand to Amherst College, and richly endowed the seminary at Easthampton which bears his name. Joseph E. Sheffield gave to the Scientific School of Yale College nearly four hundred thousand dollars. The gifts of Henry W. Sage and Ezra Cornell to the University at Ithaca, N. Y., aggregate more than a million. To Princeton the late John C. Green gave seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and to Lafayette Ario Pardee has, since 1864, given at different intervals more than half a million. The largest single bequest ever made, at least in this country, if not in any country, to an educational institution is the three millions which Johns Hopkins, a Baltimore merchant, gave to found the university which transmits his name. Mrs. Valeria G. Stone—the wife of a Boston merchant who retired from business in 1850, and who received some two millions from her husband, with the understanding that it should be chiefly distributed to ‘educational, charitable, or benevolent institutions, causes, or objects’—has thus far disbursed about twelve hundred thousand dollars. As Mr. Hopkins left a large share of his property to one institution, it is by contrast interesting to note the different collegiate institutions to which Mrs. Stone saw fit, under the advice of judicious trustees, to devote a considerable portion of her estate :

Amherst College, Stone Professorship of Biology	\$50,000
American Missionary Association, for institutions at Nashville, Atlanta, Talladega, Tougaloo, and New Orleans	150,000
Bowdoin College, Professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and to finish Memorial Hall	75,000
Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.	10,000
Dartmouth College, Stone Professorship of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy....	35,000
Drury College, Springfield, Mo.	75,750
Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., Professorship in Natural History.	30,000
Iowa College.....	22,500
Oberlin College	50,000
Wellesley College, Stone Hall.....	110,000
Olivet College, Olivet, Mich.....	20,000
Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.....	20,000
Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.....	20,000
Marietta College, Marietta, O.....	10,000
Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.....	20,000
Roberts College, Constantinople.....	20,000

¹ All educational purposes.

Howard University, Washington, D. C.....	\$25,000
Berea College, Berea, Ky.....	10,000
New West Education Commission.....	12,500
Doane College, Crete, Neb.....	5,000
Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.....	5,000
Washburne College, Topeka, Kansas.....	5,000

"George Peabody gave about eight millions to benevolent objects, of which about one quarter forms the 'Southern Educational Fund.' To Yale and Harvard he gave each one hundred and fifty thousand dollars; to Washington College, Virginia, sixty thousand; to Kenyon, Ohio, twenty-five thousand; and to various scientific institutes about a million and a half, two-thirds of which endowed the institution at Baltimore.

"In respect to the geographical distribution of these benefactions it is evident that wherever the greatest wealth is combined with the highest degree of intelligence they are the largest. If the people of a State are wealthy, but are not of a high order of intelligence, they will not give generously to the endowment of colleges. If they are highly intelligent, but poor in purse, as the people of Maine, for instance, they cannot give. If they are lacking in both intelligence and wealth, as they are in too many of the Southern States, they also cannot give. But wherever they are both wealthy and intelligent, as in New York and Massachusetts, the benevolences are the most liberal. From the Eastern States, in which the highest degrees of wealth and education are combined, a large proportion of the gifts which are received in the West and South are derived. These general statements are illustrated in the following table, which represents the gifts made to the collegiate institutions of the different States :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Gifts to Universities and Colleges.		STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Gifts to Universities and Colleges.	
	1877.	1878.		1877.	1878.
Alabama.....	.....	.....	Brought forward..	\$606,055	\$808,578
Arkansas.....	.....	.....	Nebraska.....	5,550	12,000
California.....	\$2,139	\$125,000	New Hampshire...	15,000	35,000
Colorado.....	2,000	5,000	New Jersey.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	27,301	189,590	New York.....	182,307	118,727
Delaware.....	.....	.....	North Carolina.....	.....	17,900
Florida.....	.....	.....	Ohio.....	137,619	64,295
Georgia.....	20,000	50,000	Oregon.....	1,000	2,000
Illinois.....	53,091	58,970	Pennsylvania.....	144,100	161,880
Indiana.....	4,200	21,500	Rhode Island.....	.....	9,774
Iowa.....	45,291	14,100	South Carolina...	15,000	9,172
Kansas.....	8,400	1,600	Tennessee.....	7,360	36,981
Kentucky.....	11,450	23,750	Texas.....	25,000	16,000
Louisiana.....	60,000	.....	Vermont.....	.....	10,000
Maine.....	1,500	10,500	Virginia.....	130,000	62,000
Maryland.....	.....	22,400	Vest Virginia.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	233,839	238,532	Wisconsin.....	5,000	22,165
Michigan.....	17,264	27,700	District of Columbia	.....	3,161
Minnesota.....	2,140	756	Utah.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	Wash'ton Territory	.....	.....
Missouri.....	117,440	19,180			
Carried forward..	\$606,055	\$808,578	Total.....	\$1,273,991	\$1,389,633

"About one-third of these amounts was given to the colleges in New England, and somewhat more than one-half to the colleges of the seaboard States. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York the largest gifts fell.

"Of the usefulness of gifts and bequests made to colleges there is no question. So long as the colleges are designed to promote learning, to ennoble character, and to foster righteousness, so long will the endowment of them prove beneficent. Even if the State should establish, as has been done in several Commonwealths, a university for the training of its youth, and allow them to resort thither with the same freedom as to its other public schools, it is clear that in other Commonwealths the best colleges are, and for generations will be, those endowed by individual citizens. It is also clear that a college cannot meet its barest expenses from its natural source of income—the tuition fees. Even Harvard, with a fee double or triple that of most colleges, spent in a recent year twenty thousand dollars more than it received from students; and this cost was exclusive of the expense of the library and of the general administration. Endowment is essential to the continued existence of a college.

"The important question, in which part of the United States is the need of educational endowments most pressing, is not easily answered. President Magoun of Iowa College affirms, 'that the next fifteen millions of dollars for higher institutions of learning should come West.' In 1871, before assuming the presidency of Dartmouth College, Professor Bartlett asserted that there 'was a far more vital need elsewhere' than on the Atlantic coast for the fifteen millions of dollars which up to that year had been given to the Atlantic colleges. But President Eliot constantly declares that, in relation to its financial demands, Harvard must be regarded as a poor, and not as she is usually considered a rich college. At the beginning of the last decade the benefactions to Western colleges amounted to one-eighth of those to Eastern. Up to the year 1871 the largest individual donation made to a Western college was fifty thousand dollars—a sum which was given by Mr. Carleton, of Boston to found the institution in Minnesota which honors his name. One method of determining the place wherein lies the greatest need of additional endowment consists in comparing the amount of the funds which the colleges of a State possess with the population of that State (see Table, page 38).

"By comparing the population of these States with the amounts held by their colleges, some remarkable contrasts are made evident. New Jersey and Mississippi have the same population, yet the colleges of the former have fourfold the endowment of the Southern State. Virginia and Texas have nearly the same population, yet the State in which Jefferson founded a university has nearly five times the college property which Texas has. The population of New York exceeds that of North Carolina nearly four times, but its college endowments exceed those of North Carolina more than twenty times. Maryland, Louisiana, and Kansas have each a population between nine hundred thousand and a million, yet Maryland's college property is eight times in excess of that of either of the other two States. California has a population slightly larger than that of Arkansas, yet the endowments of its colleges are thirty-seven times larger. The ten New England and Middle States possess twenty-eight per cent. of the entire population, and forty-seven per cent. of the college property. The Western States have thirty-two per cent. of the population, and twenty-eight per cent. of the college property. The Southern States have thirty-six per cent. of the population, and twenty-one per cent. of the college property. Assuming, therefore, population as a basis, the greatest demand for additional endowments is in the South.

"The proportion of the income drawn from the productive funds of the colleges of each State varies from more than eleven hundred dollars, as in Colorado, to two dollars, as in Texas, for each student. In Delaware it is more than eight hundred, and in Minnesota, which shows the next highest rate, two hundred and nine. Having less than two hundred and more than one hundred are the following States, in order: Massachusetts, Maryland, Rhode Island, New York, California, Missouri, and New Jersey; having less than one hundred dollars and more than fifty dollars of income for each student,—Pennsylvania, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, New Hampshire, Michigan, Vermont, Wisconsin, Ohio, Oregon, Maine, District of Columbia, Illinois, Alabama, and Tennessee; and with less than fifty dollars,—Connecticut, Iowa, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Arkansas, Kansas, North Carolina, Mississippi, Washington, and Texas. But in inferring from these

facts in what States occur the greatest needs of further educational endowments it must be remembered that many of the students of the colleges of a State have their homes in other Commonwealths. About one-half of the students in Massachusetts reside beyond the Massachusetts boundaries. In its colleges are students from Colorado and Delaware, whose proportional income for each student is largest. Still, the general truth holds that the State having the largest number of students, of whatever residence, should also have the largest amount of funds for their training. This conclusion, therefore, like the former, indicates that, with the exception of a few States, the greatest need of educational endowments is in the South and West.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Population : Census, 1880.	Entire Collegiate Endowment.	Proportion of Endow- ment to each Person.
Alabama	1,262,344	\$807,000	\$.63
Arkansas	802,564	61,000	.07
California	864,686	2,298,000	2.64
Colorado	194,649	130,000	.66
Connecticut	622,683	1,060,000	1.54
Delaware	146,654	158,000	1.07
Georgia	1,538,983	1,115,000	.72
Illinois	3,078,636	4,686,000	1.52
Indiana	1,978,358	1,900,000	.96
Iowa	1,624,463	1,829,000	1.11
Kansas	995,335	457,000	.45
Kentucky	1,648,599	1,126,000	.68
Louisiana	940,263	448,000	.47
Maine	648,945	1,451,000	2.23
Maryland	935,139	3,408,000	3.63
Massachusetts	1,783,086	6,175,000	3.40
Michigan	1,634,096	1,646,000	1.00
Minnesota	780,807	804,000	1.02
Mississippi	1,131,899	491,000	.43
Missouri	2,169,091	1,888,000	.87
Nebraska	452,432	241,000	.53
Nevada	62,265	.....	....
New Hampshire	347,784	550,000	1.58
New Jersey	1,130,862	2,393,000	2.11
New York	5,083,173	14,794,000	2.91
North Carolina	1,400,000	646,000	.45
Ohio	3,197,794	4,687,000	1.46
Oregon	174,767	463,000	2.59
Pennsylvania	4,282,738	933,000	1.88
Rhode Island	276,528	600,000	2.16
South Carolina	995,706	722,000	.72
Tennessee	1,542,463	2,422,000	1.57
Texas	1,597,509	444,000	.27
Vermont	332,286	686,000	2.06
Virginia	1,512,203	1,950,000	1.28
West Virginia	618,193	602,000	.97
Wisconsin	1,315,386	1,650,000	1.25
District of Columbia	177,638	1,010,000	5.68
Utah	143,907	.....	....
Washington	75,120	105,000	1.39
Total .....	.....	\$74,943,000	\$1.49

“But any answer to the question as to the place of the greatest need of further endowment is considerably determined by the answer to another and more comprehensive question: Should the endowments rather be centred in a few colleges than scattered in small amounts in the three or thirty colleges of each of the States? Would it be better, to take a specific

instance, to give to Harvard College the three millions of dollars, which its president now desires for the whole university, than to divide the amount among six or even three institutions in Texas, Arkansas, and Minnesota? The consideration of this question would evidently carry us beyond the limits of this paper."

Educational Associations and Conventions.—Their importance is beyond estimate, and their number so great that they must be restricted to the brevity of foot-notes—I and 2.

(1.) AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences celebrated the centennial of its corporate existence May 26, 1880, in the old South Church at Boston. About 300 persons were present, including fellows, associate fellows, and honorary members, besides members of sister academies at home and abroad and of other similar associations. Many learned societies unable to send delegates forwarded cordial greetings, among these being the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, the academic consistory of the University at Lund, Sweden, and the Astronomical Society of Gotha and Strasburg, Germany. Among the foreign societies represented were the Philosophical Society of Cambridge, England, the Statistical Society of London, the Société de Géographie Commerciale, Bordeaux, the Société Géologique de France, the Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, the Academy of Sciences at Bologna, and the Zoölogical Society of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Delegates from thirteen learned societies of the United States were present, and there was a full attendance of fellows of the academy. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop presided and delivered the principal address. Dr. O. W. Holmes read a poem, and remarks were made by Professor Gray, formerly president of the academy, Very Rev. John S. Howson, Dean of Chester, Prof. W. B. Rogers, and others.

Founded in 1779, and chartered May 4, 1780, this academy is the oldest corporation of its kind in the country save one, the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, which preceded it by a few months. The French Academy and the Royal Society were taken as models, but the American academy was well aware of its special needs and has always been a true academy, faithful to its objects. An independent society of learned men who are at the head of their branches of knowledge, it excludes the schools of medicine, theology, and law, as such, because the school which trains for a learned pursuit does not intend to discover the new but to guard the old. The academy means to keep on the heights of science; its memoirs and essays are neither popular adaptations nor learned manuals and digests; they avoid rhetoric and the academic dialect. By the charter it is provided that at least four meetings a year shall be held. The membership is confined to 200 fellows, who must be residents of Massachusetts, 100 associate fellows, residents of the United States outside of Massachusetts, and 75 honorary members who live in foreign countries. The academy is so far an institution of Massachusetts and Boston as that the meetings and administration are conducted there.—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 26, 27, 1880.

(2.) AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

This association held its twenty-ninth annual meeting in Boston August 25 to September 1, 1880, with the president-elect, Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, N. Y., in the chair. The introductory address, by President Rogers, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was followed by addresses of welcome by Mayor Prince and Governor Long. The deaths of members of the society for the year were reported; a committee was appointed to draft resolutions on the death of General Albert J. Myer, and another to cable greetings to the British Association on its fiftieth meeting. The general session was then adjourned, and the various sections and subsections organized. Prof. Asaph Hall, of Washington, reviewed the recent advances in the science of astronomy; Prof. John M. Ordway took up the latest achievements of practical chemistry, and discussed its methods. Maj. J. W. Powell, in the subsection of anthropology, spoke on the social organization and government of the Wyandotte Indians. In the evening the retiring president, Prof. George F. Barker, addressed the association on "Some modern aspects of the life question," basing his remarks on the theory that every action of the living body is, sooner or later, to be recognized as purely chemical or physical, the life that science has to deal with having no existence apart from matter. At the second day's meetings Prof. Alfred M. Thayer, in a eulogy on the late Professor Henry, dwelt particularly on his work as a discoverer in science. The practical side of that work was touched on in connection with the experiments which proved so beneficial to the light-house and fog-signal service. Prof. Alexander Agassiz followed with an address on "Paleontological and embryological development," choosing his illustrations from a limited group of marine animals having less than 300 living species and more than 2,000 known fossil species. A glance at the programme of the meeting shows that its proceedings were rich in varied interest and characterized mainly by a genuine scientific spirit. Among other noteworthy presentations was the picturesque photographing of the Rocky Mountain flora by Professor Gray. Various entertainments were given to the members; certain hours were devoted to visiting museums, libraries, etc.; and one evening was given to the section of microscopy of the Boston Society of Natural History; members of the association were desired to participate by exhibiting instruments, accessory apparatus, and specimens. The association was largely attended, nearly 600 members being registered the first day, and fully 500 new members were elected during the first two days.—*Scientific American*, *New-England Journal of Education*.

One exception, however, must be made, in simple justice to the peerless and beloved name of the venerable PETER COOPER, of whose Institute for *Science and Art*, the Commissioner of Education said in his Report of 1879 :

“ *The Cooper Union Free Night Schools of Science.*—These afford a remarkable example of the intelligent application of a great charity. Their purpose is the technical instruction of the laboring classes, which is accomplished through the agency of a free library and reading-room, free lectures, and two classes of schools, viz., the Evening Schools of Science and Art and the Art School for Women. The course of study in the former embraces the ordinary English branches, with advanced courses in mathematics, mechanics, physics, literature, and rhetoric. The art department of the evening schools embraces instruction in all branches of drawing, viz., free hand, architectural, mechanical, and drawing from cast ; also industrial drawing and design and modelling in clay. Women are admitted to the scientific classes, but not to the art classes, a special school of art being maintained for them. The latter is divided into five departments—drawing, painting, photography, wood-engraving, and normal teaching.

“ In both of the art schools the training is constantly directed to the preparation of the pupils for those employments in which the arts of design and drawing are the principal or accessory occupations ; 2,820 pupils were registered the present year in the Evening Schools of Science and Art, of whom 2,707 were engaged during the day in various trades and occupations. Owing to the exigencies of their industrial life, but few of the pupils can remain long enough in the institution to complete the whole course and receive the diploma and medal of the Cooper Union. Certificates of proficiency are awarded to those who pass satisfactory examination on the work of a particular class ; 634 such certificates were awarded in 1879.

“ The number of pupils admitted to the free morning classes of the Woman’s Art School was 255, and to the engraving class for women, 37. In the art school the earnings for the year were \$9,525.75, and in the engraving class, \$1,820.59. All money earned in the schools belongs to the pupils, and a number are thus enabled to support themselves while studying.

“ The subsequent career of the graduates is followed with constant interest, and the facts thus brought to light afford the most gratifying evidence of the practical results of the instruction. A large proportion of the graduates command lucrative positions as teachers of art, photo-colorers, decorators, and designers.

“ The school of telegraphy for women admitted 35 pupils the present year. The Western Union Telegraph Company has so far interested itself in this school as to nominate a teacher who trains the pupils in the thorough methods of that company. Although under no agreement to provide places for the scholars, the company has employed a large proportion of the graduates on its lines.

“ Instruction in all the schools and classes above described, together with all privileges of the institution, is absolutely free. In consequence of the great pressure for admission and the earnest offer of many to pay for their instruction, the trustees have allowed an amateur class to be formed, which meets in the afternoon out of the regular class hours, and the members of which pay a small fee. Half of the money thus realized goes to the teacher and the other half to the free schools. The fees for the present year amount to \$2,326.”

Higher praise could hardly be offered ; and yet the Commissioner accords to the Cooper Institute the honor of placing it between *The Stevens Institute of Technology*, of Hoboken, and *The Franklin Institute*, of Philadelphia !

In the Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Trustees of *the Cooper Union*—May 27, 1882—we find the following statement :

“Comparing the Art School of 1871-72 with its condition in 1881 I find in summing up the numbers the total of

Applicants for the school in 1871-72 was	173
“ “ “ “ “ 1881-82 “	1,397
The number of admissions in 1871-72 was	173
“ “ “ “ “ 1881-82 “	711
The number of classes in 1871-72 was	3
“ “ “ “ “ 1881-82 “	14

“The amount of all money that could be heard of *all* former pupils earning in 1871-72 was \$4,000. The amount of money earned by *present* pupils and by graduates of 1880-81 only, is, so far as reported, \$29,003.57. The last figures do not represent the entire amount as I know that many of last year's graduates are earning money, who have given me no report at all.

“The total number of pupils *in the school* who are earning is 113, of whom 51 are in the Photograph classes and 27 in the Engraving class. All the money earned belongs to the pupils themselves.

“Last year's report, *i.e.*, the annual report of 1880-81, shows that \$19,480.25 was earned, making an increase in this year's report of \$9,452.32. This is very encouraging, as this season there has been a larger number than usual of new scholars in the Art School.

“This growth of the school is gratifying, yet, at the same time, one cannot but reflect that 686 persons, or nearly as many as were able to be admitted, were disappointed in their efforts to gain admittance. Were the Art Rooms as large again, the income of the Cooper Union double, and the general appliances of casts, books, etc., double, we could use them all.”

The old saying, that it is dangerous to praise the living, will not apply to PETER COOPER, for his record has been so long and so indelibly cut into History that it has passed beyond even his own power to efface it, and his good deeds have been too many to be impaired by disparagement, or to fade from the memory of men. The conviction of illuminated *savans*, and experienced teachers, agree that he founded the best institution for the promotion of Science and Art which exists to-day on the earth. It exceeds all others in the breadth of its plan, and the universality of its benevolence. Every brick and stone, from corner to its highest copings, every one of its departments and appliances, with the adjustment of its parts, all speak the same language. Like a Greek temple erected to the adoration of the Immortal Gods, it proclaims to every one who crosses its vestibule, for what purpose it was erected. No ancient architect was born poorer than Peter Cooper, and no one of them achieved fame without patronage. Cooper had no help from anybody but God: and well it was so, for no other being could help him. He had a grand work to do, and he lived to perfect it.

-And now in his ninety-second year his eye is still clear, and his natural force seems unabated; reaping the most abundant reward that can ever fall to mortal, in the love and respect of civilized nations, and the heartfelt gratitude

of the myriads whom he has lifted from ignorance and helplessness, to learning and independence. And his beneficence will stretch away into the far future. Neither prayer nor praise are now needed, nor will they ever be, for him!

SECTION EIGHTH.

SHADOWS AND DANGERS.

THESE must not be passed by without observation, for they deserve the severest scrutiny. Well defined in the public mind, they may serve as good a purpose, as light-houses on the coast, or buoys indicating rocks and shallows, to the mariner. They have never alarmed us so much as they have foreigners who, from the date of our existence, have been prophesying our early downfall as a Republic, and the impossibility of sustaining any form of free government as a lasting political structure. Educated in monarchical forms, and under aristocratic sway, none but the most sanguine of Europe's writers or statesmen could think otherwise. It would have been passing strange if they had; for they could not comprehend us as well as we understood ourselves. It is true that a century in the life of nations is shorter than the life of a man, or a generation. But the experience of the first hundred years was so well rounded out, that we entered upon the second century with stronger guarantees for a long run, than any other government in the world. The past is not only secure, but the future seems to offer even greater safeguards from peril than the past.

Guarantees for Future Security.—Our hopes may reasonably rest upon certain elements of strength and perpetuity, which are more thoroughly worked into the American mind, than the traditions of monarchy can claim in this age. Under the benign influence of "a government by the people, and for the people," and a Continent bounded only by Oceans, with an extent of so many degrees of latitude, insuring such ample means of subsistence, causes of discontent that have disturbed so many other nations, are not so likely to interfere with our domestic comfort or content. Where the rights and prosperity of all classes are secured, motives for hostility between them perish. Where a government is based upon the equal good of all, the foundations of that government are not likely to be easily destroyed. Secure universal justice, and the desire for political change vanishes. If wrongs come in, they encounter powers of resistance which multiply faster than antagonisms. If civilization have any significance, it would seem to mean that just in proportion as such a government gets consolidated, it grows stronger to repel hostile attacks at home, or from abroad. Such cumulative forces should become too strong for any assaults. To augment light, must diminish darkness—to spread truth, must restrain the force of error—to make crime more dangerous of detection, and surer of punishment, must deter men from villainy. This principle seems to be the most conservative element in the moral universe. Impunity from the penalty of wrongdoing, is the only ally of the wicked. "Because sentence

against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the hearts of the sons of men are fully set in them to do evil." If the assassin knew that the bullet from his pistol, would hardly have left its echo before another bullet went through his heart, no good President would be shot. If the burglar was sure to die before he had secured his booty, burglary would cease. If the forger knew that he would be a dead man before his ink grew dry, forgery would stop. Therefore the inference is plain that, in a community where there is a standing army of fifty millions of men protecting the common edifice which shelters and secures them all, the wretch who makes war upon that great body of men, would go into better business.

Republicanism no longer an Experiment in the United States.—A hundred years ago it *was* an experiment, and justly so regarded. Every new movement of the human race into the future, is of necessity, and has always been, an experiment. Prophecy at best is but a guess, or a hope, unless indeed it may have been inspired by supreme wisdom. All the social and political structures erected by individuals in the past, have utterly faded away except that of Moses, and even that, which has outlived all the other systems of government, seems to be bending to the supremacy of a higher builder. And yet with the infinite advantages which we would suppose the Founder of Christianity to have possessed, how slow have the sublime principles of the Gospel been, in showing apparently, so few conquests over evil during the last nineteen hundred years. But if the victories of that Gospel are measured by its influence over the thinking minds of thinking nations, where is the rule for estimating its power?

This analogy does not seem to be relevant, in measuring the growing strength of the intellect and heart of America for the preservation of its institutions. When Webster pronounced that great oration on the laying of the corner-stone of the Extension of the Capitol in 1851, he uttered some of the grandest words that have ever entered the ears of men, and they demand a place here or elsewhere, when this theme is under contemplation. In forecasting with prophetic wisdom possible results, which in the minds of many charged their feelings with danger, he uttered these memorable words :

"If, therefore, it shall be hereafter the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base, that its foundations be upturned, and this deposit brought to the eyes of men, be it then known that on this day, the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that their constitution still exists unimpaired, and with all its original usefulness and glory, growing every day stronger and stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world. And all here assembled, whether belonging to public or private life, with hearts devoutly thankful to Almighty God for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of the country, unite in sincere and fervent prayers, that these deposits, and the walls and arches, the domes and towers, the columns and entablatures now to be erected, may endure forever. God save the United States of America !

"DANIEL WEBSTER, *Secretary of State of the United States.*"

The close of the great orator-secretary contained the simple assertion of a fact which was true ; and it ended with a prayer, which, in His infinite

benevolence, the God of the universe answered. That strong faith of Webster, was but the expression of the heart and the aspiration of every true American citizen. It revived the souvenirs of the Revolutionary Fathers, and transmitted their convictions, their heroism and their prayers, into the future. It armed the nation to meet the mighty shock of a formidable rebellion, and to come forth from that fearful struggle with burnished and tempered steel, against which neither fanaticism nor rebellion will ever attempt to rush again. We may therefore recur with gratitude to the growth of that sentiment of nationality, which was so nobly displayed during that crisis, and which has been "growing stronger and stronger in the heart of the great body of the American people."

This spirit has displayed itself more or less in all nations. In none so great perhaps, as in that rock-ribbed Island from whence we sprang. With Rome it was empire. With France it was glory; but with Britain it was a national sentiment for which patriotism seems too feeble a word; for eight centuries have gone by since a foreign foot has trod the soil of England. Even in 1066, William the Norman bore new strength, which, mingling with the ruder elements of the Anglo-Saxon, made England afterwards the file-leader of civilization. Some adroit manipulator of words said that if you scratched the skin of a Russian, you would find underneath it the body of a Tartar. With more truth it may be said that, if you scratch the skin of a dweller on our soil, you will find an American. I care not if you scratch an emigrant on the passage to this land, be he a liberty-loving Irishman, German, Pole, Frenchman or Italian, in heart you will find that he intended to be an American before he started; and the moment he struck the land, he was baptized into the idea of being protected by, and fighting for, the broadest and best of governments.

This appears to us to be the spirit of the American people; and all the indications show that this sentiment is growing stronger and stronger every day. If this be true, we have discovered the strongest guarantee for the perpetuity of this system of government. Its corner-stone rests upon the cardinal idea which underlies Christianity—One for all, and not all for one, nor for a few. Egotism ought not to exist in the mind of any American, for it implies selfishness, which overlooks the rights and the well-being of everybody but itself. Out of this foul nest have sprung the vipers that, if unrestrained, would sting the whole nation. They would immolate millions for the cruel reign of an oligarchy. These hydras show their heads; but if they are bred by the hundred or the thousand, those heads will fall. They are only excrescences to be removed; or if they be cancers, Democratic surgery will cut them out, whether the patient survives or not. This is the way fifty or a hundred millions of men will treat all insulting and sacrilegious attempts to prostitute to greed and mammon, the altars which we have erected to the God of liberty.

But from many quarters we are confronted with the words which have in late years inspired so much terror among the statesmen of Europe—MONOPOLY, or COMMUNISM; and we are asked which will you have? We promptly answer—NEITHER! One means anarchy, the other despotism: either carried out would reach the same result—*Disorder*, or *Revolution*.

If we listen to the appeals of demagogues—who are the chief orators of the discontented—consequently the dangerous classes—the foundations of our liberties are to be sapped by the stealthy approaches of monopolists, who expect to undermine the castle which cannot be carried by storm. If we hear the overzealous advocates of great corporations, they disclaim any design to establish by combined capital, a power which tends to make the rich richer, or the poor poorer.

And yet this pendulum is beginning to vibrate pretty strongly just now; and without a better understanding between these unnecessarily hostile parties is come to, there will be trouble enough hereafter, in Courts and Legislatures, and out of them. It ought to be the business of wisdom and common prudence, to provide for a possibly fast-approaching crisis.

Nor let it be considered less important, because the conflict may not be fought out by enraged mobs alone, nor through incendiarisms, or robberies, or in any other form of desperate defiance of public law whose chief province is to protect citizenship, with all the rights and immunities which that comprehensive term implies. It is likely to be a more formidable and dangerous encounter, because a constitutional one—the *battle-box*, controlled by enflamed passions.

The orators of *The Commune*—to use the favorite term of the revolutionists in Europe—start in this country at the ballot-box, with all its irresistible powers. They appeal to History which furnishes texts enough for the orators of ten thousand clubs of Communists, Socialists, Nihilists, and Revolutionists, here or in Europe. These appeals to human records have sounded the tocsins for countless violences and revolutions, most of them ending in blood and despotism. Warsaw is not the only spot “where Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell.” Nor will the human heart ever exile from its cherished souvenirs, those other clarion notes, “who would be free, himself must strike the blow.” The greatest historians have kept these fires of liberty blazing through all the ages, and sanctified every heroic effort for its achievement. The schoolboys all know that Greece and Italy are strewn with the wrecks of Free States, where oligarchy, after suppressing freedom, died of surfeit in palaces, while the hovels of the people were filled with starvation and slaves.

This problem which we *must* solve, is already on us in the closing years of this century. Men generally attach more value to what they see others have which glitters, than what they possess themselves which does not shine. The rich are always envied, and they always will be by the poor, with the ex-

ception of those blessed souls who grow really rich, by learning the lessons of contented poverty.

New nations must encounter new dangers. Among these dangers the worst to be feared in our case is, that we are approaching a perilous condition of society more rapidly than any other nation ever did, because we are faster dividing society into two classes—the rich and the poor. By the natural course of events, and the fascinating seduction of opportunities, we are making more very rich men than have ever been made in the same space of time in any other country; and as a matter of imperative necessity this process must go on, for awhile at least, with accelerated speed.

What will be the result? Shall we needlessly repeat history, and see a few men own most of the land, as they do in England and Ireland to-day,¹ or invoke such a revolution as France went through, by which the land-holding aristocracy, church, king and *all*, fell under the guillotine, or by confiscation, and had their estates divided on a kind of communistic basis? Shall we solve this problem while we *may*, or wait till it solves itself, as France waited, or as negro slavery waited, and cut its Gordian knot in the South?

Some forty years ago, Thomas Carlyle raised this problem in his Pamphlets on *The Condition-of-England Question*. England did not take up this business in time, and an indignant host rushed up to London, and carried through the doors of Parliament a petition of unheard-of length, demanding the "Five points of the Charter." They appeared to fail at the time; but Carlyle accounts for it by saying that they were "too lean to rebel—they had not a meal ahead." But reforms had to come, although dealt out to the fevered patient in begrudged doses, and homœopathic at that. One grand reform came in the abolition of the Corn Laws, which was carried by a storm, which the landlords yielded to at the last moment, thus illustrating the wisdom of later British statesmanship, which retains power in the hands of the ruling classes only by granting reforms rather than provoking revolution. But we see her best statesmanship even now, floundering with a starving dependency, where policy wavers between keeping her in a cruel subjection by powder

¹WHO OWNS THE LAND IN ENGLAND.—More than half the soil of the United Kingdom is nominally owned by some 2,000 persons. According to a valuable analysis of the very ill-arranged and incomplete Parliamentary return of the land-owners of the United Kingdom, published in the Financial Reform Almanac for 1878, 421 persons are the owners of 22,880,755 acres, or nearly 5,000,000 acres more than one-fourth of the total area of the United Kingdom. The mind is unable to grasp what such a monopoly costs the country, but certain features of it stand forth with a prominence sufficiently notable. In a most absolute sense, the well-being of the entire population of some 32,000,000 souls is placed in the power of a few thousands. For these thousands the multitude toils, and it may be on occasion starves. Hence it is that all through rural England we have continually before us that most saddening of all spectacles, two or three families living in great splendor, and hard by their gates the miserably poor, the

abject slaves of the soil, whose sole hope in life is too often the work-house—that famous device against revolution, paid for by the middle class—and the pauper's grave. Our land-owners have not merely burdened the land with their game preserves; they have tied it up, and actively conspired to prevent its due cultivation. Instead of rising to the true necessities of the case, they cling to their game, make penal enactments about it, and struggle to augment the intensity of the evil which it is to the people, as if the very existence of the country depended upon hares and rabbits. In his absolute supremacy the land-owner overrides all justice, takes precedence of all ordinary creditors on his helpless tenants' estates, and controls the system of cultivation, often in utter disregard of private rights or private judgment, and in addition secures to himself the absolute reversion of every improvement which the tenant may make on the land.—*Macmillan's Magazine*.

and shot, when she is on the verge of not being worth keeping, or letting her go ; thus leaving her an opportunity to ruin herself by emigration or unsuccessful revolt—instead of allowing her to become an equal member of a republican, albeit in form, an imperial government.

Very few nations have known how to win liberty through revolution, and then preserve it—still fewer through anarchy. We must not be led astray by the success of our own example, for it has no bearings on this case. It was always quite another thing elsewhere.

We spoke of a problem that we *must* solve ; and while we cannot help opposing any war against social order and a political union which can alone secure liberty *for all*, we had better inquire how we stand, and what elements of disturbance are even now visible, which may work trouble in the future. For while mobs in the streets may be readily suppressed with the loss of only property and life, yet when mob violence assails the sacredness of the ballot-box under the leadership of discontented, ambitious and reckless demagogues, the chief security of free institutions is gone. Nor should vast wealth among the few, forget, in a feeling of power and security, that the many may see a subtle danger of encroaching upon their privileges, opportunities and rights. If the great masses become convinced that private greed is producing private suffering, and sacrificing public good ; if Legislatures are being corrupted by bribery to secure special privileges at the expense of whole communities ; and above all, if justice is thought to be bought and sold, then such a feeling will be inflamed among the vast body of the American people, as will strip the most colossal fortunes of their power and charm.

But there need be no such hostility engendered—no such war declared between labor and wealth, between work and gold—for such a conflict is unnecessary in our Republic. Least of all should hatred be excited against men because they are rich. Nor must the multitude seize brick-bats or arms—rude or ingenious—to make war on *individuals*, for the rich man's rights are as sacred as the poor man's, so long as those rights adhere to *citizenship*—simple, personal. Along that line all just men, all citizens, rich or poor, must walk, for that is the line drawn by the Constitution of the Republic, and the Constitution and laws of all the States. As these Constitutions were made for the equal good of all, and there can be no security for citizenship except in their observance and vindication, every infraction of them is a crime, and every law-breaker should be punished as a common enemy, because he *is an enemy of the Republic*.

Let us glance for a moment at the origin of our Government, and the organization of society in America. The emigration to this country during the first hundred years of its settlement, consisted chiefly of poor people, most of whom left their European homes under the pressure of unjust government. They had felt the chain gall till they could bear it no longer. The file-leaders of these inconsiderable bands were inspired by a desire for

liberty of conscience, and freedom to live a better life. A hundred years ago these grand sentiments found utterance in the first words of the *Declaration of Independence*: "The right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This was the corner-stone of all that has made what we call the United States of America. On this rock—all our aggregated forces of life—was reared our first structure of "Confederation," which served its preliminary purpose, and prepared the way for the National Union, which, in 1789, had grown into the Republic which has received the willing admiration and respect of mankind.

The steady adherence of our people to the motto of the Nation—*E Pluribus Unum*—explains our cohesion, our prosperity, and power. If we had remained dissevered colonies; if local jealousies had been allowed full sway; if the idea of subjecting the multitude to the will of the few; or if the perpetuation of the old systems of monarchy, priesthood, nobility, primogeniture, class legislation, and special privileges, had prevailed, instead of equality of rights, and protection for all under the broad shield of a common Republic, we could have had no union of Colonies into a Confederation first, nor into a Republic afterward.

In the natural course of things, superiority of judgment, greater industry, activity, economy, and ambition, lead to inequalities of position in life. There is nothing strange in all this, so far as Americans are concerned; for the laws of nature are superior to all ordinances of man. Long before Darwin reduced the experiences of ages to the axiom that *the fittest survives*, it had been ceaselessly illustrated.

Learning had always asserted its supremacy over ignorance, judgment over folly, sobriety and perseverance over incompetency and slothfulness. Thus that same law prevails in bringing about inequality in the moral, the financial, and the political world of men.

All through the realms of nature, the same process has obtained and been vindicated. It has been just as true, too, in astronomical law; thus extending all through the physical universe, from a community of ants and the constitution of all States, to the order of whole stellar systems.

During our primitive existence as political communities, these inherent powers of national life, and all other systems of life among the nations, held sway. But we thought that they should not always be attended with such vast inequalities in our social system, as had prevailed in former times, and under other forms of government.

Free expansion was to be the law on this continent. But the old law of nature and society was still to hold good, as it had held good with elder, and even buried nations. The strong became stronger; wealth was to win more wealth; strength was to ally itself with new strength, all the time allying itself with fresh strength; following the same law by which scientists account for the formation of worlds. From the first two monads which met and united, up to the central globe of a solar system, which every other monad in that system had to obey.



VIEW ON THE POTOMAC.

THE
NEW YORK

Our advancement in this same direction, and under the same inexorable law, has had larger scope, for we have had vaster fields for endeavor, and its temptations were more enticing, as its rewards were more abundant.

“ No pent-up Utica confined our powers,
But the whole boundless continent was ours.”

Little Portugal could find no expansion on her borders without impinging on Spain, and Spain herself only through the aggressive genius of a Philip, or a Charles V., which even then left her in so false a position that her empire had finally to subside within her peninsular bounds in Europe, while she was ultimately to lose her vast possessions abroad. Portugal indeed made a brave venture in Southern Asia, on the African Coast, and in South America. But England, being an island, sprang like a wolf from her lair, and striking with a greed and strength unequalled since Rome, upon all quarters of the known world, made them her prey, and thus became the first power on the earth, although made up of patches which could be held together only by a frail tenure into a crystallized whole, were it not for her grand power to civilize nations.

To come home again. Our society found a law for its development in the principle which our early statesmen wrought into the American system of government, viz.: *Confederation*. What one colony was too weak to do, she found herself strong enough to achieve by becoming a member of a universal republic.

So, too, with capital. When it became necessary to open an artificial river from Lake Erie to the Hudson, to provide a pathway for commerce, private capital was unequal to so stupendous a work, although any one of several scores of rich men could now undertake it. But through the combined wealth of its citizens, the State of New York cut the river bed, and the Erie Canal tells its own story. And so advancing by degrees, on the principles of aggregated forces, the capacities of citizens who had made a Republic, were invoked to build a railway from one ocean to the other. Thus, too, was built a navy for national defence, channels of inter-communication were opened, rivers and harbors improved, and a vast system of internal improvements constructed; and when at last the alarm bell rang over the nation, to raise, if necessary, some millions of soldiers to put the flag back where it had been torn down by treason, the invincible host appeared.

Here we should inquire into the origin of the new disturbing elements that are showing themselves in our social system. Is it the legitimate outgrowth of free institutions? Does Republicanism tend to beget such causes of disintegration, and doom society to premature decay, or did old tyranny beget this dyamite brood? Has this pestilential virus been generated in the pure air of freedom, or in the poisonous atmosphere of Old World despotism? From what lands, and from what institutions came the inspiration of these orators of the dangerous classes—these promoters of riots and mobs—these dema-

gogue masters of the ballot-box—these train-wreckers and torch-bearers of incendiarism?—*European, one and all*. Nothing *American* about it but the liberty of the bad to do evil, as of the good to do well. Victims of Old World wrongs, it's true, but tainted with ignorance, malice, and crime. They would begin here as they left off there, ignorant of the design and spirit of a government founded to promote and secure the good of all. Easily becoming the tools of demagogue leaders, they catch up the words monopolists, money kings, bloated bondholders, and tyrants, and brand these odious marks upon every movement, invention, or gigantic combination which gives impetus to national enterprise, and sets all the vital forces in motion, like a mighty river, which, fed by tributaries from a thousand hillsides, brooks, and mountain torrents, irrigates and enriches broad territories with their swarming populations.

Hence it is easy to see how shallow-minded, or badly disposed people, seize hold of these apparently correct, but to them disjointed ideas, and fail to comprehend them. With blurred vision they notice only what is incidental, or accidental, and pass judgment, losing sight of great results achieved for the greatest common good.

So might an idiot sit beside the Mississippi and quarrel with the eddies near its bank, or the grounded snags vexing its channel, all-ignorant of the beneficent mission of the father of waters. At best they are no more than idlers on board an ocean steamer, seeing only the phosphorescent foam sparkling in her wake, all unmindful of the business of this monster civilizer. As well make war with the clouds, and storms, and zigzag lightnings, meteors, comets, or earthquakes, all-blind to a system which is beyond comprehension, but ordered by the eternal economy of the universe, which is beneficent in the end, whether we can foresee the end or not.

Nothing can be plainer than that everybody cannot have everything. We are living under an order of things which is considered by wise and good men to have been devised for the universal good, and it never pays to fight against the inevitable. There is something much grander in the larger displays of the physical creation, than the ignorant or the learned can understand. But it is nevertheless sublime, and to yield with willingness to the omnipotence which creates things beyond our comprehension or control, is true worship. But there is scarcely one spectacle so worthy of wonder and praise, as the sure progress which the human race is making toward a higher state of well-being. So far as we can compare the present with the past, it is acknowledged by the sensible and the learned, that the world is steadily approaching a better condition of society.

Many great and good things have been done all through the ages. But if those ages were too weak to save even their own civilization, how could they have served our purposes to-day? To answer the exacting demands of this era, the blended forces of skilled labor, cultured brain, and exhaustless treasure, must be invoked. If Count de Lesseps would realize the dream of

former centuries, and make a navigable river flow from the Mediterranean to the Asiatic seas, he throws himself upon the treasury of Europe, and digs the Suez Canal. He is with amazing audacity now trying to do a greater thing, by uniting the Pacific with the Atlantic at Panama. Mexico is opening her Ophir domain to the tempting enterprise of the new age, and American miners and railway builders are already breathing through her languid frame the energies of regenerating fire.

The exactions of this era are enormous, and in the future they will become still more imperative. No arm must rest idle, no dollar lay still, for heavier work is to be done than the world ever saw before. The ocean is not yet half conquered, nor a tithe of the earth brought under enlightened cultivation. A thousand rivers are to be bridged, and space is yet to be annihilated. Freedom of commerce is yet to abolish war, and unite all nations in bonds of friendly intercourse, and a bountiful table be spread for all mankind. This work is too Herculean for pigmies—it is reserved for the three giants of MODERN CIVILIZATION: *Freedom, Labor, and Gold*. These giants must not quarrel, for in a conflict they would all die. In harmonious union they become omnipotent; and in this spirit of advancement every other idea must give way to enlightened reason.

The demand for work is everywhere increasing and its rewards augmenting; so, too, physical comfort, and necessarily with it a higher mode of existence must come.

But there are drawbacks—we know it too well. Let us glance at some of them a moment, and state them strongly enough to satisfy any candid man. It will be said that wealth has a tendency to acquire undue power, and in innumerable instances it has played the part of usurper and tyrant. In the luxury of his palatial home the ear of the rich man is too apt to grow deaf to the cries of the breadless and the freezing. These complaints may not drown the blasts of an Arctic winter sweeping mercilessly through the broken cabins of the poor, where worn mothers and little ones shiver by only half-lighted hearth-stones. Yes! too often money hardens the heart, but not so often perhaps as the *love* of it; for that grand Old Book says, “The *love* of money is the root of all evil.” We see many striking proofs of it, and gratefully do we recall the beloved names of those, who even while living, blessed their fellows by such deeds as God dispenses in His rain, which, in watering the broad wheat-fields of the rich, does not leave unrefreshed, the humble garden patches of the poor.

The tyrant strikes *first* for domain, for it brings power, and land brings gold and supporters, and the holder of the land is the master of slaves. Ireland is a fair illustration in our modern society, and sad enough is the sight of her oppressed people struggling to escape starvation against the fearful odds of a powerful and unfriendly empire. Here is a monopoly which is at war with God and man; for the monopolist of land which can alone give bread, and human beings ready to sow have a right to reap, and

must not starve. Let poor, narrow England solve this problem as best she can.

From one side, this thing looks bad. It breeds bad thoughts and bad feelings, and will breed worse. But the asperity of these bitter thoughts and feelings may be somewhat softened, by remembering that accumulated wealth cannot long remain useless. It is not, and cannot in this nation, go to build up families; it is doomed to be scattered as far for the multitude as the dews of Heaven. No aristocracy can survive our times except that of doing good; for, the elevation and happiness of a common brotherhood, is the only goal which can bestow the wreathes of honor in the Olympian games of the future. Even now, wealth is feeding those who cannot work. It is building and endowing hospitals which will outlast all monopolies. Nor is the tear of pity yet dried on the cheek of opulence. Legislation, alas! has been corrupted by money—and so has the gospel of the blessed Man of Nazareth. Wealth and its chief ally, priestly power and spiritual domination, have misguided and oppressed the masses of mankind for long ages. But so has the beautiful, but sometimes swollen Mississippi, breaking her banks and losing her channel, spread desolation among ten thousand homes. So has the remorseless, but necessary ocean,—without which earth would die,—laid myriads of brave men, and lovely women, and tender babes on its sunless floors. So have earthquakes buried great cities, and so has our beautiful earth been made a graveyard of all its unnumbered and innumerable dwellers through all its unrecorded ages.

But while the sweep of the past eras might seem to beget discouragement, rather than inspire hope, that reasoning is very shallow, that despondency most unjustifiable, and that forecast very dim, which will not let a rainbow bend over the future, however dark the past may have seemed.

The evils which exist must certainly not be overlooked or denied; nor the fact that wealth often asserts more power than it can wisely administer, and more privileges than it has a right to claim. But while the evils which are feared from the rapid consolidation of corporations into monopolies, are by no means groundless, are we not thereby securing grander results for a *common good*, than could have been obtained in any other way? Besides, are not all these wrong things open to remedy? Cannot they all be curbed and restrained, or, if necessary, abolished by intelligent and well-directed effort? But there is no more hope for relieving poverty in this country, by making open and ruthless war on the rich, than there would be in starving men refusing a part of a loaf, and seeking revenge on *somebody* by burning down a bakery.

Nobody will think, or have a right to think, we are making a defence of monopoly as fanaticism defines it. In the very nature of things, in a free country like this, monopoly, in this odious sense, is too feeble and powerless

to last any considerable length of time; for wherever it should appear as a menacing power, and become dangerous to the public welfare, it would be abolished as a nuisance by any court of first resort, or be adjudged an outlaw by any court of final appeal; and to that tribunal, every such question would have to come for final adjudication.

If this be not a fair solution of this disturbing question, we see no other. If in this free land, Labor and Capital—work and money, cannot live together in peace and harmony, where can they dwell? Then it shall be neither MONOPOLY nor COMMUNISM. From either of which, God save us.

SECTION NINTH.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

THEY have been so peaceful, they have hardly disturbed the surface of our history for more than a generation. This may be accounted for in part, by remembering, whatever party may have been in power, the last words of the Father of the Republic when he wrote his Farewell Address, and retired to his home at Mount Vernon, to receive the adulation of the world, and the lasting love of his countrymen. He advised us to form “no entangling alliances with foreign States.” This advice seemed to be the result of clear political prevision, for he had carefully read the history of other nations, and knowing so well that our area was so much larger than our necessities, and that we could expand without infringing upon the rights of other governments possessing portions of the continent; and if the time ever came that we should require more space in our expansion, it could be more easily won from friendly States by treaty, than from hostile ones by war. Hence our international relations have been substantially undisturbed from the beginning. No other policy could have exempted us so completely from collisions with foreign States.

For a long time great wisdom was shown in the selection of our representatives abroad, for our affairs were long in the hands of statesmen; and although within recent times these embassies have been held as rewards for political partisans, yet it was well understood by the holders thereof, that however ignorant they might be of their official duties, they were not entrusted with the power of doing much mischief. The question has often been asked, Why we could not get men to do our work abroad as well as at home? The answer was always ready—There was no great work to be done. We felt so secure against collisions with foreign states, and were so prosperous at home, that we had no apprehensions, and therefore it was no cause for surprise that the day was put off when it would become necessary to put the best men into the best places to do the government work.

The day seemed to have gone by when statesmanship was in demand abroad, or sought after even at home. The great statesmen of the last gen-

eration had passed away, and their work had been so well done that the offices they once filled, were recklessly, and with apparent impunity, filled by those who, it was supposed, would do no great harm, even if they accomplished no great good. But insensibility to unseen, but approaching dangers, was a dream from which the country awoke. Our serious domestic troubles, culminated under the unfortunate administration of Mr. Buchanan, who, if he had the desire, certainly had not the capacity to comprehend the first movement of secession; and unworthy he was to be the successor of General Jackson, who strangled the serpent of nullification in its cradle. But the feeble Buchanan let the dogs of war slip, and a million of lives and uncounted treasure paid the forfeit. Such was the penalty exacted for not putting the fortunes of the government into firm and worthy hands. We seemed to have almost lost the spirit with which Cæsar aroused Rome when he went on that wonderful conquest of Europe west of the Rhine. "Rome," he said, "must have her best soldiers if we are to fight the Gauls." Nelson told the British Admiralty that none but good sailors could go on his fleet. Saladin had, ages before, said, "None but the children of the Prophet can meet the infidels." Jesus said, "If you cannot die with me, you cannot reign with me;" and the great Darwin laid his corner-stone on the doctrine that "none but the fittest survive." Such was, always has been, and always will be the law of success.

Our Relations with Mexico.—In former portions of our work we gave considerable space to this subject, because we had been brought by events into closer relations with that country, both in war and in peace, than with any other. This arose from causes already enumerated, and to which time gave great and unexpected significance. Divided as the two nations are, only by a narrow river, and having vast interests in common, it was natural and inevitable, that in a long period of peaceful intercourse, the exigencies of commerce should demand still closer connections. That time came, and, as both Republics began to see it, it became imperatively necessary for their peoples to come to a better understanding with each other. Only a little while ago Mexico seemed to us, and to the rest of the world, to be the Sphinx of Nations—either the least cared for, or the least understood, of all modern Commonwealths. She was our nearest neighbor, and our greatest stranger; our Sister Republic, and the largest except our own, yet commanding little of our sympathy. The world's schoolboys knew all about Cortez and his lurid Conquest—a bewildering *Arras* woven in blood and gold. But how few statesmen knew anything of Porfirio Diaz and his associates, or of the great work they were doing for their country? It all seems like some weird mystery. It may be well to try to interpret it, for our Republic has a greater stake here than anywhere else outside of our own territory.

Contrasts, Paradoxes, and Misconceptions.—As Mexico appears to the world to-day, she seems to be the richest and the poorest of nations: with

grand architectural structures, the great mass of her people live in rude huts on the bare earth : with the most prolific soil, they have the poorest food ; the bravest and the most indolent ; worshipping liberty, and most readily submitting to oppression ; the most religious, and among the less moral of nations. Even amongst intelligent American and European readers, the strangest misconceptions prevail concerning the capacity of the Mexican people for self-government—the solidity of their Republic—the obstacles they have had to contend with in maintaining it—the significance of her successive revolutions, above all that of 1876—the wealth and well-being of the people—the state of society—the refinement of the superior classes—the love of order, respect for law, passion for political liberty, and the pacific and humane character of the people—the extent of the Common School System—the high character of Mexican Institutions of Art, Science, and Learning—the absolute freedom of conscience, and of the press—the ability of her periodical and standard literature—the extent and excellence of her manufactures—the accomplishments of her professional classes—the learning and integrity of her judges, and the purity and impartiality of the administration of law—what she has learned, and what she has won, by the long and brave struggles she has gone through during the first half-century of Independence—and finally the spirit of advancement which now pervades all ranks of society. In all these respects *the Mexico of to-day* is a *terra incognita* to the civilized world. She is chiefly known by the worst things in her past, and regarded as the most unhappy of nations : even by the well-informed, almost to the present hour, as an object of commiseration among the friends of enlightened government and depressed nationalities. I say *almost* to the present hour, for close observers cannot fail to interpret, as they did in the case of Italy, fresh omens of encouragement and hope.

But the dark period of her history seems to be passing away. A new era of order, peace, and progress is dawning upon what so lately appeared to be a doomed land : a land whose ambassadors had nearly ceased to be heard at the council-boards of nations : one whose wounds all seemed to be inflicted by her own hand, and which other communities could not heal.

An interesting Study.—Our countrymen of this generation, began to turn their attention toward Mexico for the first time during the struggle of Texas for Independence, which ended in the final victory of San Jacinto, so soon followed by the first, and we hope the last war between the two Republics. With the acquisition of California and the gold discoveries, all interest in the fortunes of Mexico ceased with most Americans, except as it was partially revived during the French invasion. With some, however, it continued a subject of sustained interest and careful study. But as a nation which had shown herself equal to the difficult task of repelling so formidable an invasion by the then greatest of military powers, seemed subsequently to display so little capacity for orderly self-government, our hopes in a better future for Mexico gradually grew weaker, till they were nearly extinguished. Even Mr.

Seward, who during his long Secretaryship of State, had given to Mexico his warmest sympathies and most efficient moral aid, became somewhat despondent for awhile ; although it should be said to his lasting honor, that his faith in the final destiny of that Republic never faltered.

But less sagacious statesmen found in the unsettled condition of Mexico, ample cause for apprehension, since it was plain enough to the obtusest observer, that if she was to sink into chaos, annexation to the United States would sooner or later follow, for incursions from neither side across a frontier of over 1,600 miles could long be prevented, and a *foreign protectorate* had no place in our political policy. Nor was it believed, even if annexation could come peaceably, that we could *bear the strain* of the sudden absorption of ten million of so-called semi-civilized people of another blood, into our body-politic. We had already been confronted with the sufficiently embarrassing necessity of lifting one-half that number of another alien race (although not strangers among us) into complete citizenship by the throes of civil war.

It did, however, interest the friends of Mexico profoundly, to inquire into the *causes* of those oft-recurring political convulsions which were so fearfully shaking the whole structure of society, although the movements of their rival chieftains seemed to the casual observer, to have little more significance than the bloody strifes of contending banditti, or the moves of players on a chess-board. It was a new and strange enigma in Sociology :—*How a nation, young in its independence, fresh in its autonomy bravely and intelligently won, comprising a population threefold greater than ours at the period of independence, living on the richest soil for agriculture and mineral wealth, enjoying the most delicious of climates, under the freest and best of constitutions, and at last without a foreign foe, should so suddenly go to decay.*

Example of Italy.—Nothing like it had happened during the historic period of the earth. It had always been the old, long, and hopelessly subjugated, decrepid nations who had never struck for liberty that had met such a fate. Who could cut this worse than Gordian knot? Plainly enough only Mexico herself. Nor was there any hope for her, till she saw this clearly. In this respect her situation somewhat resembled that of Italy before Pius IX. Her redemption could not be the work of the stranger. How clearly Mazzini, Gioberti, Massimo d'Azzelio, and Count Cavour saw this, and how wisely, patiently, and effectually they worked to make all Italy see it,—and with what stupendous results, the whole world knows. ‘No more death of Nations,’ exclaimed Garibaldi.—‘The hour of their resurrection has sounded.’

Mexico under Spain from the Conquest—1519.—The first portion of Mexican Land which strikes the eye of the modern traveller, is still the same which Cortez saw—the Peak of Orizaba rising into perpetual snow, 17,879 feet, so far in the interior that many a weary league must be made before the Mexican coast comes in sight. On nearing Vera Cruz, “this Star of the Sea”

sets behind the intervening hills, while the nearer shining sand plains are relieved by waving palm-trees, the massive walls of the city, the ancient castle of San Juan de Ulua, and the towers of the Palace and Cathedral. And so has the same glittering cone faded on the eye of every retreating invader, till at last, after 364 years, an emancipated people have found independence, liberty, and peace under the shadow of a strong and well-ordered Republic.

What Cortez brought with Him.—How completely concealed from the gaze of the Spanish conqueror, was the panorama which destiny had already painted of this strange land! How could he know that when he planted the Cross on the spot where Vera Cruz now stands, he was doubling the territories, and fatally multiplying the revenues of his sovereign; that he was blotting out a civilization older perhaps than Rome's; that a great people of incalculable wealth and unfettered freedom, was to be doomed to centuries of squalid poverty and grinding despotism; that the Gospel of Christ was to bring to them unmitigated woes, and not infinite blessings, while their gold was to corrupt their conquerors, and clothe Spain in rags; that the paradise garden of the New World was for ages to be blighted by the blended curses of chattel slavery with the lash and the chain—ignorance with filth and sottishness, and superstition with bigotry and spiritual death!

Importance of our Understanding Mexico.—The object of this historic etching neither requires nor admits any account of the conquest of Mexico. It will however be necessary briefly to glance at the condition of the Mexican people, and the institutions under which they lived, during the long Spanish domination, in order to get some clear idea of the obstacles that lay between them and a Free National Life. This is imperative, especially with American readers, in whose enlightened judgment and generous sympathy, the Mexican people are so deeply concerned. It does indeed interest them also to be understood, and to stand well with European nations, since to the lack of both, most of her miseries are due. But to our proximity, political example, and material advancement, her ablest writers freely ascribe no little that she is proud of in the past, while to a firm and cordial moral alliance, and liberal commercial relations, they confidently look for much they may so reasonably hope for in the future.

Contrast between Mexico and our Thirteen Colonies.—When Mexico declared her independence, she undertook to solve a more difficult problem than had been attempted by any other nation. The work before our Thirteen Colonies was, in comparison, very simple and very limited, however glorious: *First*, To break the British yoke: *Second*, To establish self-government under republican forms. To effect both, was, with such men as our Fathers, a mere question of time. The conditions being all present, and all clearly understood, the result was as inevitable as the solution of a problem in pure mathematics. With Mexico it was quite another affair. With our

successful demonstration in full view, it was comparatively easy work for her to achieve political independence, and set up a republic. But her work did not terminate here. Where our troubles ended, hers began. It took her fifty years to surmount them. Contrasted with hers, ours were trifles lighter than air. She had to emancipate herself from the completest system of political despotism and spiritual tyranny ever imposed upon a people in the sacred name of Christianity. The colossal structure had been the growth of three centuries of dense ignorance and besotted superstition. No such curse rested on us. We had no such incubus to throw off. Half her property, and three-fourths of her revenues, were owned by the Church, and controlled by the priests; ours were all owned and controlled by the people. Civil was subordinated to ecclesiastical law. Liberty of conscience was unknown, and undreamed of. Little did it matter if the tyrant Viceroy was expelled, so long as the soul-tyrant remained. What recked it though new schools were established, so long as they were controlled by the Jesuits? That the Inquisition with its fiendish tortures was abolished, while the subtle machinery of the Confessional was in force? Which one of ten thousand ecclesiastics who stood guard over eight million souls, could be true to a Mexican Republic, without being false to monarchical Rome? Of all those millions which one dared to die unshriven, and sleep like a dog in unconsecrated ground? What work would George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Charles Carroll have made of it in planting the Tree of Liberty in such a soil? To judge justly of her rulers or her people, we must put ourselves in their place. We must look on Mexico with the sympathy of illuminated Republican statesmen, and not with the insatiable greed of filibusters.

Mexican Road to Liberty.—So far, then, from its being a matter of wonder that Mexico has had to pass through the terrible ordeal of sixty years of revolution to realize her aspirations for political and social regeneration, her advancement, thus far, may well excite the surprise and admiration of the friends of liberty and self-government, while her resurrection from such a death will forever be regarded by philosophical observers as one of the strangest enigmas of history.

If when Humboldt climbed the pinnacled heights of her burning mountains, and looked down into her awful craters yet uncooled, and wandered for 500 leagues over a country trembling on a heaving bed of subterranean fire, was amazed that even after incalculable cycles the crust had grown solid and cool enough for a human dwelling-place, well may the curious student of society wonder, that in so volcanic a land, any political temple, reared to liberty and peace amidst such convulsions, should still be left standing, and be crowded with devout worshippers.

Mexican Revolutions.—There, as elsewhere, they have been the necessary steps of nations on the highway to freedom—indices to mark their

progress, as the mile-stones on the great Roman roads which told the traveller how near he was to the Eternal City. Victor Hugo, the interpreter of the hopes of Humanity, the illuminated political Seer of this age, exults in calling his country the Land of Revolutions. While the bullets of the *Coup d'État* were falling thick around him, he screamed to the French soldiers (*History of a Crime*):—‘The malefactor at the Elysée thinks that the army of France is a band of mercenaries; that if they are paid and intoxicated, they will obey. He sets you an infamous task; he causes you to strangle, in this nineteenth century, and in Paris itself, Liberty, Progress, and Civilization. He makes you—*you*, the children of France—destroy all that France has so gloriously and laboriously built up during three centuries of light, and *sixty years of Revolution!*’

These are the talismanic words which unlock the hidden history of Mexican convulsions. Sunk in the deep waters, she could rise to catch breath only in the throes of revolution—that sacred word—that blessed thing—that signet ring which the Almighty put on the finger of John Hancock, which was worn by Hidalgo, Juarez, Diaz:—which finds no mean significance in the curled form of the trodden worm; all through the living universe it is the Spirit of God—his creature is forever looking up to the Father—it is the inspiration of hope, and the pledge of triumph. The man who speaks lightly of Revolution, speaks lightly of human advancement—of the future of the race.

We, above all, are the last people in the world to reprove Mexico for her revolutionary struggles. Every new one has given her a fresh claim to our regard and sympathy. It cost us a century and a half of protest against British oppression, and two great wars of seven years each—one to blot out the French power in North America, the other to make good the Declaration of 1776—still another war with England which was well called our Second War of Independence; and last of all half a million new graves had to be dug and filled with brothers, to keep what had cost so much—while some of our complaints of Mexico's share in recent Rio Grande raids might be softened by the records of massacres which have fringed the borders of our civilization, as it has been steadily encroaching on the Indian domain during the last two hundred and fifty years. Even lately we were forced to call off our troops from the bootless chase of Texas cattle thieves, for a march of a thousand miles to save the women and children of Montana and Dacotah in the heart of our own territory, from the merciless tomahawks of our own outraged but brave and defiant Indians! Let us be more modest, if we cannot be more just. A truce then to all this poor trash—so unblushingly harped upon during the feeble and profligate administration of President Hayes—about civil and intestine strifes in Mexico, when it would be blasphemy at Philadelphia, Bunker Hill, and Bull Run; at Naseby and Whitehall; at the barricades and the Bastile; on any field of struggle back to Thermopylæ. Revolution and Liberty are synonymous words. Never a freedom that had any other birth; never a liberty that had any father but Revolution. Mr. Seward well said in speaking of the great convulsions going on in Eastern Asia:—‘I know not

what political changes may occur here [China]; but, on the other hand, *I know it is an error to suppose that revolutions, with whatever design they are inaugurated, retard human progress.*' The profound wisdom of this saying nowhere finds a more striking illustration than in the volcanic history of Mexico during the last sixty years.

The First Revolution—Hidalgo.—Many of the civil disturbances of Mexico, which have been popularly called revolutions, would in most other countries have been designated by a less imposing name. But the formidable insurrection under HIDALGO, is worthy of this designation. It came from an unexpected quarter—a Catholic priest—the Cura Hidalgo, in whose veins flowed the 'blue blood' of the proud conquerors, mingled with the American blood of the conquered Aztecs. The standard of revolt was not raised for independence, but to free the Indians from the physical and intellectual oppression of their colonial masters, while maintaining political dependence on old Spain.

The Second Revolution—Independence Achieved.—Participating in the convulsions of Europe, the restoration of Ferdinand on the final downfall of Napoleon, gave to Spain the last chance of upholding her ancient despotism in Mexico. Throwing himself into the hands of the reactionary party, Ferdinand refused to recognize the liberal Constitution proclaimed by the Cortez in March, 1812, in which, as a reward for their loyalty, the Colonies had been placed on an equality with the mother country, granting one representative for every 70,000 inhabitants. The colonists remonstrated. The King refused to listen to any representations, and active measures were initiated to restore the old system under which Mexico had so long groaned. Large reinforcements of Spanish troops were sent over from the Peninsula. But the Creoles who had finally begun to be aware of their value and strength, began in their turn to think seriously of Independence, and gradually manifested sympathies for the insurgent cause in which the Aztec heroes had displayed such desperate valor, and made such enormous sacrifices. This roused Spain to more earnest efforts at repression, which still further inflamed the Creoles to resistance. In 1820, joined by the Mixed Race, they openly declared for the Revolution, and for Independence. Frequent and numerous desertions from the royal troops took place, and even commissioned officers abandoned their standards to join the insurgents. The brave Champion of Liberty, Hidalgo, was at last avenged. He had not died in vain. The uprising of the Indians in 1810, to free themselves from the oppression of their brutal taskmasters, became in 1820, a struggle of the Creoles, the Mixed Race, and the Indians, for absolute Freedom, and its history thenceforth became the story of the Mexican War for Independence.

The Third Revolution—The Empire Proclaimed and Overthrown.—On the 27th of September, 1821, Yturbe triumphantly entered the City of

Mexico at the head of his 'Army of the Three Guarantees.' The clergy were not idle. Under their all-pervading influence the whole country declared its allegiance to the new Constitution; and when at this juncture General O'Donoju arrived, having been appointed viceroy of Mexico under the liberal Constitution forced by the Cortez on the king, he found Yturbide with the revolutionists in possession of the Palace and the Government. Under the pressure of the clergy, Yturbide drew from the viceroy—August 24, 1821—the recognition of Independence, and in conformity with the *Plan of Iguala*, the acceptance of the throne of Mexico for Ferdinand VII., and the dynasty of the Bourbons. This Act was called the Treaty of Cordoba. Yturbide himself was installed President of the 'Provisional Junta' to govern the country till the arrival of the monarch. Thus, after eleven years of fierce and sanguinary struggle, the Creoles, the Mixed Race and the Indians won their Independence from Spain, and took their first step toward political and social regeneration, without having acquired the education to prepare them for self-government, made careless of the present and improvident of the future by three centuries of the severest exactions on their physical powers, their intellectual capacities restricted within the narrowest range, and accustomed to see the most sacred dignities of the Church degraded by ignorance and vice, and the highest offices of the State filled by extortionists and profligates.

Failure of the Empire.—It was plain enough that Ferdinand would not tempt fortune in the New World. The insecure ground of royalty at Madrid, shone brighter than the imperial tinsel in the distant home of the Aztecs. The refusal of the Cortez to ratify the Treaty of Cordoba, defeated the scheme of the Bourbonists, and covered the clergy with mortification and disgrace. They were now driven to an alliance with the Yturbites, who in May, 1822, proclaimed their hero Emperor, under the title of Augustin I. The new *régime* started out under flattering auspices, and being administered, at first, in a somewhat tolerant spirit, and with considerable ability, it wore the deceitful guise of prosperity. But it was only a transient success. Monarchy in Mexico had ceased to be a possibility, it could neither be any longer enforced from abroad, nor sustained at home. It was very quickly seen that the country must choose between anarchy or a Republic, and that her right of choice could not long be successfully contested. The necessity of a large army, and the maintenance of an imperial *régime*, imposed intolerable burdens upon an impoverished people, and sapped the foundations of the Empire. The frail structure was at the mercy of the first Republican blast. The storm was gathering, and soon to burst.

The Fourth Revolution.—A Republic had now—1823—become inevitable. The two foremost men of Mexico—Generals Victoria and Santa Anna—in a ringing *pronunciamento*, kindled a patriotic fire which blazed from one end of Mexico to the other, consuming the throne of Augustin,

and announcing to the waiting Republican hosts the dawning of a brighter day for Liberty. Mexicans were summoned to the ballot-box, and their Representatives met for the first time in a National Congress to undertake the great work of laying the foundations of a Republican State. A Federal Constitution was adopted—1824—and General Victoria was duly inaugurated the first President of the new Republic. The appearance of the young Commonwealth was warmly greeted by the friends of liberty in the Old World, while Lafayette—then in this country—President Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and all our great statesmen, sent cordial congratulations to the sister Republic.

Abolition of Slavery.—But this period of contention and gloom was marked by one of the grandest measures of Reform which the world had hitherto witnessed—one which speaks volumes for the progress Mexico had made after achieving her Independence—an act of statesmanship and humanity, which our great Republic did not effect till thirty-four years later, and then only as the condition of our national life! *In 1829, Slavery in Mexico was forever abolished; and this crowning act of justice and philanthropy was done when her Republic was only sixty months old!*

A National movement of larger proportions, and deeper significance, was now to take place. Hitherto one insuperable obstacle had stood between Mexico and her complete emancipation. One fatal influence had paralyzed her noblest struggles for freedom. The deadly poison of the upas tree which overshadowed the land, had corrupted the very air. The golden fruit of the tree of Liberty, planted in convulsions, watered with so many tears, and enriched with so much blood, had, like the apples of Sodom, turned to ashes in her grasp.

The Plan of Ayutla.—These magic words gave expression to the feeling and determination of the Reformers. There were no more compromises to be made with the Church party. That party had been to Mexico, what the Slavery-propagandist party was to be to us. It must die, if the nation would live. This struggle was to pass worthily into history under the name of a *Revolution*; it was to be characterized by all its noblest attributes:—Patriotism which made blood cheaper than water—valor, which recalled the chivalry of old Spain under the falling towers of Granada—the life or death of the Republic.

The Overthrow of the Dictator.—The Parties met for a decisive conflict. The monarchists and the Hierarchy on the one side, under their desperate leader Santa Anna—the patriots and the Republicans, under Alvarez and Comonfort on the other. Strange spectacle! Liberty against Slavery—Republicanism against Monarchy—Christianity against Hierarchy—the 15th century against the 19th—the Future against the Past—Hope against Despair—Life against Death. Who could doubt on which side God, angels, and good men

would stand? In 1855, the Dictator was utterly overthrown on his last battle-field, and forced to fly from the country. Alvarez being made Provisional President by acclamation, issued a Proclamation for an election of Deputies to a National Congress to meet 'for the purpose of reconstructing the Nation under the form of a Popular, Representative, Democratic, Republic.'

Guarantees of the Constitution of 1857.—The first free Congress of Mexico assembled in the Capital on the 18th of February, 1856. After prolonged sessions and heated but able debates, the new Constitution was completed, adopted, and sworn to on the 3d of the following February. It has ever since remained the Organic Law of the Republic, and been known as 'the Constitution of 1857.' It proclaims *Constitutional Government—Freedom of Religion and Education—Liberty of the Press—Nationalization of Church Property—Subordination of the Military to the Civil Power, and the Encouragement of Immigration.* Mexico thus attained the last stage of emancipation. She had planted herself on the firm foundation of the American political system. But like our Declaration of 1776, it had to be maintained by a bloody and desperate struggle of three years of heroic endurance and unyielding valor. But the promulgation of the liberal Constitution had rather maddened than paralyzed the clergy. They knew that its triumph would forever seal the fate of the church power in Mexico. They accepted the gage and went to the battle with their accustomed implements of warfare, and the added terrors of spiritual intimidation. They refused final absolution and sepulchral rites to all who purchased church property under the laws of the Liberal Government. The Republicans, although half starved, poorly clad, and bereft of everything but patriotism and courage, still stood unwaveringly by their *curse-laden standards*. For three years this terrible fratricidal war deluged the valleys of Mexico with blood. The Liberals had long been driven from the Capital, and their resources had nearly dwindled away.

Two Propitious Events.—At this period of darkness and gloom, which reminds us of the desponding days at Valley Forge, two auspicious events happened which will forever be memorable in the chequered Annals of the Mexican Republic—the elevation of Juarez to the Presidency, and the recognition of the Constitutional Government (1859) by the United States. The first blast for Mexican freedom had been sounded by Hidalgo, the hero of the Mixed Race. The Consolidation of the Free Mexican Constitution was now to be the work of an *Indian of pure blood*, of marvellous native endowments and incorruptible patriotism. The Liberal forces had been overwhelmed and driven from State to State, till Juarez, now President by virtue of the Constitution of 1857, established the Government at Vera Cruz, and organized the defeated, but still determined Liberal forces for the last victorious onset. The scales were soon reversed; the States were recovered quicker than they had been lost. Juarez issued his memorable Decrees,

known as "the Laws of Reform," and under this banner he turned his face toward the Capital. The decided battle of Calcutalpano, in which the Liberals captured the reactionary army and forty cannon, opened the gates of Mexico (January 11, 1861). The "Reforms" and the Constitution which had been abrogated by the Conservatives while they held the capital, were declared an integral part of the "Organic Law." The friendly act of our recognition of the Liberal Constitution of Mexico, and of the legitimate chieftainship of its great Defender, casts one pure ray of glory over the last days of an Administration whose combined imbecility and treason opened the flood-gates of a reign of terror and blood, which made the friends of free government everywhere turn pale.

Longing for Peace after Victory.—To all but the blinded and malignant Conservatives, it was evident that the Church party had now received its death-blow. It would seem to all right-minded men, that a struggle of half a century against such terrible odds, and conducted with such dauntless valor and unwasting enthusiasm for Liberty, should be crowned with the civil peace for which the Mexican people were longing. Thus, too, thought the successful Deliverer. In a Manifesto of the Constitutional Government addressed to the Nation, President Juarez said: "The Emancipation of the civil power, liberty of conscience, and respect for all beliefs, will assure peace, and bring to the Republic new elements of wealth and prosperity."

Beneficent Measures of the Juarez Administration.—His statesmanship was now to be thoroughly tested. It was resolved—and the task commenced—to reorganize the Judicial Powers; to establish Trial by Jury; to initiate complete Freedom of Education, by opening primary and advanced Public Schools; to endow Colleges and public Institutes of Science and Progress, and to assure full liberty of the Press—all of which the Clergy had hitherto strenuously opposed, although now powerless *openly to check*. Mr. Pritchard forcibly says: "All that was necessary for Mexico was to settle down to peaceful industry, to allow the vast material resources of the country to furnish the means to restore the public finances to a healthful condition," and had the Church party been inspired by a spark of patriotism, or even been wise enough to yield to the inevitable, the public credit would have been quickly restored, and she would have escaped a long period of national bankruptcy and disaster.

Renewal of Clerical Intrigue.—But although the death-knell of hierarchical domination had tolled, life had not left its body, and the festering corpse was still to remain above ground. Unnerved for further efforts within the limits of their own land, the Clergy worked secretly in foreign countries. They sent again their ablest emissaries to the Governments of Europe to propagate the idea that Mexico was hopelessly given over to anarchy, and moral and political perdition. At the same time the Constitutional Government, forced for the moment by absolute inability to comply with the treaty

obligations with European States, decreed the postponement of the payment of interest on all foreign debts for two years. It is especially worthy of note, that these very Treaties were among the direct means of Mexico's financial embarrassments; for of the revenues received on French imports, *eight per cent.* only was available for the Government, while of the duties on British imports, twenty-five per cent. only went into the National Treasury,—the balance having been pledged by those Treaties for the payment of foreign bondholders. This postponement of payments, with the insidious whispers, and wily intrigues of the clerical emissaries, made the Governments of Europe willing to believe that anarchy, and not hostility to *great principles* had been the result of the long and dismal contests between progressive and obsolete ideas:—and Europe pounced upon Mexico, before she had time to breathe. The last triumph of the priests had come. It was, however, to be but the lurid flash of a dissolving cloud, after the desolating storm.

The French Invasion—Maximilian's Ephemeral Empire—Pretexts for Intervention by England, France, and Spain.—The student of Mexican History should have a clear idea of the motives which urged those Governments to an act which brought so many calamities on Mexico, and so much disgrace on themselves. On the 31st of October, 1861, those three Governments formed an Alliance—'To demand more efficacious protection for their subjects, and a fulfilment of the obligations contracted toward them by the Mexican Republic.' England agreed to send a combined naval and military force, to seize and occupy fortresses, etc., and resort to all other suitable measures to effect the object, in connection with the other contracting Parties, whose contributions to the common cause were to be on a corresponding scale. It was a declaration of war against an American Republic, in flagrant defiance of *the Monroe Doctrine*; and to inflame the insult, the United States was invited to join in this European Crusade against a neighboring Republic with whom we were on terms of complete amity, and in whose fortunes our people profoundly sympathized.

The Meaning of the Monroe Doctrine.—Every Statesman in Europe understood it as it had been laid down by President Monroe himself in 1823:—'That the American Hemisphere ought not hereafter to be the field for European Colonization, and that all attempts to extend their system to any part of this Hemisphere, would be considered dangerous to the peace and security of the United States: also that the United States would not see any European intervention with the object of oppressing, or controlling the destiny of an American Nation, under any other aspect than that of a manifestation of hostility toward the United States.'

It was a measure too hazardous to be risked, even by so formidable a coalition, except in a moment of peril to our Republic. Such a crisis was on us as those Governments had long prophesied and waited for, and they seized it with avidity—England from commercial greed; Napoleon from imperial

ambition; and Spain from priestly domination. Hitherto the *Monroe Doctrine* had been respected by every government in Europe, and strictly adhered to by our Cabinets and Presidents. But its prompt vindication, any further than to guarantee the security of the respective nationalities, must now abide the issue of events which eluded the forecast of the keenest-sighted Statesmen. 'One War at a time,' said the sagacious Lincoln. 'Mexico can afford to wait—*she will keep.*' So thought his Chief Secretary, and the future justified their confidence.

The Invasion.—The allied fleets swarmed in the Mexican ports, and 25,000 of the veterans of England, France, and Spain landed on Mexican Soil. To so vast and perfectly equipped a force, no serious opposition was at first attempted. The Castle of San Juan d'Uloa, after being dismantled, and her guns transported inland, fell without a struggle. Vera Cruz followed, and the whole neighborhood submitted to the invaders. But this early victory was a delusive augury. The difficulties yet to confront the European Alliance, were to come from unexpected quarters. Juarez had invited his countrymen to merge all party strifes in a patriotic union to expel the invader, and the appeal was warmly responded to. Mexico had besides, one ally on whose invincible forces she could safely rely. The *romito* soon began its fearful ravages, and the Europeans found themselves sufficiently occupied in caring for their sick, and burying their dead. There was but one recourse: they must abandon the sea-coast for the table-lands of the interior, or submit to annihilation. In their march through the *tierras calientas*, the decimated columns staggered under the prostrating heat, and were harassed by the wasting assaults of Juarez's flying guerillas—And thus began this ill-starred enterprise, conceived in the egotism of usurped power at the Elysée; greeted with pestilence on the threshold; prosecuted with mingled folly, heroism, recklessness and barbarity; and ending in failure, mortification and blood; leaving no blessing in its train to be garnered into history, except for the Republic which still survives the merited doom of its traitors at home, and the infamy of its enemies abroad.

The Coalition Dissolved.—The conflicting ambitions of the invaders, soon broke up the alliance. Disguises vanished. The secret motives of the Contracting Parties were clearly revealed. Spain wanted one of her Bourbon princes on the new throne. Napoleon had from the outset, schemed for a Latin Empire, and an Austrian Maximilian. England wanted only dollars; and finding herself duped by her French ally, and not caring to send more "good money after bad," she withdrew from the arrangement, and Spain soon followed. France—or rather Napoleon, for France had nothing to do with the expedition except to furnish heroic blood and unknown treasure—was left to carry out his original plan.

How the Empire was to be Won.—It is no part of our design to enter into this uninviting field. But in justice to Mexico, some of the chief features

of her last and most trying struggle for a free political life, should be noticed ; otherwise she will not be fairly weighed in the scales which determine the glory or the infamy of Nations. Above all should the American reader learn how much significance the Founders of Free Government on this Hemisphere, attached to "The Monroe Doctrine," and how much greater sacrifices our Mexican brothers have made to vindicate it, than were exacted from our own Thirteen Colonies.

Successful in seizing imperial power by unscrupulous means at home, Napoleon hesitated at no agencies, however disreputable, to establish it abroad. Among disappointed, needy and turbulent spirits in Mexico who had nothing to lose and everything to gain, he could choose creatures at will. The warm sympathy, the wealth and the power of the clerical party, and its most subtle intriguers whose supremacy depended on the triumph of the French army,—of all this he was assured. On the number, and value of his army, in whose means of warfare Modern Science had been exhausted, and in the skill and fidelity of his officers he could absolutely rely. But it was all of no avail. His cause was bad, and it merited failure. He came as a public robber of honest wealth, and an imperial murderer of patriotic citizens. He came to restore the domination of a corrupt and hated hierarchy, and substitute for a beloved and blood-bought Republic, an odious and alien despotism. But had his cause been less unjust, and his power fourfold greater, it would have been doomed to final defeat. Napoleon underrated the courage, the patriotism, and the power of endurance of the Mexican people : the value they set upon their free institutions ; the incorruptibility of their wisest statesmen, and bravest generals, the detestation in which all true Mexicans held the intervention of the stranger,—still less did the drugged dreamer of the 2d of December, comprehend the impossibility of restoring monarchy in the Western World. It was not dying in France to find a resurrection here.

French Proclamation.—Among the emissaries sent to Europe, had been Almonte—an ex-president, but now a traitor. He arrived with a letter from Napoleon, and issued a *pronunciamento*, calling upon all patriotic Mexicans to join the standard of the *French Liberating Army*. The call was responded to with alacrity by the enemies of the Republic, whether priests, adventurers, or robbers, and a crusade of butchery, outrage, cruelty, and plunder, unknown in the annals of civilized warfare, began. It was the policy of the defenders, as far as they could, to avoid pitched battles, in which they were sure to fight to disadvantage. But they so skilfully defended their strongholds, and so desperately contended against fearful odds, that at the end of the first twelve months they had proved too strong for the assailants. Finding their forces decimated by fruitless sieges, unsuccessful engagements, malignant diseases, and the daring guerillas, the French Commander called for large reinforcements. Thirty-five thousand fresh troops were hurried forward by steam transports, many of them veteran Zouaves from Algeria, and a large detachment of Negro troops which Napoleon had borrowed from his

friend the Viceroy of Egypt.—Levies from two continents had to be made to crush the distant Republic. But veterans who had been inured to the heats of the Nile and the Desert, yielded to the small-pox, and to save their cause they summoned to their aid every agency known to the most savage warfare, to bring the terrible campaign to a close.

The Chief Spectator of the Conflict.—Of the lookers-on, the United States contemplated it with the deepest sympathy. In the outset, and long before our Rebellion was crushed, Mr. Seward had addressed to the allies certain inquiries which he deemed proper to submit, and had received in reply positive assurances that they had no other object in view than the simple redress of grievances, and they deliberately declared that ‘the revolution going on in Mexico, was prompted solely by Mexican citizens now in Europe’—all of which the Secretary was bound to accept; the latter statements being but too true, since all the authorities of the time prove that, not only this, but most of the revolutionary disturbances in Mexico had been fomented by the Church—for it became a settled maxim that whom the Church could not control, it sought to destroy. The *London Times*, in its issue of May 27, 1862, honestly told the story:—“We now understand the origin of the whole affair. The Monarchy, with the Archduke Maximilian for Emperor, was the idea of certain Mexican refugees, members of the reactionary or clerical party in Mexico, and partizans of Marquez and other ruffians, whose misdeeds had been among the principal causes of our intervention. If Ferdinand Maximilian goes to Mexico, he will find his most active friends among the men who have shot, tortured, and robbed until Europe has lost its patience.” The result proved that the *Times* was right.

How Maximilian was Induced to Accept the Crown.—It is but fair to take the Archduke at his word. From the beginning to the end, he was deceived by the Delegation sent from a body of self-elected and self-styled “Notables,” to offer him the sceptre of Mexico. Just before he departed for Queretaro, the poor deluded Maximilian said: “I came to this country from no selfish motives. I came to do good. I was happy at Miramar when there arrived a committee of the first men in Mexico, called the ‘Committee of Notables.’ They were represented to be the best educated, the wisest, and most influential men of this country. They formally asked me to accept the crown of Mexico. I told them that I could not then decide, but requested them to return at the expiration of a month. During this period every crowned head in Europe advised me to accept. The notables did return at the end of a month, and I then informed them that if at the end of six months they could bring me proof that I had been elected fairly by the Mexican people their Emperor, I would accept the position. At the appointed time they came again with the proof of my election as Emperor, and even then I would not have accepted, except to please the Empress, and now I learn to-day that I have lost her, perhaps forever.”



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.



Napoleon himself, it was alleged, had given peremptory orders to Forey, his agent in Mexico, that the choice of Maximilian as Emperor, should be determined by a free *plebiscite*—he had implicit faith in such elections—well managed. But everybody knew that no honest expression of opinion could be had, even in the districts under the French control, while elsewhere no election at all could be held. The whole thing was a farce. The great mass of the Mexican people had nothing whatever to do with the election of Maximilian. Nobody wanted him except the priests and their adherents. The entire Story was told to Europe by *M. Malespine* in his famous *brochure*, and the Mexican scheme was brought into merited contempt. But Maximilian's scruples being finally overcome, he accepted the proffered sceptre, and with the solemn assurances of being sustained by the whole weight of the French Empire, he hurried to Rome to receive the blessing of the Holy Father, and sailed on an Austrian frigate, with the ill-fated Carlotta, for his transatlantic destination.

Maximilian Inaugurates his Empire.—His reception in the Capital was attended with "pomp and circumstance" never before witnessed in Mexico. What was wanting in popular enthusiasm, was made up by the imposing display of a splendid army, a newly-tinselled court, gorgeous equipages, martial music, festal offerings, and regal homage. After a *Te Deum* in the stately Cathedral, the Emperor held an audience in the Palace, where he distributed a few bits of ribbon to his mushroom nobility. The city was illuminated—the celebration lasted three days—the clergy footed the bill !

Imperial Administration.—The new ruler now addressed himself to the serious work of "regenerating" his impoverished empire. His dreams were at last all to be realized. Forey's declaration of July 3, 1862, that the object of the French intervention was "to restore to the Latin race on this side of the Ocean its power and its prestige" was to be made good. The first superficial glance at the condition of affairs, satisfied Maximilian that great and beneficent measures must be promised, for he could not fail to see that without them he would hold his power only by the frailest tenure. He summoned his counsellors to consider what should be done. All sorts of commissions were appointed, and all sorts of schemes projected. A railway was to be built across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec,—and a network of Telegraph lines and Railroads was to be extended through the Empire. A National Army of 100,000 men was to be organized and a great iron-clad Navy was to be constructed. A vast system of mining was to be set in operation ; manufactories of every description were to be established ; improved agriculture introduced ; special encouragement was to be extended to all branches of science, art, and enterprise ; commercial intercourse was to spring up with all nations ; everybody was to have everything ; the desert was to blossom like the rose ; Mexico was to become a political Paradise ; and Maximilian and Carlotta were to be the happiest royal pair that ever held a Sceptre, because

they were to rule over the happiest people under the sun—such was the dream. The waking was to be in the midst of carnage, treachery, madness, and blood.

The Offer to Juarez and his Noble Reply.—Before he disembarked from his frigate, Maximilian had sent a respectful Address to the President of the Mexican Republic, inviting him to meet his new Emperor at the Capital, to devise schemes for the good of "their common country." The scornful reply of the insulted patriot probably gave the invader his first correct idea of the people he had come to govern.¹

¹ *Respected Sir:*—You have privately addressed me a letter, dated the 2d instant, on board the frigate Novara; and in my character of a polite and respectable person, the obligation is imposed on me of replying to it, although hastily and without anything like meditation, because you must already suppose that the delicate and important charge of President of the Republic, absorbs all my time without cessation; even at night. French filibustering is seeking to endanger and overthrow our nationality, and I who by my principles and my oaths am the one called to sustain the national integrity, its sovereignty, and its independence, have to labor actively, multiplying my efforts to respond to the sacred trusts which the nation, in the exercise of its sovereign faculties, has imposed upon me. Nevertheless, I propose, however briefly, to reply to the most important points contained in your letter.

You tell me that, "abandoning the succession to a throne in Europe, abandoning your family, your friends, your property, and the dearest thing to a man—your country—and your wife—Donna Carlotta, you have come to distant and unknown lands, only in obedience to the spontaneous call of a nation which fixes in you the happiness of its future." I certainly admire, in one sense, all your generosity; but, on the other, my surprise has been truly great in finding in your letter the phrase "spontaneous call;" for I had seen before, that when the traitors of my country presented themselves, on their own authority, at Miramar, to offer you the crown of Mexico, with a few acts of nine or ten towns of the nation, you did not perceive in it anything but a ridiculous farce, unworthy to be seriously considered by an honest and decent man. In reply to such an absurdity, you demanded a free expression of the national will, as the result of universal suffrage. This was to demand an impossibility, but it was the proper duty of an honorable man to do so. How great then must be my wonder to see you coming to the Mexican territory, without any of the conditions demanded being fulfilled! How must I not wonder at seeing you now accepting the same farce of traitors, adopting their language, decorating and taking into your service bandits like Marquez and Herran, and surrounding your person with this dangerous class of Mexican society! Frankly speaking, I have been greatly deceived; for I hoped and believed that you were one of those pure organizations which ambition could not succeed in corrupting.

You cordially invite me to go to Mexico, a city whither you are about to proceed, to the end that we

may there have a conference, in conjunction with other Mexican chiefs who are now in arms, promising us all the forces necessary for our escort in the transit, and pledging as security and guarantee, your public faith, your word, and your honor. It is impossible, sir, for me to accede to this call: my official occupations will not admit of it. But if in the exercise of my public functions, I could accept such an invitation, the public faith, the word, and the honor of an agent of Napoleon the perjured, would not be sufficient; of a man whose safety reposes in the hands of Mexican traitors, and of the man who at this moment represents the cause of one of the parties who signed the Treaty of Soledad, we know too well in America the worth of that public faith, that word and honor, just as the French People know how much the oaths and promises of a Napoleon are worth.

You also say that from the conferences we might have (in case of my acceptance), you do not doubt that peace will result, and with it the felicity of the Mexican Nation; and that in the future the Empire, placing me in a post of distinguished honor, would count upon my talents, and the aid of my patriotism for the general good. It is certain, sir, that the history of our own times records the names of great traitors who have betrayed their oaths, their word, and their promises: who have been false to their own party and principles, and even to their antecedents, and all that is most sacred to the man of honor—true, also, that in all these cases of treason, the traitor has been guided by the vile ambition of command and the miserable desire of satisfying his own passions, and even his own vices: but he who is at present charged with the trust of President of the Republic, emerging as he has from the obscure masses of the people, will succumb, if in the wisdom of Providence he must succumb, fulfilling his own to the last, corresponding to the hope of the nation over which he presides, and satisfying the inspirations of his own conscience.

The want of time compels me to conclude, and I will add but one observation. It is given to man sometimes to attack the rights of others, to seize their property, to threaten the lives of those who dare defend their nationality, to make the highest virtues appear like crimes, and their own vices to shine with the lustre of true virtue. But there is one thing that is beyond the reach of the false and perverse, and that is the tremendous sentence of History. It will judge us. I am, etc., etc.,

BENITO JUAREZ.

Temporary Success of the Empire.—Juarez had uttered the voice of every patriotic Republican in Mexico. They saw in Maximilian only an agent of Napoleon, and with the exception of the clergy and their allies, the recognition of his authority was limited to the victorious march of his army. He discovered at last, that the empire he had accepted as the free gift of the people, had to be gained only by hard fighting. Every acre of ground, and every ounce of spoil, was to be the price of blood. But it was too late to retreat and under the able but unscrupulous generalship of Bazaine, the overthrow of the Republic and the subjugation of Mexico must be made complete.

Success had already crowned the French arms in many engagements, although their advances had been so bravely disputed at every step that even Bazaine, in his despatches to Napoleon, had more than once expressed the opinion that final victory would be attended with too great a cost. But Napoleon had not waked from his dream of founding "a Latin Empire in the New World," and fresh reinforcements were being continually hurried forward. A series of disasters had befallen the Liberal armies in the South, being everywhere pressed by overwhelming forces. In the North, Juarez had been compelled to fly from one position to another, till he had at last fallen back on Chihuahua, 800 miles from the Capital. But he seemed to gather courage with his reverses. Regarding himself as the representative of the Republic,—the depositary of a sacred trust, he still heroically kept the field with barely 2,000 men. One by one his chief generals and counsellors had been taken from him by death, capture, or submission to the Imperial armies, till scarcely a man of note remained near him except Negrete. Only in the South did the Republicans preserve any show of efficient organized opposition, although the guerillas prowled all through Mexico, and maintained a wasting and marauding warfare up to the very gates of the Capital. But the regular patriot forces had dwindled to less than 15,000 men, and these scattered in small detachments over wide territories, ragged, destitute of equipments, half-starved, but still resolute to expel the invaders. To all appearances however, the Republican cause was growing hopeless, and with an army of 50,000 veterans completely equipped, and ably commanded, Maximilian flattered himself that he might ultimately consolidate his empire. But these hopes and appearances were delusive.

Juarez Asked to Resign the Presidency.—The future now looked dark enough to dishearten even the most intrepid. All but the four or five northernmost States had been lost, and some of Juarez's partizans asked him to resign, hoping that almost any change might improve their waning fortunes. To this appeal the indomitable Indian patriot had but one reply. He wrote: 'Such a step would cover the Liberals with ridicule, and myself with the ignominy of deserting, in time of danger, a post which has been solemnly confided to me by the Nation. It is true that the present aspect of affairs is not bright. But I am certain that duty calls us to still struggle for our country, and that between struggle and treason there is no mean. I beg you

therefore to go on, making war upon our enemies by all possible means—this being our only hope of salvation.' Here the grand old hero saved not only the Republic, but his country.

Causes of the Downfall of the Empire.—They were numerous enough, and they all lay upon the surface. Maximilian's dominion had been obtained *under false pretences*, for the great body of the people had had no agency in its tender. It was a *mission of war*, and not of peace, on which he came, and the attempt to enforce his authority had been attended with atrocities known only to savage warfare. His Mexican advisers had been traitors to the Republic, and would betray him at last; while among his foreign counsellors there was not a single statesman. Industry had been paralyzed at home, and commerce abroad. Brigandage and violence had rendered property and life insecure. The prodigality of the court, the falling off of the revenue, and the expenses and waste of the war, were fast plunging the government into hopeless bankruptcy. Under the pressure of Mr. Seward's dispatches, and the readiness with which the vast armies of our Republic would have united with those of the extinct Confederacy, to enforce *the Monroe Doctrine*; the growing unpopularity in France of the Mexican War; its cost, and the probable failure of the Expedition—all combined to cloud the future of the new Empire. But it was menaced with a more imminent and appalling danger, and from which there was no escape—the *defection of the clergy, and the withdrawal of the benediction of the Pope!*

The Reform Laws of Juarez Restored.—It was supposed that when the French Army entered the Capital, *the Laws of Reform* would be annulled by the same act which abolished the Constitution of 1857; for the object of the clergy in procuring intervention, had been the restoration of the confiscated estates of the Church, with the overthrow of the Liberal party. But as much of the clerical property had been purchased by subjects of the French Empire who had been inoffensive residents of the Mexican Republic, the conquerors could not be expected to sacrifice the interests of their countrymen in whose cause they had intervened. Hence they found themselves irrevocably committed to the policy of Juarez, and the titles to the nationalized estates were confirmed. The amazement and indignation of the clergy can hardly be described. The Archbishop with his imposing retinue appeared before the judicial authority with earnest protests against 'this sacrilegious land spoliation,' but without relief. They appealed to Bazaine; but the French soldier replied:—'For a Monarchy to succeed in Mexico, it must be a government of statesmen or soldiers—not of priests. Moreover it must be *Mexican*. The titles will stand.' Their next recourse was to the Emperor when he arrived, and their cause was enforced by the solemn protest of the Supreme Pontiff (Oct. 18, 1864). But Maximilian was helpless to restore the lost estates, and in the terrible dilemma he pleaded for the sanction of the Pope to the irrevocable act. But the poor Prince was asking for

absolution from "a sin which can have no forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come." This outrage was, moreover, inflamed by the ratification of another of the new Laws of Reform—the *validity of civil marriage*. In fact the close of the year 1864 found Maximilian a professed Liberal, hated by the Liberals, and at the same time still worse by the Conservatives who had called him to the throne. The clergy could not openly desert him, for their forlorn hope was indissolubly linked with the fortunes of the Empire. But their ill-disguised animosity toward the French *régime*, was exceeded only by the bitterness of their disappointment, and some of them went so far as to render secret aid to the Liberal cause. It was well known that while General Diaz, in the beginning of 1865, with 7,000 famishing men, was still holding his native city Oaxaca against the siege guns of the French, *he was sustained by liberal supplies of money from the disaffected clergy*. And yet the Invasion had been projected on so vast a scale, and maintained with such lavish generosity by Napoleon; the French and Austrian officers had conducted the campaign with such gallantry and discretion, and were sustained by so constantly recruited and disciplined an army, that it was long before confidence in their invincibility began to be shaken.

First Signs of Fatal Discouragement amongst the Republicans.—They had now been battling for four years against fearful odds, and with a heroism never surpassed in the struggles for liberty. Diaz, who had so long defended Oaxaca, was forced to surrender with his garrison, as prisoners of war. With him fell the last stronghold of the patriots. The brave Alvarez had been driven from Acapulco, their last seaport. Arteaga, commanding the Army of the Centre, had finally been overwhelmed and captured. Juarez had been hunted so long and so hard, that he found refuge only at El Paso, the last border town on the Rio Grande. Mexico seemed given over to Maximilian and—*chaos*. In this moment of exultation on the one side, and apparent ruin on the other, Maximilian, thinking Juarez had taken shelter in the United States, announced his flight, and the final triumph of the Imperial cause, and published that bloody decree which was afterward to justify his own execution—*'All prisoners taken in arms against the Sovereign Authority of Mexico will be shot.'*

Desperate Efforts to Save the Empire.—The supreme hour of the Republic had come. The sanguinary Edict of Maximilian everywhere inflamed the hatred of all classes of the Mexican people. It was to be no longer a conflict at arms, however fierce, within the prescribed limits of civilized warfare—it had degenerated into a slaughter of extermination. A spirit of patriotic revenge spread through the country like a raging fire. The first summary executions of Republican soldiers were quickly followed by the most fearful retaliations on all imperialists, who fell into the hands of the infuriated guerillas. The journals of the time on both sides, represent such scenes of torture and inhumanity, as were afterward scarcely to be equalled by the atrocities perpetrated in the doomed villages of Bulgaria. The scat-

tered patriots responded to the call of their old leaders, who once more took the field for a still more desperate struggle. The gallant Alvarez, who had fallen back from Acapulco fighting, sent out from the mountain gorges of Guerrero on the Pacific, a burning appeal to his compatriots "from the Gulf to the Rio Grande." The intrepid Diaz, who had escaped from his prison at Puebla, and gathered and disciplined a tried band, was driving some of the best imperial troops before him. Other able patriot commanders, who had not for a long time been heard from, were reporting successes from unexpected quarters. In the North, the imperialists were so hard pressed, that they had to abandon the strong positions they had taken during the preceding year. Monterey, Saltillo, and Chihuahua successively yielded to the victorious Republicans, and by September—1866—all the Northern States had been reclaimed by Juarez, and he was able to resume connections with his veteran commanders. On the 27th of October, he entered Durango and prepared to march on the Capital, while the cheering news came from the South, that Diaz had recaptured the city of Oaxaca, won the decisive victory of Carbonera, and had marched to the siege of Puebla. The close of 1866 found the clouds gathering thick around the throne of Maximilian. The Republicans celebrated the New Year of 1867, with the recovery of all Mexico except Vera Cruz, Puebla, Queretaro, and the Capital.

Agency of the United States in the Overthrow of Maximilian.—Because it was less apparent, it was by no means the less effective. It had been partly understood by the Mexican people from the commencement of the invasion, and it was generously acknowledged by Juarez in his first Message to Congress on its assembling in the Capitol after the downfall of the Empire: "The constant sympathy of the People of the United States, and the moral support lent by its Government to our cause, merited, and still justly merit, the sympathy and consideration of the People and Government of Mexico." But for his great ability as a broad Statesman, and his vindication of the cause of free Government in this hemisphere, Mr. Seward has not yet been awarded his just meed of praise. His reply to the invitation to our Government to join the Allies in their first intervention, was a well-merited answer to the studied insult, and had not a little to do with the early withdrawal of Spain and England from the impending hazard and disgrace which attended that ill-starred undertaking. His subsequent demand for an explanation of the motives and purposes of the intervention; his firm refusal to have anything to do with Maximilian or his "so-called empire," and his steady adherence to Juarez, and his Republic, in spite of the insidious and powerful efforts made in Mexico, Paris, Vienna, and *even in New York*, to dissuade him—all proved his immovable convictions in the impossibility of establishing Monarchical institutions in the New World.¹ All through our home

¹ At a superb banquet given to Mr. Seward, at Colima by the Governor of that State, during his "ovation tour" through Mexico in 1869, the ex-Secretary uttered in the following words, sentiments and principles which should be carefully studied by every American Statesman:—"The experience of the eighteenth century indicated to mankind two important changes of Society and government on the Continent of America.

troubles, and the constant exposure to foreign complications, especially with our worst—indeed our *only* enemy—the welfare of Mexico lay near his heart:—none of the hostile designs and intrigues of her enemies escaped his vigilance. Finally, on the publication of Maximilian's brutal decree, Mr. Bigelow was instructed to demand of Napoleon's minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, why he allowed Maximilian to put prisoners of war to death. The Minister replied, 'Why do you ask us? We are not responsible for Maximilian's acts—ask him.' This gave room for a question of greater importance: 'This being the case, and as the United States have no relations with Maximilian, and it is your soldiers who are committing these atrocities, it deeply concerns the United States to inquire how long the Emperor Napoleon intends to keep his army in Mexico.'

It was, by this time, definitely known that a plain answer was expected to this plain question. Napoleon had already learned of a Resolution unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives at Washington, declaring its unqualified opposition to any peaceful recognition of the pretended government of Maximilian, and he knew that he could no longer safely tempt the forbearance of our Republic, by further persistence in blotting out a free State on our border.

Napoleon Deserts Maximilian.—The firm attitude of Mr. Seward left no pretext for evasion, and the private assurance was given to our minister that the order would at once be issued for the evacuation of Mexico, by the

First, that all American States must thereafter be not dependent European colonies, but independent American nations. *Second*, that all independent American nations must thereafter have, not imperial or monarchical governments, but republican governments, constituted and carried on by the voluntary agency of the people themselves. During a large part of my own political life, these great changes of society and government have been, more or less, in logical debate, contested in Europe, and on the battlefield throughout America. While they have often involved the American States in civil and international wars, they have more than once provoked European intervention. A third improvement was easily found necessary to guarantee full success to the two principal changes which I have already mentioned. The third improvement consists in the consolidation of the many, or several contiguous nations or States, which are weak of themselves, into United States distinct nations. My own country, the United States, has taken the lead in these changes, so essential in the American hemisphere. The Mexican Republic has early, bravely, and persistently adopted a similar System. Central America, and nearly all the South American States, have followed the example thus set by the United States and the Mexican Republic. One additional principle remains to be adopted, to secure the success of the Republican System throughout the Continent. If it shall become universal on the American Continent, we have reason to expect that the same great System may be accepted by other nations throughout the world. That additional principle is

simply this: That the several American Republics, just as they constitute themselves, while mutually abstaining from intervention with each other, shall become more than ever heretofore, political friends through force of moral alliance. This, in short, is the policy which I have inculcated at home, and which, with your leave, and the leave of others, interested, I shall commend, as far as possible, to the Republic of Mexico, Central America, and South America. I sincerely trust that the severest trials of the Republican System are already passed in Mexico; and I shall never cease to pray God for her continued independence, unity, prosperity, and happiness.'—[*Our Sister Republic*: by Col. Albert S. Evans, pp. 62-64.]

Col. Evans, long familiar with Mexico, and an acute and philosophical observer of government and society, says, in the Preface to *Our Sister Republic*:—'Seeing much to praise, something to blame, and much to excuse as the inevitable result of the acts of those who administered the Government and shaped the destinies of Mexico before the present generation came upon the field of action, I can safely say that the balance was decidedly on the right side, and that I came away with more respect for the people, more sympathy for a nationality struggling—sometimes blindly, but always earnestly and persistently—along the path of progress, and more hope for the future of that much misunderstood and much misrepresented Republic, than I had when I entered it.'

French army in three divisions : the first in November ('66), the second on the 2d of March, '67, and the third during the following November. This gave complete satisfaction at Washington, and sealed the fate of Maximilian's Empire. But before the order reached Mexico, the Empire was fast hastening to its fall. It possessed no element of endurance in itself. The life of the exotic could be prolonged only by the hand which had planted it, and even that support was to be withdrawn. Maximilian looked around him for help ; but amongst all his counsellors he could find no one who had not been a deceiver, or a dupe ; or ready to desert or betray him in the final hour. In this moment of dissolution the poor Prince cast his eye around the Board where his Counsellors of State were sitting, and asked in agony, 'Whom can I trust?' 'Me, sire,' exclaimed the Empress, as she suddenly sprang to her feet, in her more than regal majesty. 'In two hours I will be ready.' The Council broke up. The blanched and cowardly Mexican traitors slunk away to their private rooms. Bazaine, with the self-possession of an old campaigner, and the *nonchalance* of a true Frenchman, lit his cigarette, and sauntered down the council chamber, quietly remarking—'Alors, c'est une affaire finis.' In two hours the fastest horses in the Imperial stables were at the doorway of the Palace. 'To Vera Cruz,' was the last order ever given in the Capital, by this noblest woman who had descended from a throne since the heroic and lamented Marie Antoinette.

Failure of Carlotta's Mission.—She reached Paris, and throwing herself at the feet of Napoleon, implored him to save Maximilian and his empire. It was too late : the order for the evacuation of the French army had already gone forward. The brave princess and devoted wife, hurried to Rome, and on her knees, bathing the golden cross with her tears, she made her last frantic appeal. 'My daughter,' replied the weeping old man, 'I am powerless to save you : we must look to God alone.' The brain of the broken-hearted Carlotta gave way, and the maniac was taken to her home, where she was to be tenderly cared for ever after.—Yes ! Pio Nono was right. The day had gone by when Republics could be crushed, or empires saved, by the curse or the blessing of the Supreme Pontiff.

Last Scenes of the Empire.—The date fixed for the embarkation of the first detachment of the French troops having passed, Mr. Seward instructed Mr. Bigelow to ask of Napoleon *in person*, the cause of the delay. Once more a satisfactory answer was given. 'Since the withdrawal of a portion of the French army might embarrass or endanger the rest, it had been determined to embark *the whole force at once*, and the order had already been given, and the day fixed.' Thus was Napoleon's disgraceful and unprovoked crusade against the liberty and life of an American nation brought to an end.

Meantime, by the 1st of March ('67), Maximilian was left at the head only of his native troops, and a small band of Austrian Auxiliaries. Benavides, another of Mexico's able and patriotic generals, was besieging Vera

Cruz, and Diaz, who had captured Puebla and routed the 'butcher Marquez,' who had marched to its relief, carried the castle of Chapultepec by storm, and was now laying siege to the Capital, which was soon to surrender. In the North, Escobedo was marching on Queretaro, where Miramon with the remains of the grand Imperial army, had taken his last stand. In his extremity Maximilian contemplated flight, and he started for Vera Cruz. But on his way he was stopped at Orizaba by order of Bazaine, and requested to return to the Capital. But he refused. Delegations besought him; even chief dignitaries of the Church implored him not to abandon his Empire, and offered to furnish millions of dollars to the cause which they declared could yet be saved.

After some weeks of vacillation, he suddenly started for the Imperial headquarters to join his fortunes with those of Miramon and Mejia. Near the Capital he met Marshal Bazaine on the road. The carriage stopped a moment at his request for a conference. 'No conference is necessary,' replied the Prince. 'Your master has left me the alternative of death or dishonor. Of the two I prefer the former. Drive on.' He made haste, and fought his last battle. He was captured with his army, and being tried by a court-martial with his two principal Mexican officers, Miramon and Mejia, the three were found guilty of bearing arms 'against the Sovereign Authority of Mexico,' and by virtue of his own fatal edict, they were sentenced to be shot. Every possible effort to avert his fate was made, especially by the Prussian Minister near the court of the condemned Emperor, 'whose petition was supported by the assurance of his own Sovereign that all the crowned heads of Europe would give to His Excellency Señor Don Benito Juarez every security that no one of the prisoners should ever again tread on Mexican soil.' The Emperor of Austria asked our Government to interfere. As Maximilian's defeat had been foreseen, Mr. Seward had already despatched a messenger to San Luis Potosi—the then capital of the Republic—expressing to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs 'the desire of this Government, that in case of capture, the Prince and his supporters may receive the humane treatment awarded by civilized nations to prisoners of war.' Finally an appeal was made to Juarez, who by this time, had to be recognized even by the usurper as the legitimate ruler of Mexico. His reply was consistent with his exalted character as a patriot and statesman: 'The most weighty considerations of justice, and the necessity of securing peace to the Nation, are not consistent with such an act of clemency.'

Col. Evans describes the death scene :

'In company with Señor Dueñas, I rode out to see the spot where the three met their death. On the northeastern slope of the low, rocky hill-side, facing the city, a rude barrier of adobes had been thrown up to stop the bullets, and here the carriage halted. Gen. Escobedo, with a motion of the hand, directed Maximilian to come down. The puppet Emperor, unaccustomed to such treatment from those he regarded as the dust of the earth, gave him a look of doubt which finally changed to a scowl, descended hesitatingly and walked mechanically toward the summit of the hill. Miramon arrived next, and seeing that

Maximilian was going wrong, called him back. They stood at first with Maximilian in the centre, but the position was changed, and when the troops drew up on the hill below to fire upon them, Maximilian stood on the west, Miramon next, and Mejia on the east. Maximilian, from a repugnance to touching the hands of common men, had contracted the habit in Mexico, of standing with his hands behind him, and in this position he stood, and said something inaudible to the spectators to Mejia and to Miramon. He then commenced a bitter, rambling, and incoherent speech to Escobedo—not in words, at all, which have since been put in his mouth—about being willing to die for the good of Mexico, but was stopped and told to face the muskets. Mejia stood with his arms folded, Miramon holding his written defence, and Maximilian with a cross elevated in his right hand, when the sharp crash of the volley came, and all three rolled upon the ground. Mejia and Miramon died instantly, but Maximilian repeatedly clapped his hand on his head as if in agony, and expired without a struggle, as the echoes of the muskets died away among the cañons of the distant Sierra.'

Diaz had already entered the City of Mexico in triumph, and issued orders for the temporary government of the citizens, and the disposal of the surrendered troops, while due preparations were made for the reception of the deliverer of the Republic.

Juarez Greeted back to the Capital.—Re-establishment of the Republic.—At last, after long years of heroic endurance and unwavering hope, BENITO JUAREZ, like his great prototype, George Washington, entered the capital of his redeemed Republic, and was hailed as the *saviour of his country*. Mexico abandoned itself to a delirium of joy. Weary patriots could now hang up their battered arms over their rescued roof-trees, and crowd their ancient temples with votive offerings. Siege cannon, once fired to celebrate the inauguration of the reign of a foreign robber, murderer, and tyrant, were now made to celebrate the victorious restoration of a free Commonwealth. It was the *Te Deum* of a grateful People to the God of Liberty, instead of the jubilee of a sordid priesthood, on the blotting out of a Republic.

The address of Juarez was a model of modesty and patriotism. He closed by saying: "Mexicans! we have reached to-day the greatest good we could desire, in seeing consummated, for the second time, the independence of our country. We will all co-operate in sustaining our independence and our liberty!"

Restoration of Order.—The fall of the Empire left the country in a state of chaos. All that was good still left of the Republic had vanished, except the inextinguishable love of Liberty, and a full knowledge of the enormous sacrifices its preservation had cost. It had been attended with the loss of tens of thousands of lives of brave and innocent men, and uncounted treasure; ruined agriculture and neglected industries; the decay of domestic commerce; the spread of poverty; the overthrow of civil order; the reign of brigandage and violence; a fearful increase of crime, and a general relaxation of the restraints of religion. The treasury was not only empty, but there were no means left to replenish it. Private fortunes had been seriously impaired, or utterly swept away. "Everything is lost," said Juarez, "except independence—but that is everything. Now we must begin to build up."

It was an Herculean work ; but Juarez went undismayed to his task. He had displayed the rarest qualities of a national leader in protracted periods of public peril ; he was now to submit to perhaps severer exactions as a statesman, for indomitable courage and perseverance may carry a brave and patriot people through an unequal struggle, without the wisdom to guide them to permanent prosperity after their military triumphs. History abounds in such examples. But if Bacon was right in denominating state builders the greatest of men, the fame of Juarez may be regarded as secure ; for continuing to rule Mexico by the free choice of her people from January, 1858, till his death in July, 1872, he proved himself equal to the twofold task of conducting his country through one of the most fearful and prolonged conflicts ever witnessed, and of restoring her to a degree of civil happiness and power of which we have few examples.¹

Administration of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.—Having been elected Vice-President with Juarez, he peacefully and legally succeeded him in the Chief Magistracy for the rest of the four years' term. Gifted with uncommon abilities and aptitude for civil life, and thoroughly educated in liberal studies, his tastes inclined him to the profession of law, in which he would easily have won eminence, had not his restless ambition diverted him to the more congenial fields of political strife. Much was expected from his administration, and it gave such general satisfaction, that on the recurrence of the next regular Election, he was confirmed in the presidential office by the popular voice.

He had no serious difficulties to overcome. Mexico needed repose, and in the general tranquillity her people were rapidly recovering from the deep prostration, which necessarily followed the exhausting struggle to maintain the national life. The Republic seemed to be firmly established. The powers and prerogatives of the government were clearly defined. Modelled after our own Federal System, equal independence was reserved by all the States for the management of their internal affairs, while only such powers were conferred upon the Federal Government as were necessary for the well-being of all. The political power of the clergy—that ancient, all-blighting curse of the nation—had been overthrown, and religious toleration secured.

¹ Benito Juarez was born of poor and obscure Indian parents, near Oaxaca, March 18, 1806. He was left an orphan at the age of three, and at the age of twelve had received no education, and could speak only the Tapotecó—an Indian dialect. Discovering the rare qualities of the lad, a lay brother of the Franciscans undertook his education in Spanish and Latin, and so surprising was his progress, that he took the degree of bachelor of laws in the Institute of Arts and Sciences at Oaxaca at an early age, and soon became Professor of Physics in the School, where he gained an enviable reputation. Having no obstacles to overcome on account of race or color, he was admitted to the practice of law in '34, and began a career which promised future eminence. But he made himself so obnoxious by his fearless and rank liberalism, that he was shortly arrested and imprisoned for a considerable time. Being

liberated in a change of administration, he was first appointed a civil judge (1842), and subsequently (1845) became Attorney-General of his State. Falling under the displeasure of the Dictator Santa Anna, he was exiled, and came to the United States. On the Dictator's downfall he returned, only to be again banished. He was finally recalled by President Alvarez, and made Minister of Justice. Once more his bold and unyielding Reform speeches and writings cost him his liberty for awhile. But his great talents, well-tryed integrity, and powerful influence, made him so popular, that he was regarded as the foremost man in the now triumphant Liberal Party. He was raised to the Presidency in '58, and filled the office by re-elections till the early portion of his fourth term, when he died suddenly, July 18, '72, leaving an unspotted and beloved name.

One More Reform Needed.—It was the limitation of the elected candidate to a single term. Hitherto, the rapidly succeeding presidential changes had been one of the evils attending the rapidly succeeding revolutions. Now, the leaders of progressive ideas, found the danger in the other direction, and for the first time in her history, a president had held the Chief Magistracy for fourteen years—a Mexican political phenomenon. This president was Juarez, who died during his fourth term. Protests against his last Election had been without effect: and as Vice-President Lerdo succeeded legally to the vacant place, the needed reform was for awhile held in abeyance. The fathers of the Constitution of 1857, had followed us too closely,—even to the imitation of our great mistake, that of not prohibiting a second term. It must not be thought strange therefore, that for very obvious reasons, Mexico was more exposed to the perils of the first bold usurper.

We had learned by long experience, that even with all our boasted intelligence, and jealousy of executive power, we had often seen the first term prostituted to securing the second, and we might see the second term used for winning the third. It has always been so—it is the same old road that Greece and Rome, England and France, and every other free State has travelled—(Switzerland alone excepted)—from Republicanism to Monarchy. We may feel secure. But this insensibility to danger, might be the greatest proof of peril. The liberties of nations are not struck down in a day. Like the mighty movements of continental glaciers, their paths can be traced only by geology long after the transformations have taken place. In like manner does history mark the successive stages of the decline and fall of Republics. Their subversion has been commonly ascribed to the decay of public virtue, and the demoralizing influences of growing wealth and luxury. But the effect in these cases, as in so many others, is substituted for the *cause*. All that Cæsar, Cromwell, or either of the Napoleons cared for, was *extension of Executive power by the popular will*—first as consul, or president for a limited term; next for a second and longer term—then for life. The game thus adroitly played, had always ended in a dictatorship enforced by a *coup d'état*, winding up with the Empire, which meant absolute despotism.

Attempted Dictatorship of Lerdo.—It would seem that a man of such ostentatious patriotism, would have desired to preserve the liberties of his country which had been purchased at such fearful sacrifices during two generations: and it seemed equally safe to rely on the completeness of his knowledge of the history of Mexico, and the spirit of its people. But in both estimates Mexico and the world were woefully deceived. Lerdo was as destitute of that intelligence, as he was of patriotism—as the event proved. Fortune had first given him power for three years, and the people had voluntarily confirmed it for four years longer. But his course after his election, soon convinced sagacious observers that his eye was steadily fixed upon a third term, and everybody knew that meant a perpetual dictatorship. All his appointments in the army and navy, and the entire range of civil offices, were

conferred on the expressed, or clearly implied condition of personal subservience and loyalty to himself. No other qualifications were necessarily taken into the account. To hold any office, or receive any favor, or gain any hearing from the President, the aspirant must become his creature. Except in name, Lerdo had finally usurped every attribute and prerogative of an absolute dictator.

Contemplate the condition to which he had reduced his country ! She was indeed no longer suffering under the oppression of her old tyrant ; she had ceased to be the prey of a hated alien dynasty, and an exacting hierarchy. Pronunciamientos could not save her, and what could one more revolution promise ? She had not found thus far, effectual relief even from the prostrating blow she had levelled at an omnipotent, corrupt priesthood, and the restoration to the people from whom it had been wrung, of so large a portion of her enormous wealth. She had deposed and sent into exile one usurper after another, only to give place to one more—the worst of all. He had invited foreign enterprise only to paralyze it ; foreign capital, only to exhaust it by *prestamos* and restrictions. He had loaded commerce down with burdens it could not bear. His officials were corrupt. Only a small portion of the impoverishing taxes imposed on property and labor, found its way into the public treasury, and much of this was squandered. Whatever money could be obtained by grants of monopolies, the sale of public property and franchises, and the pledge of public revenues, was eagerly seized, and the plighted faith wantonly and shamelessly broken. If no better pretext offered, outbreaks and bloodshed were purposely contrived to create alarm, and to sanction tyrannical acts. The usurper had by corrupt means, or intimidation, obtained from a Congress made up of his creatures, grants of *extraordinary powers in war and finance*, which were justified by no public emergency. The liberty of the Press was subverted by bribery, or overthrown by force, or, as a last resort, editors and proprietors were seized in their beds, and cast into prison with highwaymen and murderers. The sacredness of domicile was violated, no house being secure against search, nor its occupants from seizure. Governors of independent States who had been duly elected and legally installed, were arbitrarily deposed, and their places filled by the dictator's puppets. Eminent and patriotic men were made way with by dark and doubtful means. The post-office was not exempt from merciless search, nor was private correspondence secure. The last vestige of personal liberty was lost, except the sacred right of revolution,—that divine sheet anchor which Heaven swings to the bow of the ark of nations. Once more the cry 'No re-election,' was proclaimed from one end of the country to the other. Knowing that in a fair appeal to the people, he had not the remotest chance of success, he caused himself to be proclaimed President,—with even still less regard to appearances, than had been observed in the case of Maximilian,—and he prepared to make it good by force.

Mexico had, to all appearances, never sunk so low. Good citizens

everywhere hung their heads in shame, or despondingly looked around them to see if from *any* quarter rescue might come. Many of Mexico's best men, who had witnessed the long succession of bloody convulsions which had overwhelmed their country, have often attempted to depict the sadness which weighed down their hearts; but they invariably ended in saying they were inadequate to the task. They sounded like the words which Gladstone—the great statesman—sometimes used, when speaking of the gloom which hung over Naples in those dark days that immediately preceded the downfall of the Bourbon tyranny, and the hour of the Resurrection of Italy was just about to strike from all her steeples and Cathedral towers. At last Mexico was to reap the fruit of all her struggles: her weary pilgrimage through the wilderness was drawing to a close; the great sacrifice had been accepted: She was finally to enter the Promised Land.

The Contending Forces.—The Government in all its departments, the Army and Navy, the forts and munitions of war, the civil Authorities and Police, the Post-office, railways, and telegraph lines, the Custom-houses, the National and State Treasuries, and the entire legislative, executive and judicial powers were in the hands of the unscrupulous usurper. And yet, at the first collision, the whole fabric was to yield to the shock, and the Republic triumph. No movement more sudden, imposing or irresistible had been witnessed in the Capitals of France, Spain, or Italy, on the flight of Emperor or Bourbon, than was now to be presented. Nor was ever a popular victory graced by greater moderation than was now to be displayed. The Constitution of 1857, was at once to regain its supremacy: respect for law to secure order and tranquillity. Men's minds were everywhere to grow calm and hopeful, and the great body of the Mexican people were to exult in the thought that the Republic was saved.

And yet to well-wishers who were watching the course of events with anxious interest, the moment of victory seemed charged with the greatest peril. The danger, however, was to prove less formidable than had been feared. The Revolution was to be successfully carried through under the leadership of General Porfirio Diaz, whose military genius and experience, thorough republican convictions, calm judgment, unswerving patriotism, and perhaps above all clean honesty, made him the first and only choice of the Mexican people. In the relief universally to be felt of escape from the most appalling dangers, there was to be but one party—the party of the country; and the party of the country was to be the party of Diaz. In obedience to the universal will, he was to be called to the head of the government, and subsequently elected to the Presidency with a unanimity unknown on this continent since the days of Washington.

How the Last Revolution Began.—Such was the state of things, and such the grand issue at stake in the summer of the memorable,—for liberty the *sacred* year 1876,—when the presidential term of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada

was drawing to a close. His usurpations for prolonging his power had made everything ripe for a Revolution, and in all respects a *new* revolution : not to change dictators, but to get rid of them altogether ; to put an end to all intrigues and violence for securing a re-election, by rendering a *second term of the same man, as his own immediate successor, unconstitutional*, to substitute the Constitution and the Laws in the hands of the Judges, for the *pronunciamientos* of usurpers at the point of the sword.

Overthrow and Flight of Lerdo followed by the Election and Administration of General Diaz.—It can hardly be necessary to give any detailed account of the downfall and expulsion of the last of Mexico's usurpers, nor can the most deluded, or brazen-faced of his partizans or apologists in either Republic, expect any further hearing in his defence. If the shameless but persistent attempt to gloss over the manifold crimes which intensified his treason, under the pretext of suppressing a rebellion, succeeded for awhile with the press and the government of this country, his subsequent baseness in stirring up murderous raids on the Rio Grande to create fresh disturbances at home, and involve the two countries in collisions, not only opened all American eyes to his motives, but added the last stain of infamy to his character.

How General Diaz became President of Mexico.—We have no space for any extended account of the so-called revolution which has been directly caused by Lerdo's usurpation of dictatorial powers. The simple facts are as follows :—In the autumn of 1876, it became apparent to everybody, that the collision which Lerdo had provoked, had become inevitable ; between the utter surrender of the popular liberties, and the overthrow of the dictator, there was no alternative. The people chose the latter, and prepared for the encounter. It would necessarily begin between the regular troops, on whose devotion the usurper thought he could rely, and the old patriot-campaigners who knew how liberty had been won. Only one man in all Mexico was looked to, as the leader of the patriots, and by common consent Diaz took the field. Thousands of the best of his countrymen flocked to his standard, and he soon found himself at the head of an invincible army. No commander of equal ability, experience, reputation, and tried fidelity to the Republic, could be pitted against him. But the victory was not to be cheaply nor easily won. Lerdo's chief general, Alatorre, had seen many a hard-fought field, and he had under his command a large and well-disciplined federal army, confident of success, and inspired by the rewards which a powerful leader had profusely promised. But nothing could stand before Diaz and his determined host. A series of sharp and bloody conflicts was succeeded by a general and sanguinary engagement, in which Lerdo's army was utterly routed, and the usurper and his principal officers were compelled to save themselves by flight.

Taking temporary refuge in the Capitol, the baffled dictator hastily prepared for his escape from the country : nor should the historian forget to

record the crowning acts of the illustrious traitor. He who had begun as a usurper, ended as a thief. The few precious hours still left him, he spent in robbery and pillage. He opened the public Treasury and stole its last dollar. He stripped the National Palace of the last piece of gold and silver plate in its enormous and priceless collections; robbed the sacred treasure of the *Monte de Piedad*, loaded down twenty mule wagons with his booty, and under the escort of four hundred heavily bribed, mounted armed men, took his flight by night from the capital, and with his little band of confederate thieves, turned his face toward the Pacific. Diaz would not allow him to be pursued. 'It is all the better,' he said. 'Let him exile himself.'

Diaz entered the Capital amidst the wildest demonstrations of joy from an emancipated and grateful people. On all sides it was agreed that he must act as a Provisional President till the general Election could be held. No other course could have met the emergency, and in the universal satisfaction at the triumph of the popular cause, order was restored and tranquillity reigned throughout the country. There was no necessity for the assumption of arbitrary power, and no such power was assumed. Everybody understood the situation. The late disturbances had all been brought about by one man, and that man's flight had removed all occasions for alarm. Catiline was beyond the gates, and Rome was tranquil. The Constitution had been assailed, but it had not recoiled from the shock, and now stood stronger than ever. A lesson had been taught to an usurper, which would be impressed more deeply at every footstep of his exile, and never be forgotten by his countrymen.

To all but those who had carefully traced the successive stages of Mexico's advancement to Constitutional liberty, the behavior of her people after such a convulsion, was a matter of amazement. They forgot that nations like individuals learn wisdom only through suffering. Had not Mexico passed through a furnace seven times heated, and was it strange that the dross had been finally purged away! An Englishman of great learning and observation who was an eye-witness of these scenes, said to me:—'It was so still after midnight, it seemed as if one could hear a pin drop, and you could have safely carried a bag of gold through any street in the city. It was known that Porfirio Diaz was in the Capital, and that was enough.'

In its monthly *Review* of the state of affairs at the time, *El Siglo XIX.*, a leading journal of Mexico, distinguished for its fairness and independence, said:—'The Government of Iglesias' [who by virtue of having been elected President of the Supreme Court, considered himself entitled to the Chief Magistracy, and endeavored for a while to make good his pretensions], 'had vanished; that of Lerdo who had resolved on and succeeded in abandoning his country, also ceased to exist; and there only remained that of General Diaz, which, notwithstanding its alleged irregularities, was the only one that could then reorganize the Public Service.'

Thus by virtue of the triumph of the constitutional rights of the people,

and in compliance with the clear expression of the popular will, General Diaz became "Provisional Executive Chief" in November, 1876. Aside from the necessary, but multiplied administrative acts which the urgency of the situation demanded, General Diaz's chief solicitude was directed to the establishment, at the earliest possible moment, of *the constitutional order of the Republic*. This could be brought about only by a general election. The proclamation to that effect was issued, and on the 11th and 12th of February, 1877, the elections took place amidst perfect tranquillity and order throughout the country.

The result answered the general expectation. General Diaz was the universal choice of his countrymen, and a Chamber of Deputies, and the full bench of the Supreme Court who were known to be in harmony with him, were elected. The Congress was installed on the first of April, and after examining the electoral returns, it declared General Porfirio Diaz duly elected constitutional President of the United States of Mexico for the regular term of four years, dating from what would have been the expiration of Lerdo's term, had he not prematurely cut it short by treason, abandonment, and flight. But as no election of a Senate had yet been held, General Diaz, who was determined to adhere strictly to the provisions of the Constitution, postponed his inauguration; and on the day after the installation of the Chamber of Deputies, caused a note to be sent to that body from the Minister of the Home Department, in the name of the Executive, to the effect that, "without the Senate, nothing could be done in a legislative sphere, outside of what, according to the Constitution, appertains exclusively to the Chamber of Deputies; that without the Senate, the Executive itself apprehended that the state of revolution might be prolonged, thus producing doubts and want of confidence for the future; that the first necessity of the situation was to convoke that body, and the Chamber of Deputies was requested to publish that convocation, thus fully re-establishing constitutional order. The election of Senators followed, and on the 5th of May, in compliance with the legal prescripts, the solemn ceremony of inauguration was performed, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Governors of most of the States, and a larger number of worthy and eminent citizens and distinguished foreigners than had been seen in the Capital since it was crowded to welcome Juarez after the overthrow of Maximilian. And yet the administration of Mr. Hayes for some months called Diaz's title to the Presidency in question!

How he began his Administration.—When the victorious general was greeted at the Capital as a deliverer, and every one supposed that after the usual custom he would be regularly installed in the National Palace, and wield supreme power as a Dictator, at least until a regular election, he settled down in his own humble house, where he has lived ever since with his wife and two children, in the utmost simplicity, without even the ostentation

of a guard at the door, visiting the Palace only for the transaction of public business. He first turned his attention to *Finance*. He found an empty treasury. The army must be cut down from sixty thousand, but there was not a dollar to pay them off. For these and other pressing needs money must be had at once, or the government would go to pieces before it could get fairly under way. The Mixed Commission on American Claims had awarded to our claimants \$4,000,000, and the first instalment of \$300,000 must be paid, or serious complications would be threatened.

General Diaz had never resorted to a *prestamo*, and he determined he never would. But something must be done. He sent for some of the leading bankers and merchants, and asked them for help, offering them preferred Government bonds. 'No, General,' they said, 'that is no security. Give us your personal word, and you can have the money.' 'Gentlemen,' he replied, 'I am a poor man.' 'No matter: your word is sufficient.' The money—\$500,000, was forthcoming and *refunded in four months—all saved by sheer economy*.

He began to reduce and pay off the army: all leaks and stealings were stopped as fast as discovered; every unnecessary expense was curtailed; all useless and incompetent employés—and they swarmed in every department—were dismissed, and all salaries cut down, while he drew no portion of his own as President. The considerable sums daily expended for luncheons and dinners, wines and cigars, at the Palace were saved. 'Gentleman,' he said, 'while the government is too poor to pay its honest debts, let us eat at home.' In a word, he began to transact the public business as bankers and merchants conduct their own. Things soon wore a more encouraging aspect in public and private business. This was all new, but the example commanded respect and inspired confidence. And thus, day by day, the President grew stronger and stronger in the hearts of the people, and a new era of prosperity seemed to be dawning upon a distracted and wearied land. General Diaz had been nobly sustained during the struggle in the field, and with equal zeal was he supported by the patriotic of all classes. Every soldier in Mexico respected and admired him as a consummate general. Every criminal and wrong-doer feared him. Every honest and faithful public servant felt sure of support, while every thief knew he would be detected. He had in the beginning called around him the ablest and best men in Mexico as his chief counsellors of state and executive officers in every department of the government. His cabinet was composed of first-class statesmen.

The Difficulties of his Administration, and his Qualifications for Civil Government.—The former could not be readily comprehended, except by those who had made the political history of Mexico a subject of profound and careful study; while none but his most intimate acquaintance and associates

could conjecture what qualities he would display as a statesman. His patriotism and integrity could be subjected to no severer tests. No further proofs were needed of his thorough republican convictions, nor of his devotion to the Constitution. His reputation as a general could hardly gain additional lustre from new victories. The whole of his brief life had been given to his country as an active soldier, and every grade of his promotion to the supreme command, had been the reward of conduct and valor. It was well summed up to the writer by General José M. Mata, the then accomplished Minister of Foreign Affairs :—

This was the judgment of the people of Mexico when he was elevated to the Presidency, and it was doubly confirmed by the four years of his administration. Aside from all these qualifications, he soon displayed the two rarest elements of successful statesmanship—a complete knowledge of the wants of Mexico, and how to supply them. Those great economic questions received his closest attention. Nor did he begin as a novice ; he had long made them a patient and profound study. He said to his cabinet, *‘Let us now hope that the work of the sword is finished. It only remains for us to start out Mexico on a new career of prosperity. It is the first time she has ever been ready for it. We all know the reasons why, and the course for us to pursue seems plainly enough marked out before us.’*

¹ Porfirio Diaz was born in Oaxaca, September 15, 1832, where he was classically educated. In 1854, while scarcely twenty-two, he took an active part in the Revolution for Reform. Two years later as Captain of a battalion of National Guards, he was severely wounded in an action at Ixcapa. Hardly recovered, a few months later, he carried by assault one of the trenches at Oaxaca. His services had won him such distinction in 1858, that he was appointed civil and military Commander of the Department of Tehuantepec, where, with an insignificant force and surrounded by enemies, he pacified and firmly held the territory under his command. He soon found himself at the head of a fine regiment, with which he surprised and routed the forces of José Maria Cobos, capturing a large amount of stores and ammunition ; and later the same year defeating him in another engagement. With the triumph of the Liberals, he was elected from his district a Deputy in the National Congress. Leonardo Marquez attempting to take possession of the capital, Diaz left his seat in the Chamber, put himself at the head of a body of his comrades from Oaxaca, and drove him from the city. A few days later, under General Gonzalez Ortega, he gave Marquez another battle, which won him the rank of brigadier-general. Shortly after, under the orders of General Tapia he distinguished himself in the campaign against the reactionists in the hills of Pachuca.—The French invasion found him in the field where he was to win unfading laurels. When the compact of La Soledad was so shamefully broken by the invaders, General Diaz was the first to appear, and retard their advance, covering the rear of the retreating forces of Zaragoza. On the 5th of May, 1862—his *dies faustus*, just fifteen years before his presidential inauguration—he won greater glory in his engagement

and pursuit of Napoleon's veterans. Again, in the siege of Puebla he displayed that superb valor and endurance which gave him the rank of general of division, with the applause and admiration of the whole army. Subsequently, after organizing and disciplining his troops, he endeavored to hold the city of Oaxaca with a small force against several thousand French well provided with siege guns ; but he was finally compelled to surrender without conditions, and was taken prisoner to Puebla, from which he made his escape. He afterward campaigned in the States of Guerrero and Oaxaca, and on the 15th of October, 1866, fought and won the famous battle of Carbonera, where he took 500 Austrian prisoners, with their stores, artillery, and 700 rifles. In the opening of 1867, with the advantages already gained, he at once marched to the assault of Puebla—his late prison-house—and captured and occupied that almost impregnable stronghold. He left it immediately to give battle to his old antagonist Marquez—who was confidently marching to its relief—utterly routed him, and at once pressed on to the capital of Mexico, which he laid siege to, and entered before Escobedo had succeeded in capturing Maximilian—thus contributing greatly to the re-establishment of the Mexican Republic. In the revolution, which he led in 1876, his great desire was to secure the principle—vital to Mexico—of no re-election to the presidency, and apparently he has finally achieved his purpose. One of his biographers has said of him, ‘that with his honor, his valor, his activity and never-failing energy which has never degenerated into cruelty ; his ideas of morality and order, and his well-proved patriotism, he is among his contemporaries the man most eminent in the Mexican Republic.’

He then surveyed the whole field, and clearly outlined the policy which he steadily, firmly, and intelligently adhered to in his able, harmonious, and successful administration. It may be briefly summed up :—

1. Indisputable qualifications for office, with the strictest personal accountability.
2. Inflexible and prompt execution of the Laws, and inviolability of the Constitution : with the adoption of the amendment prohibiting a re-election to the Presidency.
3. Honest collection of the Public Revenue, from every source, and the account of its expenditure to the last dollar.
4. Thorough Revenue reform.
5. The suppression of brigandage and violence throughout the Republic.
6. Security for life and property.
7. Promotion of Railways, Telegraphs, Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, and the useful Arts.
8. Popular Education, and the advancement of science.
9. The establishment of the Public credit.
10. More intimate commercial relations with foreign countries, especially with the United States.

In carrying out this broad and illuminated policy, the President was sure of the hearty concurrence of his Cabinet, the approval and aid of the best men in Mexico, the support of the great body of the people, and the respect and sympathy of foreign Nations. No Administration had ever started under fairer auspices, nor can Mexico point to any four years in her history, of such profound tranquillity, obedience to law, and advancement in the general welfare of her people, since she achieved her independence.

Mexico Described by Humboldt.—In a few words he paints this vast landscape :

“The western chain, or cordillera proper, runs nearly parallel to the last through Michoacan, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Sinaloa, and Sonora, and is linked by spurs advancing westward to the maritime Alps of California. That portion of the Mexican Andes richest in silver is comprised between latitude 16° and 29° , while the alluvial auriferous soil continues a few degrees farther northward. A striking similarity between the general structure of the Mexican and that of the South American Andes is observable in the barrancas or vast fissures frequently intersecting the cordilleras. The backs of the mountains form very elevated plateaus or basins sufficiently uniform in height to be regarded as of one continuous tableland. The valley of Mexico is an elliptical plain with an area of about nine hundred and forty square miles, fringed on the east, south, and west by lofty peaks, some of which are active volcanoes. Indeed, the plain may be regarded as one vast volcanic heart, roughened at intervals by isolated hills rising abruptly from the surrounding level. The most elevated summits are at the southeast, where Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl tower majestically over all the rest. So regular is the great plateau (formed exclusively by the broad, undulating, flattened crest of the Mexican Andes, and not the swelling of a valley between mountain ridges, such as the Alpine Valley of Bolivia or that of Thibet) and so gentle are the slopes where depressions occur that the journey from Mexico to Santa Fé, New Mexico (about twelve hundred miles), might be performed in a four-wheeled vehicle. From Mexico south,

to Oaxaca, in the centre of the plain of that name, with an elevation varying from three thousand to six thousand feet, the route is almost as level as from the capital northward."¹

The Former and Present Product of the Mexican Silver Mines.—Scanty and unreliable as other statistics concerning Mexico may be, it is not difficult to reach a pretty satisfactory estimate on this subject. No Spanish enterprise in Mexico was ever undertaken which was not inspired by the lust of avarice or priestly domination. The mines were under the control of the vice-regal government, and their records were carefully kept. What they had yielded under the long reigns of the Toltecs can only be conjectured. But we have better means of knowing something on the subject in the time of the Aztecs, chiefly from evidences of the prodigal use of gold and silver in palaces, courts, and temples, and specifically from the fact that the conquered Montezuma collected on *one* occasion silver of the value of seven million dollars for transmission to Spain. Of the amount of both metals extracted by the Spaniards during 300 years, it is safe to adopt the estimate of Humboldt—who had access to the official Registers—which somewhat exceeded *two billion dollars*. He also adopted the "elaborate and cautious statistics" of Danson, for the bi-metallic yield of forty-five years from 1804, which he makes \$768,000,000. From 1848 to 1877, the amount, on the appraisal of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, exceeded \$700,000,000. We therefore reach the conclusion from these data that the aggregate amount of gold and silver produced in Mexico (exclusive of territory ceded to the United States), since the Conquest, must reach the enormous sum of three and a half billion dollars. But it is confidently believed by geologists and practical miners alike, that even this almost fabulous amount gives but a feeble idea of the future yield which will be realized from the richest of the old mines still unexhausted, and from numerous recently discovered lodes, especially by improved methods under more favorable auspices of government, and society. "In fact," said one of the most learned and experienced

¹ Of the Capital of the Republic, the same great *savant* says:

"Most certainly, no richer or more variegated spectacle can be witnessed than that which we find in this valley, when, on a fine summer morning, with a clear sky, and that deep blue peculiar to the dry and rarefied atmosphere of high mountains, one looks from any of the towers of the Cathedral of Mexico, or from the top of the hill of Chapultepec. All around this hill the most luxuriant vegetation is seen. Ancient trunks of *ahuehetes* (*cupressus disticha*) of more than fifteen or sixteen metres in circumference raise their leafless branches above the other trees, which in appearance resemble the weeping willows of the East. From the lower part of this solitary spot,—the point of the porphyritic rock of Chapultepec, the view opens over an extensive plain and well-cultivated fields which reach to the foot of colossal mountains that are covered with perpetual snow. The city presents itself to the spectator, bathed by the waters of the Lake of Texcoco, which,

surrounded by towns and villages, reminds one of the most beautiful lakes of mountainous Switzerland. On all sides long groves of elms and white poplars lead to the city; two aqueducts, constructed upon elevated arches, traverse a perspective as agreeable as it is picturesque. To the North is seen the magnificent Convent of our Lady of Guadalupe, built at the foot of the mountains of Tepeyac, between ravines, under whose cover date-palms and yucca trees are grown. Toward the South, all the country between San Angel, Tacubaya and San Augustin de las Cuevas appears like a large garden of orange, peach, apple, plum, and other European fruit-trees. This species of fertility forms a contrast with the wild aspect of the bare mountains surrounding the valley, amongst which are distinguished the famous volcanoes of Puebla, that of Popocatepetl, and that of Ixtaccihuatl. The first-named forms an enormous cone, whose crater, always burning and discharging smoke and ashes, bursts forth in the midst of eternal snows."

of Mexican mineralogists to the writer, "whole mountain ranges in several of our States are little less than *successions of bonanzas*." ¹

Variety and Abundance of the Products of the Soil.—Besides all the European cereals, roots, and fruits which have found congenial homes in the uplands of Mexico, the country produces a surprising variety of useful indigenous plants and trees: over 100 species of timber and cabinet woods—17 oil-bearing plants and trees—12 species of dyewoods—8 of gum-trees, and more than 60 of medicinal plants. Maize is everywhere the staple food of the aboriginal population. Wheat and barley, rice, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, coffee, cacao and indigo, oranges, lemons, obises, mangoes, and bananas, pineapples, grapes, sweet potatoes, yucca, and scores of delicious wild fruits—mulberry and silk, and many varieties of the cactus, one of which serves as food for the cochineal insect, and the pulque, which is so widely and profitably cultivated, and in the State of Yucatan, the *heniquen*, which constitutes its principal source of wealth and is now being so extensively imported into the United States. To an inhabitant of the higher latitudes any adequate conception of the abundance of the products of the Mexican Soil, even under the present miserable system of agriculture which prevails, is a simple impossibility. With the introduction of our implements for land culture, which it is hoped will soon be witnessed on a much larger scale, the returns from her vast domains of 1,200,000 square miles would soon exceed the agricultural wealth of most of the nations of Europe.

The Public Works.—For the most part they are yet to be built. The need of them is generally felt, especially by the business classes, and most deeply by all who have large interests at stake in agriculture, manufactures, mining, and internal commerce. But how could they be expected to grow up in a country sleeping upon a political earthquake-soil, exposed to ever-recurring volcanic eruptions! Railways must have a more solid bed to rest on. The lessons of the past have been forced upon Mexico's ten million of people, and somewhat scanned. The guiding, and therefore the responsible classes, have probably pretty well learned them by this time. If not, they must go to school again, for Modern Civilization is losing its patience with dull scholars, whether they carry the hod, or hold the portfolios of Statesmen. Mexico has one great Railway completed, and in point of time the most important—connecting her National with her Commercial Capital. The concession for building the Vera Cruz road to Mexico and its branches, was transferred from native hands to an English Company in 1857, and its completion was celebrated amidst appropriate festivities on New-Year's day 1874. The result confirmed the prediction that it would prove of incalculable importance to Mexico. The branches—to Jalapa (61 miles), and Puebla, making in all 292 miles, began to show the Mexicans what their country

¹ *Mineral Wealth of Mexico.*—The most reliable information on this subject is obtained from the Report of the Commission of the National Exposition of Mexico, and of the International Exposition at Philadelphia.

might become, if it once felt the electric fires of the new life of Nations, flashing all through her broad domain. Numerous concessions for other roads were granted ; but the applicants were generally speculators, or men of straw, who seriously retarded the cause of public improvements. But after the election of General Diaz, a new spirit of enterprise pervaded the country, and nothing but domestic troubles, or grave complications on the Rio Grande, would be likely to dampen the ardor of the Mexicans in their new career of advancement.

The Three Greatest Enterprises Projected.—The first in the order of conception, probably, was a *Railway across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec*. It early commanded the attention of our people, and after the acquisition of California and the golden discoveries, its anticipated completion at no distant day, entered largely into the stipulations of the Gadsden Treaty of December, 1853, and to an elaborate diplomatic correspondence between the two governments. From the time—December 25, 1850—that our engineers began the survey of the Isthmus route, in pursuance of grants made to our citizens, the deepest interest was felt in the project of connecting the two seas. The United States never desired or tried to obtain any exclusive privileges on the Isthmus. It was from the first inception contemplated as an International work—open to participation by all Nations. The time had already passed for enlightened communities to hesitate at great undertakings for the common good. Wealth was no longer frightened at the cost, nor engineering appalled at the difficulties. The word *impossible* had already grown obsolete in the lexicon of the future. The cost of any one of the wars of Modern Europe would have melted down the pigmy cordillera of the Isthmus, and married the two oceans even by a broad, shining river, with a steel railway double track on either bank, and with the following stupendous results, as the American Report shows :

VOYAGE TO SAN FRANCISCO.	By Cape Horn.	By Panama.	By Nicaragua.	By Tehuantepec.
	Nautical Miles.	Nautical Miles.	Nautical Miles.	Nautical Miles.
From England.....	13,624	7,502	7,041	6,671
“ New York.....	14,194	4,992	4,531	3,804
“ New Orleans.....	14,314	4,505	3,767	2,704
		Saved by Panama.	Saved by Nicaragua.	Saved by Tehuantepec.
		Nautical Miles.	Nautical Miles.	Nautical Miles.
Saved from England.....	.....	9,122	6,583	6,953
“ “ New York.....	.....	9,202	9,663	10,390
“ “ New Orleans.....	.....	9,809	10,547	11,610

The Second was the Road from the City of Mexico to the Rio Grande.—This was the enterprise which Mexico needed above all others, to consoli-

date her Republic ; preserve her autonomy ; render her border secure and inviolable ; guarantee permanent peace with the United States ; develop her inexhaustible mineral wealth ; open her vast unoccupied regions to capital and immigration, and diffuse throughout the entire country the vitalizing elements of a higher civilization.

The Third was a Road from the Capital Direct to the Pacific.

Better Agriculture.—It is a pretty euphonism to say of Mexican Soil : “that it has only to be tickled with the hoe, to laugh with a harvest.” But tickling is not farming, nor does such laughing bring wealth. The Science of Modern Agriculture is summed up in knowing how, with the least expense, the most profitable crops can be raised, without impoverishing the soil, but constantly improving it. The planter or the community that understands and practises this—other things being equal—*must grow rich*. This greatest of all the problems of the wealth of Nations, is now receiving the attention of every civilized State : no statesman is insensible to it. The great Minister Sully, in 1598, found France, in many respects, very much in the situation of Mexico. By developing her agricultural resources, he promoted the material welfare of the French people, which Henry IV. had so much at heart. The impulse thus given to land-culture in that beautiful country, has never been lost. Mexico needs no Sully, for her eminent agricultural chemists and statesmen can, with proper encouragement make her the peer of any country on the globe.

Better Finance.—Money is the life-blood of the body-politic if it be a nation of freemen. Slaves are neither allowed to own property, nor carry on commerce ; and as a people's money in circulation *as currency*, is the only standard of values, their property, products, or labor bring very little when offered for sale, if they have no currency but gold and silver, and the chief motives for enterprise are taken away. Poverty and idleness necessarily follow with ignorance and vice, and a high civilization becomes an impossibility. Such has been the case with nations whose currency consisted only of the precious metals : as we learn from China, India, and Japan. Such is the case to-day with all countries whose circulating medium is limited to gold and silver. Those countries alone which use *paper money*, control the wealth, commerce, and enterprise of the world ; they alone are the file-leaders of civilization. *A National Bank* would have to be founded in Mexico. It is even more necessary for her than it ever was for England, or France, or the United States. Such institutions in Genoa, Venice, and Amsterdam, gave those cities the control of the world's commerce.

Duties of Modern States toward Each Other.—They are determined by a higher standard than in former times. The barbarous code of conquest, which was founded on ‘might makes right,’ has given way to justice as defined by equity, and equity as defined by humanity and benevolence. What

is wrong as between individuals and neighborhoods, can no longer be considered right as between nations. Murders, rapine, burnings of towns and cities, and general destruction of property on a great scale, are fast being considered not only no better, but infinitely worse than such crimes perpetrated by individuals in clustered hamlets, and private dwellings. 'Leaving it out to neighbors,' which has immemorially prevailed in small and well-regulated communities, is becoming the fashion, under the name of *arbitration*, in the conventions of powerful States. The progress of Christian civilization has rendered it safe to do this, in many instances at least. William Penn, and Roger Williams believed it safe in all. Would to God it had been more generally tried. 'The world would have been far richer and happier to-day. Better to found nations, than destroy them. England has planted more colonies than all other nations since Rome, and she is the richest of all. The victories of Peace are greater than the victories of War.

Duties of Republics.—They would seem to be more sacred and imperative toward each other, than Monarchies and despotisms. And yet with all our self-complacent talk about 'the Monroe Doctrine,' what have we done to found or foster Republics in our Western Hemisphere, aside from our example? Look at poor Mexico! We have treated her with less consideration than she has received from the chief monarchies of Europe. On the day of the inauguration of President Diaz, he was greeted with cordiality by the entire diplomatic corps—*except the Minister of our Republic*—and in compliance with the obligations and courtesies of international comity, the new administration was duly recognized by the Empire of Germany, the Kingdoms of Spain and Italy, the old Republic of Switzerland, and the sister Republics of America. 'The Republic of the Monroe Doctrine' alone turned its back, and held this disgraceful attitude of indifference, if not of hostility, for a long year afterward! France, too, was unrepresented, as her diplomatic relations with Mexico had been suspended since the execution of Maximilian. But those relations were soon to be resumed. She could not long cherish resentment toward a people who desired to preserve their Republic, and punished a foreign invader with death. France herself knew how to get rid of an Emperor, and one of her own choosing. She punished him for his manifold wrongs against herself, by dethronement and exile, and re-declared herself a Republic, just as Mexico had done. The cases were parallel. Napoleon had done an infinite wrong to Mexico. He had attempted to overthrow a Republic, and impose upon an unwilling people an alien and detested empire, by means of the very same army and armaments he had used for the overthrow of the French Republic. His work of infamy and blood had been persisted in for six years. He had immolated one hundred thousand of Mexico's bravest and best sons, impoverishing their country and leaving it a desolation. It will be said that this was not the work of France, but of Napoleon: not of the French Republic, but of the French Empire. True, but Napoleon was the Emperor of France; the act was

accepted by France ; the soldiers were the soldiers of France ; the enormous cost—upward of three hundred million dollars was paid by France ; the 30,000 corpses were dead soldiers of France ; the crime was the crime of France. But the Republic of France, *which means the People of France*, had to recognize her older and more venerable Mexican sister, and her heroic and Statesman-President, and ratify with her, relations of amity and commerce which shed honor upon both Republics. Reciprocity in commerce and lasting peace can alone bring oblivion, if not atonement, for the past.

Is a True Civilization Approaching?—The peoples and governments of the United States and of Mexico are, we trust, fast solving one of the greatest problems of humanity everywhere, and its successful solution will constitute the chief glory of modern civilization. This problem means, in plain words, simply this—can nations, like friendly neighbors, live at peace without doing wrong to each other ? If they can, then comes ‘peace on earth and good-will to men.’ The standing armies of Europe would be dissolved, and many millions of the ablest-bodied men living, be left to go free for the beneficent arts of peace, instead of the destructive business of war. Fewer mouths to feed, and more food to feed them ; more hands to till, and more harvests to reap ; less men (who do not hate each other) to *kill*, and more (who might love each other) to *live* and be happy, doing honest and pleasant work amidst the sunlight scenes of home, with wives and children ! Oh, let that time hasten !

We cite a special instance. Through the opening dawn of the new era for Mexico we seem to see a fresh day of brightness for an older and a much longer oppressed race than our own—call ourselves Saxons, Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Norsemen, anything you please, back to Aryans ; and yet, among all God’s children on this green earth, who can *certainly* boast of a greater antiquity, or a prouder one, than the primitive people of Mexico ? The best archæologists are now trying to answer that question. Revelations may yet come from the unread records of those primitive soils, which may, perhaps, put some of our proud pretensions to the blush. The crown of Egyptian art may even yet tremble on the brow of the Pyramids. Archæologists are beginning to study *ancient America*.

But the fascinations of archæology, and its possible revelations, must not beguile us from the more pressing duties of the hour. Humanity is now the most urgent of all claims, and no other claims are pressing so anxiously on the heart of the world. Gold glitters brightest on the eye of the explorer through all the ages since the search for the fabulous Fleece. But that Colchis search was really no fable ; it was only a prophecy of our poor pilgrimage to California, and new rush to the El Dorado of Mexico. It is all right, because it is all inevitable. We cannot help it if we would, nor would we if we could ; nor need we. It *would* come, for it *must*. This beautiful earth—beautiful from the equator to the poles—is God’s gift to man, and he will

yet possess it. But it is wisely ordered that the occupancy of all its acres has been reserved for a more advanced period of progress in art, science, and humanity, when the farther we go the better we shall make the world. We are no longer carrying desolation with the sharp prows of our steamers, nor slavery with the progress of our arts or arms. America is but another name for peace, freedom, and self-government. The word *America* has now but one meaning—liberty for all men, with peace, and such blessings as these divine rights can bring. No conquests, except through the dissemination of these ideas. No war on crowns—single, double, or triple—by us, for our example is melting them fast enough from all regal brows. Let us dream of no other victories, except by the silent but ceaseless energy of a noble and worthy example. It alone can work beneficently, for it will go armed with the attributes of omnipotence.

How grand and noble is the attitude we have at last taken toward Mexico in the recent relations which our citizens have assumed toward that country! No credit is due to our Government for this fortunate result. If the feeble and ill-informed statesmen—(to characterize them by no more opprobrious epithets)—charged with our relations with Mexico during late years, had known the true interests of our two republics, as well as they were understood by the statesmen of Mexico, more good would have come. But events have been wiser than men. The two republics, by their necessities, stand to-day at the very summit of mutual friendship and prosperity. There is everything to rejoice in, and nothing to regret. There is no element of domestic trouble in Mexico which can successfully defy the power to enforce order, and the supremacy of just and equal laws; and the last hope of filibuster aggression from the discontented spirits of the United States has died out. The universal sentiment in both nations has settled into an international conviction that, with or without a reciprocal treaty, our two peoples will do each other so much good that, while each shall preserve its own autonomy as separate and distinct, and sacred as any two families, they shall seek only for the good of each other. This spectacle will be worth everything to the world. It will set another blazing jewel on the brow of republican government.

It is, therefore, with great satisfaction that from all quarters we hear that our efforts to open and extend commercial relations with Mexico, are likely not only to multiply our own sources of wealth, but to add vastly to the prosperity and advancement of a people of ten millions, who need only to come into close contact with the world, to become an important element in the advancement of the whole earth. This is the hope of those who are looking with interest upon the great movement which is now drifting toward Mexico.

Our Congress has created a friendly embassy and the President has appointed commissioners to proceed to Mexico to try to negotiate a commercial treaty, from which more might be hoped if larger and more liberal views of freedom of commerce characterized the statesmanship of the two countries.

But *the Railway system* which our countrymen are now building throughout Mexico, will ultimately do their benign work. She could do nothing without transportation. She had no navigable rivers or canals, and only one railroad to salt water. She was exiled from the world. She could produce nothing which she could get to market, except silver, and she grew poor on that. She had no salvation except in railways, and she could not build them. Who would? Who should? Her neighbor. The best part of the continent had been penetrated by iron roads from ocean to ocean, and all regions and extremities brought together. What could Mexico do to have all this? How could she quadruple the value of all the property of her nation in five years?—yes, add to every one of her virgin acres now waiting for cultivation, a fabulous value. How bring out millions from her mines which were reluctantly yielding only tardy thousands? How swell her exports of from twenty or thirty millions, very quickly to two hundred millions?

General Diaz and all the enlightened public men of Mexico saw this and felt it deeply, and a policy was adopted which secured for her a brilliant future. Large and liberal charters were granted to wealthy and responsible companies, for the immediate construction of a *system of railways* through Mexico, from North to South, and from East to West, to connect with our own magnificent system of over 100,000 miles, which will in a hitherto incredible period of time, make for all business and social purposes, one allied and blended nation, out of two vast countries. Such a binding of two great peoples by 'hooks of steel,' and the tireless steeds of steam, and the flashes of electricity, will be such an annexation as filibusterism never dreamed of, nor humanity or statesmanship ever hoped for. Already the hundreds of millions these stupendous enterprises will call for are provided, and the resurrection of Mexico is sounded.

Our Great Opportunity.—It is an inviting occasion for the inauguration of a broad and liberal policy which should hereafter make a new departure in our intercourse, open to us a more brilliant future, and in the most auspicious manner affect the policy and fortunes of other nations. The days of repression, restriction, monopoly, and class legislation are numbered. Instead of lagging behind all other nations in these great demands of modern life, we should do what we have done in the past—lead and not follow.

If to some of my readers I may seem to have given more space to Mexican matters than would correspond with the brevity of my work, I can offer no better reason than that I have made a careful study of Mexican history, and our present and probable future relations with that country. In what I have written I have not been aware of any prejudice that would be likely to sway my judgment in these writings. I frankly and proudly acknowledge, that I have yielded willingly to those inspirations for liberty which have been the guiding influences of my life. Wherever I have found men or nations

struggling for freedom, I could not withhold my homage ; I trust I shall live and die in this spirit. I think we have good reasons to expect much from Mexico in the future—a great and permanent prosperity. I hope her troubles are over. I am chiefly solicitous now, that we should offer her the respect and consideration which our wisest and best citizens have always felt ; and that if she has been less fortunate than ourselves, we should, as a sister republic, extend to her feeble grasp the strong hand of manly sympathy. Above all, let us see that, after the numerous and disgraceful displays of monarchy and hierarchy in this free Western Hemisphere, we shall witness no republican failures.

SECTION TENTH.

FREEDOM OF TRADE.

FREE TRADE, or to use a more legitimate expression, and one that will be better understood—Freedom of Commerce between nations, as all our States and Territories understand that term in their mutual intercourse—has been denounced as a dream, to become a reality only in the far distant future. Nobody whose heart beats in sympathy with, and hopes for, a universal brotherhood of men, and a commonwealth of nations, has ever found fault with the philosophy of Free Trade. They could not ; for it means the breaking down of the last barriers that separate nations from peaceful commerce and intercourse with each other.

But since such a consummation, however devoutly to be wished, is impossible just now, we must accept the next best thing. It can be approached only by degrees, for the advances that have been made since the establishment of our national government, the world has been coming to American ideas. The most illuminated writers on the wealth of nations have all agreed that the strongest ally of the friends of peace, has been the promotion of the largest liberty for international intercourse.

War is the enemy of humanity, for it builds up Chinese Walls against peaceful intercourse. In fact, every restriction on commerce imposed by one nation against another, partakes of the spirit of exclusiveness, if not of hostility ; therefore it is inhumane, and of necessity unjust. In the time of the Romans, public law required, and justified, the capture of the property of any other nation whose vessels attempted to enter its ports, or was wrecked on its coasts, and the men on board were condemned to perpetual slavery, or death. Lingering remains of that code can be read in every imposition of a tariff on any ship, or goods brought from another country. The penalty exacted may be neither slavery nor death to the navigators ; but they are compelled to pay a price, more or less exorbitant for everything they offer to us with the hand of brotherhood ; and, in many cases, another penalty for everything they take in exchange.

This barbarous spirit was the death of commerce from the most ancient times ; and commerce had no resurrection till the Italian Republics relaxed these restrictions, and opened their ports to the reception of all goods, not contraband of war, from any nation that pleased to send the fruits of its surplus labor. Hence from the period of the revival of commerce in the Middle Ages, those Republics opened their *Porto Francos*, where any cargo could be received, and were housed, paying duties only when withdrawn for sale ; or if the market was not found, the simple charge for warehousing, when the goods were withdrawn to seek a better market.

This policy built up the great cities of the Italian coasts from Genoa round to Venice. It was only a few years ago that Japan and China prohibited every peaceful rover of the ocean laden with goods which their people needed, from entering their ports ; but they have had to give that up. We pride ourselves often upon our most disgraceful and abominable things. As, for instance : we have clung till the present time to this barbarous policy under the specious pretence of protection, and with this war-cry rung out by a great political party, they have hitherto maintained their supremacy—and all this under the fallacious argument that to prevent foreign nations from making free commercial exchanges with us, has kept up the price of labor. Shallow and false as this is, the manufacturers of the United States have become mighty monopolists, Those of them who have examined the question, know that to impose a tariff of from twenty-five to five hundred per cent. upon the imported produce of other nations, so far from raising the price of labor, has had a direct tendency to depress it. All the advantages went in the form of premiums to anybody who would manufacture anything which increased the cost to the consumer. If it ever raised the price of labor, the cost of the protected commodity made it dearer to the consumer than the increased wages for labor could meet. Besides, it was class legislation all through. It encouraged manufacturers before they were justified by economy of production. Again, these offered premiums gave an unhealthy stimulus to speculation, by forcing a hot-house production into that which had no life of its own to grow in the native air. Furthermore, such stimulated growth promoted unhealthy rivalry, until once in about ten years the whole system of American manufactures broke down' sinking the capital invested.

There has been no wisdom in this unnatural, forced, and spurious growth of industry, and these recurring panics have arisen chiefly from this cause, offering in this free, rich, and beautiful home of labor, the saddest spectacle in the decay of civic society in the Old World, where honest laborers are begging for work. England was forced to see all this a generation ago, when in all her great manufacturing towns public soup-kettles were opened in the public squares for starving men, women, and children, who were begging for something to do. She thus learned wisdom from the past, as she is in the habit of doing ; for when she finds that she is dangerously wrong, she stops long enough to begin to go right. We are still working in the dark. But we

shall have to come to the light, sooner or later, for Americans are no more fond, than other people, of committing suicide, either in private or public affairs.

We do not trench upon the domain of prophecy ; but nothing seems more probable than that we shall pretty soon be cured of that fatal policy of burdening the people, in the freest and richest country in the world, with a load of taxation in one form or another, greater than is practised to-day by any other civilized government.

Not a small class of our readers—especially statesmen and jurists—can hardly fail to be interested in the subject of the following brief Essay, which sums up the results of the writer's consular experience and studies, in commercial law.

The Origin and Design of the Consular Office.—We have derived this term from the Romans. When the Tarquins were driven from Rome, and the Commonwealth established, the government was committed to two Consuls, who represented the power and dignity of the nation, and were regarded with the greatest reverence by the people, and by foreign princes. They were chosen annually, by a general election, and for a long period the office was filled by the purest and most illustrious names in Rome. No one could aspire to the consulship with any hope of success, who had not rendered some signal service to the State. They held correspondence with kings, and gave audience to foreign ambassadors. Their *insignia* (with the exception of the crown) were like those of kings. They had control of the Roman armies, and led them to battle. They were the guardians of the public honor, and the public safety, at home and abroad ; and so faithfully did they execute their high trust, it was under their administration that Rome made her name feared throughout the world.

In the latter periods of the Republic, Consuls were frequently placed over the Government of the Provinces ; and the custom prevailed even under the Empire, till its final downfall. Some of the greatest historians have attributed the glory and the power of Rome chiefly to her Consular office, without which, they tell us, she never could have controlled her distant colonies and consolidated her home empire.

Barbarous Customs of Antiquity.—But although the term Consul, is derived from the old Romans, yet the *office* of such public agents, was even more ancient than the era of Roman Liberty. We have the positive lights of history to guide us to such a conclusion. All the maritime nations of antiquity, had their commercial agents in foreign countries visited by their vessels or trading citizens ; sent to guard their interests, and protect their property and lives. Without such protection, every adventurer who committed his property to the sea, was likely to fall into the hands of pirates, or be treated with injustice in foreign ports. In few of the ancient nations was

there any regard paid to individual rights. The sacredness of private rights, was a principle almost as unknown as the operations of galvanism. We have heard much of the civilization of Rome ; but while her orators and poets were bringing her beautiful tongue to classic perfection, and sculptors and architects were transmitting to future times their matchless ideals of grace and beauty, she treated all foreign nations as her natural foes. A vessel driven by stress of weather upon her coasts, was confiscated, and her crew put to death. In those days, might so effectually constituted right, that the weaker party no more thought of asking for justice, than the enemy conquered in battle hoped for mercy.

The Phœnicians, who became so celebrated for their extended commerce, acknowledged no law but that of force, in their dealings with other people. The Tyrians were characterized by the utmost barbarity in all their intercourse with foreigners ; and scenes of the most refined cruelty were enacted in their ports when the stranger was cast upon their mercy. The Carthaginians were perhaps still more avaricious and terrible. Strabo tells us, that every foreign sailor cast on their coasts, was thrown into the sea. And Polybius informs us that while they held the Island of Sardinia, no Roman sailor was allowed to touch its soil. Historians concur in the fact that the Phœnicians derided all idea of justice, honor, and right in their intercourse with foreigners. Nor, perhaps, can any commercial power of antiquity be exempted from this general charge of injustice, cruelty, and avarice, except the people of Rhodes. For a considerable period, they had scarcely a rival on the sea ; and yet historians agree that they founded and extended their naval dominion, on principles of international justice and freedom of the seas. 'Their code of maritime legislation,' says Warden, 'was adopted by the Roman Emperors, by Augustus, and by the Antonines, for the decision of naval and commercial disputes. The ports of Rhodes were open to all trading nations who equally enjoyed the protection of a wise and humane legislation.'

Progress of Commercial Ideas.—It is a cheerful province for the historian, and for all those writers who present portions only of human history, for the contemplation of their own times, to hold up such beautiful instances of true civilization to the admiration of the world. For although we are told that civilization has been steadily advancing in all ages, (and, in a limited sense, this is true,) yet the student of history traces its progress only as Napoleon did the path of the Allied Armies, by watchfires kindled on the Bohemian mountains. More than one bright light flames over the summits of antiquity, but all around is thick darkness. A striking illustration is furnished in Rome's vaunted civilization, which may all be summed up in a word—universal spoliation abroad, and cruel oppression at home.

Such was the spirit of antiquity, and such the obstacles that attended the growth of commerce in primitive times. But we must go back to those early periods, to trace the origin of that commercial magistracy which has, in all

ages, proved the only safeguard of commerce. For although the title of such magistrates, and the power vested in them, have been subject to every degree of variation, yet, from the earliest times, those nations that extended their maritime relations to foreign countries, always delegated public agents to watch over their interests, and protect their citizens in the pursuit of gain.

In the early history of maritime adventures 'the Greeks had an officer of Consular description, named *Προξενος*, who was instructed, by a decree of the people, to receive and entertain strangers, and to act as a judge and conciliator of the disputes of foreign merchants. His functions, in some respects, resembled those of a modern Consul. At Sparta, this honor was the price of signal services, rendered by the person on whom it was conferred, and was attended with various privileges and immunities. He received ambassadors, assisted at the national assemblies, and presided at religious ceremonies and public *fêtes*.

'At Athens, the affairs of the *Προξενια* could not be judged but by the Polemarch, or their archos. The Delians decreed them grants of land, the first places at sacrifices, public *fêtes*, and free entry into the Senate and assembly of the people. Like the Consuls of modern times, they affixed over the outer door or entrance of the house, the arms of the town of which they were the agents. In Athens and some other Greek towns, agents resided who were clothed with supreme judicial powers, and they controlled all the maritime affairs of the nations they represented.

'The Epidamnians, a colony of Corcyrians established in Macedonia on the Adriatic Gulf, appointed a magistrate to regulate their commerce with the Illyrians, a neighboring nation whose influence they dreaded. Teos, the birthplace of Anacreon, and other towns of great antiquity, had magistrates named *Timuques*, whose employment was to superintend commercial affairs. The *Prator mercatorum* of the Romans, like the commercial magistrates of the Greeks, decided the disputes of sailors in the cabin of the vessel to which they belonged. When Sicily and Sardinia became provinces of the Roman Empire, they were governed by *Prators*. Spain, after its subjugation, was also governed by a magistrate of the same description.'

All the Roman Colonies were committed to the government of magistrates, who, under various titles, were vested with all those powers which have since been committed by different nations to Consular agents. In some instances, these prerogatives appertained to the supreme magistrate; in others, the Imperial Government made a division of power; and while all civil affairs were controlled by the executive magistrate, every commercial interest was committed to the administration of the Consul.

We have but few lights to guide us, in tracing minutely the history of the commerce of the ancient world; but we can clearly trace the advancement of the wild piracy of barbarian adventurers down to the organization of the commercial codes, which have grown out of the system of modern States. In this gradual revolution, no agency has been so powerful as the Consular

System ; none has contributed so much to the advancement of commerce and maritime law.

The Commerce of Antiquity.—It has long been a disputed point with whom the modern Consular System originated, and what nation first led the way, in the establishment of the commercial code, which was finally adopted by modern States, and has, in our times, worked itself so deeply into the Law of Nations. It is, perhaps, the most interesting question connected with the rise of modern civilization. Nor could it be placed in its proper light without great toil, and learning, aided by all the facilities which might be derived from investigations conducted on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. But a diversity of opinions has prevailed on this point, among learned men, which can hardly be accounted for ; for, it seems to me, that the archives of Florence and Pisa [which, under an order of the Grand Duke Leopoldo, I examined carefully] place the matter beyond dispute.

Origin of Maritime Codes.—Pisa was among the first Republics that rose into great power after the dismemberment of the Roman Empire ; and to her modern times are more indebted for their civilization than to any other people who have flourished since the ancient Romans. She has certainly no pretended rival in the *antiquity* of her commercial laws except the Republic of Amalfi. That brave and enlightened people established their power on the Gulf of Salernum, and held at one time almost undisputed possession of the Southern Mediterranean seas. They framed a regular Maritime Code, which neighboring commercial nations were forced to obey. They had, from the time of Justinian, been entrusted with a most sacred treasure—a MS. copy of the Roman Pandects, which was destined one day to exert a high agency in the advancement of civilization. Giannone, in his ‘*Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli*,’ has observed that from the Tables of Amalfi we have derived all our laws on navigation. This statement should perhaps be received with some modification. He is entitled to more concurrence, not unlikely, in the opinion he advanced, that the laws of Amalfi originated less from the maritime experience of that people than from the Eastern emperors with whom they carried on a wide and constant traffic.

Brenemannus, in his second Dissertation on the History of Amalfi, supposes the enlightened maxims of this Code to have been derived from the copy of the Pandects known to have been in their possession for many ages.

Being exceedingly anxious to arrive at some well-sustained conclusion on this point, I made what investigation I could in Florence and in Pisa, and was favored with the results of the studies of several of the learned Jurists of Tuscany, who had devoted much attention to the matter. I am well persuaded that Pisa can date her commercial power, and, perhaps, her maritime code, to an earlier age than even the Republic of Amalfi.

The Consolato del Mare.—Almost every Jurist of England and America has fallen into a mistake on the origin of the ‘*Consolato del Mare*.’ The opinion

has commonly prevailed that this noble Code originated with the commercial cities of Spain; and the idea has been often advanced that Arragon and Barcelona can date their commercial power and civilization to a more ancient period than Pisa. But such an opinion, however commonly entertained, is controverted by indubitable facts.

In the year 1130, the Pisans effected the conquest of Amalfi, and bore away with them its most precious treasure—the only copy of the Justinian Pandects in existence. To this cause more than one respectable writer has attributed the origin of the Maritime Laws of Pisa. But we have documentary and historical proof that the Pisans had formed a maritime code long before this period, and that the discovery of the Pandects and the Tables of Amalfi had little to do with the ‘Leggi Pisane’ or the ‘Leggi Nautiche,’ which were published in Rome in 1075. This Code, which was composed of the Maritime Statutes of the Pisan Republic, enacted during successive centuries, gave origin to what was afterward known as the ‘Consolato del Mare.’ In fact, it was not only the basis of that Code, but it constituted the body of the Code itself. The Barcelonians, or more properly, the Kings of Arragon, adopted the Pisan Code almost without modification; but that Code which is now known under the title of ‘Consolato del Mare’ is much more modern than the first Code which bore that name. The ‘Pisani Statuti’ were published in Rome in 1075, and received its sworn observance that year—they were adopted at Acre, in 1111; at Majorca, in 1112; Marseilles, 1162; Genoa, 1186; Rhodes, 1190; Venice, 1215; Germanic States, 1224; Sicily, 1225; Nantes, 1250; and Constantinople, in 1262.

Progress of Commercial Laws.—These statements are confirmed by the learned Essay of D. Francesco Masi, of Pisa—‘Della Navigazione e Commercio, della Republica Pisana. Pisa, 1797.’ He there adduces an array of evidence, including some of the first judicial authors of Italy, and even of Spain, which ought to satisfy every candid mind.

To this learned author, and to the ‘Sistema Universale dei Principj del Dritto Marittimo di Europa, Firenze, 1795,’ I appeal for the support of my opinions on these points, and others which I shall consider in tracing the rise of the Modern Consular System.

In the ‘Consolato del Mare’ we find a clear provision for the appointment, etc., of Consuls. The first eight chapters are devoted exclusively to the Consuls, and their powers and provinces are clearly defined. We learn from the Chronicles of Pisa, that wherever her commerce was extended among foreign nations, she was represented by her own Consuls. But about the close of the eleventh century she had nearly perfected the Modern Consular System. More than a hundred years before, she had established a magistracy of two consuls at home, who constituted a Supreme Admiralty Court to take cognizance of all marine cases. This Court received the sanction of Gregory VII. (Azuni.)

During some negotiations carried on between the Pisans and the Em-

peror Alexis, an interruption of friendly intercourse took place. The Republic seized the emperor's son, and threw him into prison, and the price they demanded for his liberation was the establishment of their Maritime Code in his empire, with inviolability to the Consuls of the Republic. Her Consular System, which was the soul of her Maritime Code, was readily adopted by surrounding nations; and before the Crusades were over, all the Commercial Powers on the Mediterranean were thus represented in the ports of other nations, with whom they maintained commercial relations.

Commercial Rights in the Middle Ages.—After a careful study of 'The Consolato del Mare,' I collected the most authentic editions in various languages, and began an English translation. I could not learn that one had ever been made, and I thought it would be regarded as a valuable contribution to our Juridical Literature. I informed the late Mr. Justice Story of my design, and in a long and exceedingly interesting reply to my letter, he said:—

'CAMBRIDGE, August 13th, 1845.

'DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter yesterday. * * * I do not know of any English translation of the "Consolato del Mare," except of two chapters by Doct. Robinson on Prize Law. I have long most anxiously desired to see a translation of the whole work as one of the earliest, most curious, and most important of the collections on Maritime Law. Many of its principles are still of great use and frequent citation in our courts of Admiralty. I dare say that you have seen and examined the editions of Casereges and Caponarey, and above all of Pardessus, in his collection of Maritime Laws. So highly do I value the Consolato, that if a translation of it were published, I should at once recommend six copies of it to be obtained for the Law Library at Cambridge. I hope most earnestly that you will publish your translation, and that it will meet with public patronage. I am quite sure that Mr. Chancellor Kent will think as I do on the subject.

'Believe me, with the greatest respect, truly yours,

'JOSEPH STORY.

'C. EDWARDS LESTER, Esq.'

This letter, which has never been published, was among the latest, if not the very last written by that great jurist and noble man. He died suddenly a few days after its date. I also had occasion to know how often in public and in private, he expressed a desire to see an entire revision of our Consular System; and he was about addressing me his views on the subject, when he was unexpectedly taken away from the scenes of his usefulness and his fame.

Advance of Commerce by the Italian Republic.—Robertson has not overrated the benign effect of the Crusades upon the civilization of Modern Europe. (Introduction to the Life of Charles V.) From their commencement, we date the origin of the Modern System of Commerce. The Pisans, the Venetians, and the Genoese, were all engaged in transporting the Crusaders to Asia. They were generously paid for their services, and all those Republics received charters from the princes they served, which secured to them great privileges and immunities; the right of forming establishments

in maritime towns, as well as on the borders of rivers, and of governing themselves within their own precincts, by laws and ordinances of their own creation. (Muratori's '*Antiq. Ital., Medii Ævi*,' t. ii., p. 906.) In this manner the Italian trade in the Levant became extended, till the commerce of the world was centred in the hands of those powerful Republics.

Genoa contributed more powerfully than any other Italian State to the early Crusades. She formed treaties with the Moorish and African Princes, and gained by diplomacy or conquest, a strong foothold in the Black Sea, where she founded a powerful colony that augmented her commercial wealth incredibly.

Pisa and Venice were controlled by the same wakeful policy, and extended their commerce under the same auspices. They all now appointed their commercial agents throughout the East; for the exigencies of their commerce demanded the protection and surveillance of public agents in all ports visited by their vessels. These representatives were vested with great powers, and their magistracy was regarded with great respect. The office of a Consul in those times was no inconsiderable matter. No man was thought worthy of so important a trust, who did not perfectly understand all the great questions of commerce and diplomacy; for they were intrusted with treaties of commerce and international negotiations, and with judicial powers involving every principle of civil, common, and maritime law. They represented the governments that sent them in all their authority and dignity. They were sent to their destination in public vessels, and maintained at the public expense. They were generally prohibited from engaging in speculations in commerce and the pursuits of business, that they might devote all their time to their official duties, and be swayed by no private interests in their administration. The early Italian writers tell us that the Consular office was guarded with the utmost jealousy, and looked upon as the great support of their commerce with foreign nations.

In later periods, when the rising Powers of Europe began to offer an effectual rivalry to these maritime republics of Italy, and they exchanged ambassadors, they gave them the most imperious commands to watch over the commercial interests of their country, and concede to other princes nothing that could impair their maritime power. The indolent loungers around the courts of princes were busy in tricks of courtiers and negotiations of marriage, but the Genoese, the Pisan, and Venetian Ambassadors were occupied in promoting the commercial power of the states which had commissioned them. And what was the consequence?

Venice, which had been founded by a few old men and women and children, who had fled to the marshes of the Adriatic to escape the rage and devastation of the northern barbarians who were sweeping over Italy, became in a few centuries the first power in Europe. Pisa, which had been obliged to struggle for many years against the most formidable obstacles that can ever impede the growth of new states, with a malaria which annually swept off a multitude of her population, soon made her name feared from the Pil-

lars of Hercules to the shores of the Danube and the banks of the Nile, and became the commercial Lawgiver of future ages.

Origin of Modern Commerce.—At last the Northern States of Europe began to feel the maritime enthusiasm of the age, and launched upon the seas for discovery and adventure. Macpherson remarks, in his 'Annals of Commerce' (vol. i., p. 536, note), that the earliest notice of a Consul of Merchants in any English record, is found in an application of the Consul of the Venetian merchants at Bruges and an English merchant, which induced the king to take all the merchants of Venice trading to England, Ireland, and his other dominions under his protection, during one year (1346).

I believe the earliest appointment of a Consul by England, was in the year 1485, when Richard III. commissioned Lorenzo Strozzi, a princely merchant of Florence, to act as British Consul in Tuscany, allowing him a fourth part of one per cent. on all goods exported or imported by Englishmen. (Fœdera, vol. xii., p. 261.) From this period, English commerce rapidly extended under the vigilance of Consular agents, who were appointed in every country with whom she maintained commercial relations.

In the 17th century, the consular system of the Italian States became general throughout the civilized world. But although essential service has been derived from the system adopted by England, France, and the other great powers, yet it was without a question inferior to that of the Italian republics. But to it, such as it has been, and still is, we must attribute no inconsiderable share of the commercial power and prosperity of all modern States.

SECTION ELEVENTH.

PUBLIC AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

OUR advancement in this department of art has been more rapid than in any other. It may easily be accounted for by the necessities of erecting public edifices on a larger scale, and the influence of local pride, with the growth of wealth and culture. Inspired by the prestige of the metropolis, the different provinces or states of a country, readily follow the example of the National Capital. Some of the early buildings at Washington had been well designed; but after the destruction by the British of the old Capitol, during the second war with England, a bold and brave architect proposed the construction of a Capitol which, although more than ample for our seven or eight million of people, became quite too small when the number had increased threefold. The corner-stone was then laid for an Extension of the edifice, which leaving the original structure unimpaired, added two wings of ample proportions; while the old dome, which was large enough for the original design, was taken down, and the finest and most beautiful dome in the world, surmounted the completed structure. It now seems to correspond

with the wants of sixty millions of people, and is a most imposing edifice. It is richly embellished by works of art illustrative of our history, in which our own people, and those of foreign nations, see strength, majesty, appropriateness, and beauty, that satisfy cultured taste and national spirit.

This work was soon succeeded by edifices corresponding in magnitude and splendor with the Capitol, which dominated over them all. Up to that time scarcely any one of the departments of the government had necessary facilities for the transaction of the public business. The Patent Office, the General Post-Office, the Treasury Department, that of the Navy, of War, and of State, rose one after the other so rapidly that they bespoke the growing wealth and taste of the nation. But they were soon regarded as altogether too narrow in extent to keep pace with the advancement of the population, and the wants of the people. From time to time before this period, interested or aspiring politicians from distant parts of the country, attempted to agitate the removal of the Capital from the banks of the Potomac—where Washington had placed it—to the banks of some great river or lake in the West, chiefly on the ground that it was necessary to have the Capital near the geographical centre of the continent. Such propositions, however, received little attention, and finally they were laid aside with small prospect of being revived again.

There is nothing more sacred to any people than souvenirs connected with the establishment of their first Capital. Cæsar found the Britons—by no means a nation, as we understand the term now,—but for nineteen hundred years London has been the Capital of the British Empire. Cæsar also found Paris the Metropolis of the Gauls, and it has remained the Capital of France. And finally, when Italy after so many ages, blended its numerous Principalities into one Nation, as it was so long under the Cæsars, those warring and dissevered fragments of the old Roman Italy, were aggregated into a nationality, and there was but one place they could choose for a Capital, and that was the Eternal City.

With such an impulse to grand and beautiful public Edifices, private wealth, ambition and taste soon began to embellish the City with beautiful private residences. Numerous Parks and Squares were opened, landscape gardens bloomed on every side; Equestrian Statues looked down on those picturesque scenes; a Roman Aqueduct sent its refreshing waters through a hundred fountains, and within a single generation, what was once called 'a City of magnificent distances,' Washington became the most beautiful City on the Continent; and with the exception of ancient edifices grown venerable by age, one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

The example of the Government was followed by the Capitals of all the States. Their people asked the National Government to put up in State capitals buildings for its use, and many millions were soon expended for

Post-Offices, the Judiciary, and the public revenue from custom duties. As in Congress all the people were represented in exact proportion to the population, every reasonable, and perhaps unreasonable request for these purposes was granted. The Legislature of every State, with a proud if not laudible ambition, made large appropriations for public edifices to meet their wants, and satisfy their local aspirations. Nothing seemed too good or too great for any one of the fifty States and Territories. This spirit extended to cities, where palaces were built, in some instances exceeding in cost and beauty any one of the public structures at Washington a generation before. From this point costly structures everywhere began to rise for Universities, Colleges, Libraries, Museums, Hospitals, Institutions of art, and Churches of every name and denomination; while private wealth and taste moved from brick and mortar, into marble palaces superbly embellished by internal decorations, statuary, and painting. Thousands of opulent Americans visited Europe every year, and, regardless of cost, commanded every work that pleased their fancy, or inflamed their pride. Very soon there rose all through the cities of the West, Academies of music, until this tidal wave of splendor moved on, finding no resting-place till it reached the golden shores of the Pacific. In cities that could hardly be considered anything but rude villages a little while before, and whose names had not yet had a chance to be engraved on any map, or put into a school-book, and while the stumps of the monarchs of the primeval forest were yet standing, arose as if by enchantment, superb structures, which in size, beauty, and taste, made the old Capitals of the Atlantic seaboard, blush at being so far behind the age.

There had been but few Architects in the country who had made Architecture a study, and become competent to undertake fine structures for any purpose. At last the demand for accomplished Architects became so great, that an Institute of Architects was founded in New York, with branches or associations throughout the country. Their number of able accomplished men was rapidly increased by the best in the same profession from Europe. Meantime the same thing became true with our Institutions of Learning. The most eminent scholars and scientists were invited from the Old World, and in every department in the wide realm of culture, these accessions were continually multiplied. The resources of our Institutions of Learning were increased; on every side millionaires endowed new Institutions on a larger scale than had ever been known, or augmented the endowments of older ones. Here, too, one of the most inspiring spectacles was witnessed in every State and Territory. The munificence of the National Government in the appropriation of large tracts of the public domain for founding and maintaining agricultural schools in every State, and in every Territory, was often equalled, and sometimes outstripped by the magnitude of private benefactions. We had got beyond the age when the petty donation of the richest man in America, to set up a Library to perpetuate his name—and into whose narrow shelves and corridors were clustered a few

rare, musty, and comparatively useless old tomes, so restricted in its conditions that it was sure forever to be worthless for the great uses of the growing hosts of scholars and citizens—created surprise, or commanded respect. But with a growing appreciation of the usefulness and actual necessity of endowing Libraries, building Hospitals, and establishing Schools of Science, *actual* surprises were announced almost every day. Men began to give away millions. In another place, where we speak of the advancement in Institutions of Learning, we shall have to add many bright names to that roll already recorded in other portions of this work. It certainly is a just cause for congratulation that so much has been actually done up to the present; and we can reasonably hope that the future promises still greater things. Probably philosophical historians, in looking back over our records, will perceive clearer than we do now, how deeply the promotion of knowledge in all classes was understood by the men of the present age. They will be able to trace our permanence and prosperity, more to this cause than to any other, unless it may be the divine beneficence of Heaven, which gave us so broad and fair a field, for the higher development of the human race.

We have been accused—and often with justice—of estimating ourselves as Americans, too high; we doubtless needed to be taken down somewhat; and European writers and Statesmen cannot be blamed for not doing their best to secure this desired result. But probably these well-meant admonitions will have little more influence upon this nation, through whose veins the unquenchable fires of youth and vigor are flowing, than the counsels of the wisest fathers have upon children. The great Dr. Johnson met the case with his colossal homily, by chiding youth for not acting with the wisdom of age: ‘In youth we require something of the tardiness and frigidity of age, and in age we must endeavor to recall the fire and impetuosity of youth.’

SECTION TWELFTH.

THE LAW AND ORDER OF INVENTION AND DISCOVERY.

THE middle half of the century now drawing to its close, is more indebted to this hemisphere for machines and inventions for bettering the material condition of mankind, than to all the nations of the Transatlantic World during the same wonderful period. Our Western Life has been developed under fresher, freer, stronger, and more electric agencies. In breaking the traditional fetters of ages, we uttered a Declaration of Independence against *all* restraints, except the fear of God, and love of Liberty. On this fulcrum of absolute freedom, the young Archimedes rested his lever to move the world. *And he has moved it.* True, when he had achieved his first intellectual and moral labor in political and social life, he spent his best strength in rough hewing his dwelling, and filling it with the unwasting stores of health-

ful nutrition, willing to forego, for the most part, those finer embellishments which an age of wealth and luxury was so sure to bring.

Compelled thus to stand on his own feet, and rely on his own strength, most of his power of invention was expended on devices for doing human work in the lack of human hands. Some machine must be had to save time and toil ; and as fast as the need of it was felt deeply enough, the device sprang into being, illustrating with new force the old saying, Necessity is the mother of invention.

These always recurring exigencies of American life, were the fountain of that long succession of Cisatlantic Inventions which have annihilated distance, and improvised a power which, wielded by a few feeble and scattered hands, has given us greater auxiliary forces than could have been volunteered by the human muscles of Asia's eight hundred millions.

But after *the first grapple for life*, with these primitive conditions, the torch of Modern Science began to blaze over the American mind, and our inventors and discoverers went pressing their way into the future where no human foot had ever trod ; and of course discoveries of a loftier and more subtle character were made in the higher fields of effort and exploration. Hence we date the origin, and hint the causes which brought us to the present flord era of scientific and original discovery, in so many of the arts which enrich and adorn life.

The law which regulates the progress of pure philosophical discovery, is the same which determines all other human developments. A leader is always found when the gathering host clamor for an onward movement. The inspired Hermits always find Crusaders to follow them. This is the order of martial advancement. The leader in scientific progress must be a *clear Thinker*, as well as a strong believer. Nor does he *begin* his thinking in the afternoon of life. The unfolding of his discoveries may indeed be delayed, but like all other processes of nature, it is the *announcement* which startles, not the slow process which leads to it. The discovery of land is sudden to his companions, but Columbus had seen it by the eye of faith for weary years of struggle before he weighed anchor, and he saw it all through the long and painful voyage. Hence nothing is safer than to say, that all great discoveries, as well as cyclones and earthquakes, rivers, lakes, oceans, mountains, and valleys, with planets and suns, and all sidereal systems, come as soon as they can. It took uncounted myriads of yesterdays to make one to-day. No Newton, nor Morse, nor Christ can come till the world is ready to receive him. It has always been so—it always will be.

It seems strange enough that two centuries had to go by after Harvey had taken the human heart to pieces, and demonstrated the circulation of the blood, before the human race could produce a Thinker to apply that discovery to the practical control of the mechanical forces! A discovery as plain to the simplest understanding when made, as making the egg stand up.

And yet the world has waited for ages for some other great and useful revelations of these modern times.

But a word further about the Order, if not the Law of scientific discovery. We have often thought that it would promote clearness of ideas, to range inventions and discoveries into three classes—the *first*, and subordinate, being those in the lowest departments of mechanics, where the mind of the inventor has little comprehension of the philosophy of material forces, and still less of chemistry, and therefore indebted to favorable accidents, fortuitous experiments, or the suggestions of others. But they had persistent perseverance—often in following shadows and chasing myths like perpetual motion. But their dogged resolution was sometimes rewarded by stumbling across something of value which they were not seeking for. This class is by far the most numerous of the three we shall mention, and from the earliest ages, the world has owed to them many devices which have elevated the physical condition of man above that of the brute creation. But it would be difficult to cite numerous instances of inventions or discoveries by this class, which gave any perceptible impulse to the advancement of society to higher stages.

To reach such a point in human progress, we must come to the *second*, or philosophical class; and we know of no better definition to serve our purpose than has been given by our distinguished chemical author, Edward L. Youmans.¹

It being the office of Natural Philosophy, as he says, to teach us the laws which govern change of place and form in material things, it is plain enough that in this sense the Natural Philosopher rises far above the man who is dealing, no matter how skilfully, only with pure physics; for the one is to a great extent ignorant of the laws of Nature, while the other bases all his structures and conceptions upon that very foundation. Such a man was Archimedes, the most illustrious manager of mechanical forces among his contemporaries or predecessors. This class has given us hitherto the vast majority of inventions which have blessed the world. Among them we reckon the steam-engine, the power-loom, the reaper, and the sewing-machine, as conspicuous among the long list.

But higher obligations will yet be owed to Chemistry and its disciples. This greatest of all sciences is chiefly the growth of modern times; for however numerous and astonishing may have been the acquisitions of learned

¹ The material objects around us are capable of undergoing three kinds of change: change of *place*, of *form*, and of *nature*. These changes occur in certain regular ways, and by fixed methods, which are called *laws*. It belongs to *Natural Philosophy* to teach us the laws which govern changes of place and form in material things, and to *Chemistry* the laws which control changes in their nature. When a forest tree is felled, cut in pieces, transported to the mill and sawn into boards, the woodman, the teamster, and the saw-

yer are occupied in producing visible changes—alterations in the mass—changes of form and place—mechanical changes. But if the tree be burned to ashes in the open air, or altered to charcoal in a pit by a slow smothered combustion, or if it be suffered gradually to rot, or be injected through its pores with preservative solutions which prevent decay, in these cases the changes are within the wood, among its invisible particles, they alter its *nature*, and are known as chemical effects.

men among the Saracens, and even earlier nations, yet Chemistry as a science, as we now understand it, made no more, perhaps less, progress in removing matter and its combinations from the realm of mystery, than astrology did in the unsolved problems of Astronomy. All Franklin's devices and inventions, however useful in the routine of common life, were useless compared with his discoveries in electricity; and the vast proportion of the higher inventions of our time, owe their origin to some knowledge of this subtlest of all sciences—the knowledge of the *inner qualities of matter*.

Thus in making an analysis of the agency of Chemistry in the progress of the present age, we find that it has been the mightiest power yet committed to man, and the one which is now giving him so extended a control over the forces of the material universe. Of the more than a quarter million patents issued from Washington, not very many may have been of any practical service to mankind. The useless remaining myriads, belong to the lowest class of inventors. Those of actual value have been the outgrowth of Natural Philosophy; while the most brilliant and shining even of these, owe their supreme excellence to chemical knowledge.

Illustrations.—When we consider the great advance made by our country in the Arts and Sciences, we naturally dwell with pleasure on the pre-eminence attained by those fortunate citizens, to whom we are indebted for the more significant discoveries and inventions upon which our success has been based.

In the development of natural products: WHITNEY by the invention of the Cotton Gin.—WOOD by the invention of the Iron Plow.—McCORMICK by the invention of the Reaper, are the most signal examples.

In the creation of facilities for lessening the restrictions of distance on the transfer of persons, property and intelligence: FITCH, and FULTON, in inventing the Steamboat.—MORSE in inventing the Telegraph.—BELL in inventing the Telephone; are the most prominent examples.

For disseminating intelligence: HOE and others, with the Cylinder Press.

For scientific discovery: FRANKLIN in Electricity; COUNT RUMFORD in Physics, and the DRAPERS, father and son, in Celestial Physics.

In Naval warfare: ERICSSON, the Monitor.

In Labor Saving for clothing the World: HOWE with his Sewing Machine.

SECTION THIRTEENTH.

THE DRAMA IN AMERICA.

Our Estimation of It.—No man who cherishes sympathy for Letters, can pass through the solemn aisles of Westminster Abbey, without feeling his pulses thrill when he looks on the bust of Shakespeare in the 'Poets' Corner.' The world has always loved its eminent dramatists. Even 490 years B.C., Æschylus, then in his thirty-fifth year, was honored at Marathon. He loved Greece, and fought for her at Salamis and Plataea. On his death, the Athe-

nians decreed honors to him as 'The Father of Tragedy.' In his old age, he is said to have been killed by an eagle. The oracle had announced that he would receive his death from on high. The Romans achieved little eminence in dramatic writings. Terence, their best dramatic author, was a freed Carthaginian slave. He was, however, admitted to the intimacy of the elder Scipio. Julius Cæsar himself wrote verses in his praise, while the world honors his tomb. The dramatists of the Middle Ages were among the earliest cultivators of letters at the period of the Revival of Learning. In fact, the refinement and civilization of every age can be traced by the estimation in which the drama is held. Great actors are always coeval with great dramatists: they are needed to interpret them, as Gutenberg rose with his types to speak for the authors of the world. What would the dramatists of Greece have been to the people, without the actors of their age? or those of Rome, without the grand impersonations of Roscius? Shakespeare, who was great in everything, wrote and enacted his own plays. Garrick was the companion of the greatest men of England, and Cicero was proud of the friendship and teachings of Roscius.

We have yet had no illustrious writer of plays, but we have had one actor of consummate ability. EDWIN FORREST did for us what Garrick did for England; what Roscius did for Rome. With the most earnest love for the Drama, he prepared himself by careful study, for the stage, and chose it as a profession. He never faltered, never hesitated, but went on from one point of excellence to another, till he stood unrivalled. There was something too sturdy in his frame and character, to make comedy congenial to his taste. He was born for tragedy, and the more serious business of stirring life. He was gifted with more power, than grace; with a fuller appreciation of the grand, than of the beautiful. In his higher moods, he surpassed conception. He moved through the terrific scenes of Lear, with the majesty of a great king, driven to madness by an overwhelming calamity. He completely filled the ideal of Richelieu, with his incomparable statesmanship, his unwavering patriotism, and his touching domestic love; while, without an effort, he realized the heroic affection of Damon and Pythias, in giving expression to the native magnanimity of his own character. He was struck at, for he was a mark for envy. Unprincipled charlatanism, painted vice, and the unscrupulous spirit of gain, assailed his home, his fortunes, and his art. But these 'arrows of outrageous fortune' all fell harmless at his feet. He was known and loved by millions: for to millions he, more effectually than any other man, interpreted the mind of Shakespeare. For a whole generation he was the life of our drama, and each new engagement left us with the clear impression that he had not yet reached the full maturity of his powers. He was a constant student and a successful cultivator of Letters. His large income enabled him to gratify his taste for Literature and Art, and his library was supposed to contain the richest private collection of choice works pertaining to the Drama in this country. His unostentatious benefactions were known to be wide

and generous, and he left his entire estate, with his stately mansion and its superb grounds as an endowed asylum for decayed actors.

A Shakespeare Festival.—A striking illustration of the estimation in which the divine bard of Avon is held in this country, was seen on the occasion of a meeting at the Academy of Music, New York, April 23, 1881, for establishing A Poets' Corner in America. It was a vast and brilliant assembly, representing the taste, culture, talent, and learning of the Continent. The chosen orator¹ so fully met the exacting occasion by so well interpreting the universal sentiment of his countrymen, that I cannot deny the claim of his Address to an honored place in this record :

"You are," he said, "I think especially felicitous in the time you chose for your meeting. For in the Calendar of days, there is none other, like this of Shakespeare's birth, and Shakespeare's death, in which to inaugurate, in America, a Poets' Corner. His—the name of the all-accepted sovereign of poets—appropriately heralds the enterprise. His form—in grace and attitude, as we may well imagine it to have been—already stands, in enduring bronze, fast by our National Museum, amid those groves now growing populous with the earth's renowned. Where Shakespeare is *not*, there is no place for poetry in its fulness and significance. Where Shakespeare *is*, there must poetry ever find a home.

"He is the world's creditor in an amount which cannot be computed. He diversifies and multiplies the years of those who read him ; making them re-live the ages fled. He evokes from the dreamy past its most interesting records, and idealizes for us the speech and customs of former generations. He brings to our ears the ringing shouts that greeted the triumphal marches through the streets of Rome,—with Kings and Queens, trophies and spoils, and captured armies in the train. We are present in the Ides of March, and see the bloody immolation. We pass the gates of foredoomed Ilium, to the very Councils of Priam, Hector, and Æneas ; or, threading the camp of the unwearied besiegers, list, near Agamemnon's tent, the discourse of sage Ulysses and pious Nestor.

"We meet the pensive Dane ; confront Shylock on the Rialto, and Macbeth on the heath ; with Portia catch the gentle dew of mercy ; float down the Nile in Cleopatra's barge ; fly with the dainty Ariel as he belts the globe ; charge with bold Henry on the golden lilies ; enchanted, roam Miranda's isle, doubting if 'she is mortal,' and lift our dazzled eyes to Juliet's moonlit bower.

"What sturdy and grand representatives of manhood, in all trials, triumphs and conditions ; what bewildering forms of womanhood—his high ideals—lent us by his fancy, people our memories !

"The world's unnumbered critics have bent at his shrine. Writers have vainly tried to explain and illustrate him. Pope and Johnson, Carlyle and Emerson, Bryant and Lowell have delighted to paint him ; but the can-

¹ Luther Rawson Marsh, Esq., of the New York Bar.

was is yet hardly touched. There is still room for the critics and commentators of all the future. Actors have struggled to impersonate his creations. The stage has cherished his utterances and kept them alive. The Press, the Platform, and the Pulpit lean on him. His pearls are sown throughout the realm of the English tongue. He was the prophet of after-ages. He saw, ere Harvey, the 'ruddy drops' pulsing the veins, and visiting the heart. He saw, before Newton lived,

'The very centre of the earth
Drawing all things to it.'

He pictured the genius of the Dramatic Art in a single phrase: 'to suit the word to the action, the action to the word.' He touched the very soul of worship, when he said, that

'Tis mad idolatry
To make the service greater than the God.'

"Up to this hour, we borrow from his matchless nomenclature, to portray men, and describe their deeds. His periods cannot stale or cloy by frequent iteration, but instead, give out a richer fragrance, and a fuller tone. Words, common and unregarded, by his subtle alchemy take harmonious forms, and burn on the page. Our sense is charmed, and our ear educated by the music of his rhythm. Oft as we read, new thoughts shine out, and new meanings are revealed. He opens our eyes to the facts and secrets of nature—of earth, and air, and sky, and man. In the exuberance of power he circles human experience. Fancy, judgment, reason, melody, pathos, wit, humor, insight, prophecy, intuitive knowledge of man, the gift of tongues—a many-sided nature; and full and affluent on every side. So varied his knowledge, so true his allusions, that every calling claims him for its own. His words, how small! His thoughts, how large! By him, as by the Bible, we learn what freight of meaning monosyllables can bear; and how they may fall into cadences that enthrall the senses. He is destined to carry our language through the nations, and through the future, till other tongues shall fade before the supremacy of the English. No man has so wrought himself into the web and woof of British and American thought, and stamped his signet so imperishably upon the literature of the world.

"What though he teaches in forms dramatic, and not in sermons, theses, systems? For, says our own Emerson, 'all the argument and all the wisdom is not in the encyclopædia, nor treatises on metaphysics, nor the Body of Divinity, but in the sonnet and the play.'

"Did Shakespeare know how great he was? This question must often come to all who study him. But no one can answer: for, neither in his own writings—nor in tragedy, nor comedy, nor sonnet, nor in the records of his time, can proof be found that he was fully conscious of his own superiority. He hides his personality away, like the secret of the Nile. The most diligent exploration is unrewarded. His birth, his marriage, his death—that trinity

of great events—his abode on the Thames and on the Avon, his plays, his seizin of lands, are nearly all the certainly known events in his mysterious career. Most else is mere tradition. No page embalms a sentence from his lips. Oh, for the record of an hour's converse, to bring us nearer to his acquaintance, and closer to his heart! But a dumb and hopeless silence broods over all—save the few sonnets and dramas fortunately kept from loss. There is no epistle from him; only one to him; no line of *Lear* in his own handwriting, nor word of the Moor; no trace of his pen, but the signature of his immortal name. So strangely indifferent was he to the preservation of his own productions, that we might almost think he did not deem them worthy to be saved. Certainly, he had not the least idea that—outshining all that had gone before, and all which was to come after—his writings would sail down the current of the years—for centuries on centuries—the grandest structure of human thought.

“Did his contemporaries know the man who walked and talked amongst them? It gleams from the glowing tribute of a rival—himself, but for Shakespeare, among the first of poets—that ‘he was not of an age, but for all time.’ John Milton sang that ‘Kings for such a tomb would wish to die.’ His readings, at Christmas and Shrovetide, before the ‘fair Vestal, throned by the west,’—a scene which has enraptured pencil and graver—attested the regard of his Queen. But, else, the evidence is meagre of the estimation of his time. But the future will nobly redeem the past, and even add increase to his name, though science and art and poesy should flood the ages. On his forehead ‘climb the crowns o’ the world.’ Yet have I faith that, in the keeping of near three hundred years, in some sacred crypt in that Old England which hoards so many unknown treasures, there may some time be found a truthful record from his own pen, which shall solve the mystery.

“The miracle of Shakespeare grows with all our years. He overcame the disadvantages which encompassed him. ‘The incumbrances of fortune,’ said old Sam Johnson—borrowing a phrase from Shakespeare himself, for illustration—‘were shaken from his mind as dew-drops from a lion’s mane.’

“Remember that he had no preceding masters to study. He must find all within himself. He could not look elsewhere. Yet he scattered his treasures with a boundless prodigality. With ease, so far as we can know, his thoughts fell on the page; for tradition holds his manuscript to have been unblotted and immaculate. Not appreciating the vast worth of his work; taking no pains to gather, revise, or print; permitting chance to be the depository of his wealth; he yet bequeathed a legacy to men, from which they would not let a word escape; ‘The stream of time, which is continually washing away the dissoluble fabrics of other poets, passes without injury by the adamant of Shakespeare.’

“This divine man, this artist of the ages, this painter and historian of humanity, on whom Heaven’s treasures were lavished; sent to hint the possibilities of our nature, to prove the nobility of our kinship and the grandeur of our descent; to light up joy and inspire hope; is an authentication of his

own portraiture ; for, in his apostrophe to man—so luminous, concise, and beautiful—did he not unconsciously limn his own picture—a photograph produced by his own sunlight ? ‘ What a piece of work is man ! how noble in reason ! how infinite in faculties ! in form and moving how express and admirable ! in action, how like an angel ! in apprehension, how like a god ! ’

“ We are all actors. Some in inconspicuous fields ; some in the full eye and audience of mankind. Each, in large degree, may choose his character, and control the performance. The scenery of our stage—momentarily shifted by the omnipotent hand—is the fertile field, the rolling billow, rock, mountain, forest, the drifting cloud, and this bending dome, with its pendant lights. On this great theatre, humanity acts its part, and will, till the drama of life shall end. But what can any one say or think, which has not already been forestalled by the master, and crystallized in beauty ?

‘ All the world’s a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.’

“ The time seems ripe for a project like this. We have just rounded a hundred years. That century has been spent in asserting rights, and in maintaining them ; in perfecting a new form of government ; in getting a continent ready for habitation ; in felling the woods ; in building villages and cities ; in planting the school-house, and lifting the steeple ; in digging channels for commerce ; in impelling the wave of population ; and pushing attendant States over hill and valley, across desert and wilderness, to the setting sun ; in linking the vast spaces between the sea of the East and the sea of the West, between the blue Lakes and Mexican Gulf, with means of rapid interchange ; in subduing the obstinacies of land and ocean ; and in summoning and bending to our use, powers and agencies before unknown and uncontrolled. It was a century of rude, rough work. Grandly and successfully has it been done.

“ And now, may we not leave the proud achievements of the past, and clad in more celestial vestments, reverently enter the temple of a higher life, and bow before a more spiritual altar ? These labors done, we may hope to be somewhat relieved from ceaseless battle with the grim forces of uncurbed nature, and to rise into an atmosphere of peace, art, and culture.

“ Down through the dim arches of the future, I see the long procession of pilgrims from every clime, taking their way to this Mecca of genius ; thus attesting the benign influence of this day’s doings. Here—to give them lasting honor—we will bring our sons and daughters of song—minstrels who catch the inspirations of Heaven and translate them into the language of earth. And here and now do we begin our work of praise.”

SECTION FOURTEENTH.

CULTURE AND ADVANCEMENT.

WE have been obliged hitherto, in this work, to content ourselves chiefly with practical records of our progress in material things. We would more gladly have indulged in the illusions of hope and given reins to the imagination. But this would have been a weak and unworthy surrender of the office of the historian, to the realm of the fancy, over which the poet alone asserts uncontested sway.

We looked over the landscape of our National Life when we began, and only hoped to give a broad view of the general subject. To do more would have been more than our power could compass, or our space admit. We resolved to attempt only what could be done by panoramic sketching. A thousand scenes had to be omitted because they had already been portrayed, and ten thousand others left out to be drawn by more skilful hands hereafter.

The Scope and Spirit of Modern Investigation.—Reliability in statement, and accuracy in alleged facts, are the indispensable elements which give value to history. The lack of them has proved the fruitful source of misapprehensions which have misled mankind, and impaired the value of history. Looseness of statement, carelessness, or indefiniteness in the choice of words, are often as pernicious in their influence as blunders which arise from ignorance itself.

In glancing over the broad field of history, which is supposed to constitute the most valuable portion of the literature of all nations, and in all ages, we find that those productions which are deemed the most valuable are those which prove the most reliable.

At the head of all science stands that of mathematics, which is properly called the 'exact science,' since its principles can never change. Its standards of measure are eternal. Its extent and capacity may have no limit, and our knowledge of it may be forever increasing, although in pure mathematics no new principle will ever be discovered. It is not so with chemistry any further than it is the science of the unalterable laws of nature. But when we come to the writing of history, our work must of necessity remain imperfect because of the imperfection of our knowledge of facts. It became an axiom with the educated intellects of Greece, that nothing was so difficult to attain as a knowledge of truth. A recent writer has felicitously remarked that 'criticism is rewriting the history of the world; while physical science is remodelling our conceptions of the universe.'

It is fortunate that we have reached an age of careful observation. To the cultivation of this spirit we owe the advancement of human learning. Ignorance is, in the fullest possible sense, the mother of superstition—almost equally so of prejudice. From the time that observers began to enumerate

and classify the various species of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, which are now specifically defined by the hundred thousand, not one single step has been made in the advancement of actual knowledge except by observation. One sample may be all that can be had at the time, but with the knowledge of that one the observer will recognize the second sample the instant it meets his eye. Then, a positive addition is made to knowledge. All else is either ignorance or conjecture. All ignorance can do, is to be educated; all that education can do, is to accumulate and classify facts: the fruit of all is learning. On this road all progress must go, or it is not progress. True, indeed, conjecture, which comes within the realm of chastened imagination, holds its high place of utility. For, although some valuable discoveries seem to have come about by accident, yet most of them have been the direct fruits of conjecture, pursued with zeal and patience.

A high place has been given to the province of mathematical investigation as an exercise of the mind in abstractions. But educators of the higher class have, in our times, generally concluded that a still higher exercise of the mind is in seeking for positive facts to the omission of all abstractions. The mechanic can get the use of his tools only by using them on the material he is to shape. Everything short of that is idealism, which has no place in a practical universe where anything is going to be done, worth the trouble of doing.

Although Mr. Buckle, in the opening of his introduction to the *History of Civilization*, startled ordinary readers by the announcement that skepticism is the first quality required in ascertaining truth, he levelled a staggering blow at the most ancient intellectual curse—accepting assertions unattended by proof. Here was that fruitful mother of this brood that has lived through all the ages—accepting *ipse dixit*, without demanding the grounds for the declarations. To Buckle, perhaps, more than almost any man since Bacon, do we owe the beginning of our emancipation from the impositions of usurped authority. It is not alone the priesthoods of false religions that have enthralled the human mind, and perpetuated superstition in religion; for only half a century ago the man who did not yield his assent to the established documents of the church in which he had been brought up, was denounced as an infidel, or by a hardly less odious epithet—a skeptic.

So, too, in the matter of literature, especially history. Great names still sanction the grossest errors. Even to this day, geology, which is written by the finger of nature in every stratum of the earth, hardly receives the attention of the most influential of the Christian priesthood. False interpretations of the words of Moses made geology odious, and it has hardly yet won its victory over prepossessions.

Hence, those books that are of the most value are those which are the fruit of independent investigation. Opinions have ceased to be of any value unaccompanied by the illustration of facts. This spirit pervades the literature of modern nations, and it is going, steadily and rapidly, in the future to illuminate the human mind; to emancipate the human spirit; and ultimately,

to give universal triumph to universal humanity. Theology is being dropped on this road of progress as the worthless work of prejudiced and ignorant men, to make room for the knowledge and worship of the single Creator of the Universe.

PARKS: I.—INTERNATIONAL (*Niagara*).—This is our only Park which may be properly called International, since its creation will be the joint work of two nations. The Falls of Niagara constitute the grandest natural scene on the continent. The junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi—or the Mississippi and the Missouri; the irresistible tide of the Father of Waters, as he flows on to join the ocean, are all grand and majestic scenes; and stranger sights are unfolded in the weird valleys of Yosemite and the Yellowstone. But there is greater awe and sublimity about Niagara, than invest any other scene of the earth. It does not consist merely, nor mainly, perhaps, in the sight, nor in the thought of a river which drains the great Lakes of the West, shooting a verge of one hundred and seventy feet. There is a wild freedom, and picturesque variety in the separation of the river into two parts; the one flashing on the eye, the sparkle and excitement of lightning-dashing rapids on the one side, the calm and majestic Horseshoe Face on the other. The Falls, too, are surrounded by islands, and rich foliage, and primitive old trees, with green banks, cheerful farm-houses, and rich fields spreading away in all directions. And the river looks upon two Realms; one, the greatest of Empires; the other, the greatest of Republics—two peaceful branches of the mighty family, whose gigantic arms now stretch round the world—nations which, in a higher sense than can be said of any others, possess the controlling and all-shaping agencies of the future—nations which are marching side by side, to the conquest of the earth.

Niagara has excited the interest and attracted the footsteps of men from the first hour of its discovery. Poets have sung, artists have painted, and the genius of both continents has poured out its sparkling libations to the sublimity of the Falls of Niagara; but who has yet reached the grandeur of the theme? The whirling, maddening rapids, growing still more frantic till they reach the ledge, and dash to the unfathomed abyss! Who has described the bewildering sublimity, in looking up from the American side of those dazzling sheets pouring like molten silver from the heavens? Who has told of the awe which holds one spell-bound in gazing up to the Horseshoe, with its fearful masses of rolling water, rainbowed mists crowning the majestic scene, till one feels as if in the presence of Omnipotence? With what a sense of joyful relief one turns from all this painful grandeur to the smiling landscape by which all this terror is encircled!

Such had been the old Cataract, as its imposing image had fixed itself on the imagination or memory of mankind. But the spirit of progress (euphemism for quenchless greed of gain) had been long busy in the Vandal work of destroying the symmetrical beauty of this magnificent spectacle, by the most offensive surrounding objects which avarice could construct.

Long before this profanation had gone on so far, many an angry protest had been made by disgusted visitors—European and American—but a deeper feeling was stirred by the suggestion of Lord Dufferin, the accomplished Governor-General of Canada, for the appointment of a Joint Commission by the Government of The Dominion, and the State of New York, to form an International Park embracing lands on both sides of the river, above and below the Falls. The plan met with the hearty approval of the people of both governments, and petitions in its favor were presented by the most eminent citizens of Canada, New York and many other States of America, and Great Britain. A report was rendered by a competent commission appointed by the State of New York, accurately setting forth the land which should be secured, and how it should be treated, with convincing reasons for every recommendation. Unfortunately the gubernatorial chair was then held by a man who resisted every appeal for his official action, and it was necessary to wait for a Governor whose culture and statesmanship would meet the occasion.

In this instance, as in so many others, we see how much we owe to the vigilant guardianship of a free, fearless, and enlightened Press. To this dreaded but healthful tribunal, public servants and wrongs must come, and from its judgments it is vain to appeal, except by resorting to the same weapons.¹ The International Park was never in any real danger, for the people demanded it.

In fact the journals of the State generally displayed the same spirit.

II. NATIONAL: *The Yosemite*.—In June, 1864, while the Republic was still writhing in the folds of the serpent Secession, it found time for many measures of beneficence and utility, which would be looked for in the calm days of peace, rather than in the violence of war. Amongst these measures which will reflect lasting honors upon the legislators of that disturbed period,

¹ Under the head of *The Destruction of Niagara* the *New York Daily Tribune* of December 24, 1882, says: "If the owners of the land along Niagara River from the head of the rapids to the new suspension bridge should build a high fence about it with 'No admittance' painted on the gate, this procedure would arouse some indignation. And yet the proprietors would be acting clearly within their rights. The land is theirs, and ownership gives them authority to warn away all trespassers. Indeed, if the rushing waters here are to be harnessed to machinery and give motion to the shafting of a line of factories along the bank, the owners or lessees will be compelled in self-defence to exclude from their grounds the thronging visitors drawn within by the cataract. As it is, there is not a point on American soil where one can see the Falls without paying for the privilege, and the landowners offer sufficient reason to justify their charges. But, after all, no one can contemplate this state of things without feeling his sense of justice violated. Niagara stands alone. It is invested with a supreme sublimity. Such a miracle of grace and grandeur should of right be the possession of the race. And the man who is shut out by another from this inspiring and ennobling

presence complains instinctively, as one defrauded of his inheritance.

"But what does it matter that all the world is welcome to Niagara, if Niagara itself is to be destroyed. So long as the great chain of lakes remains to feed it, there will be a river full of water pouring over a precipice. But Niagara is something more than a naked waterfall. One need not go to the islands in the rapids nor on the river bank to see the glory and delightfulness of trees and rich underwood and garlands of living vine by waters, still or flowing. But here the walls of foliage in summer, and the outreaching of the bare branches in the winter, have a value that cannot be measured. They are more even than a foil and setting to the pitiless rush of the waters. They are essential parts of a complete work in which all the elements are so fused into a vital unity that the loss of one is not a mere defacement or disfigurement of the whole. It is destruction. If, still further, this harmonious beauty of forest growth is replaced by the vulgar intrusion of all things distracting, incongruous, and unsightly, the Niagara of sublimity and loveliness is ruined forever.

"Now, the havoc has already begun, as everybody knows. It will surely continue, with an ever-increas-

was an Act setting apart the magnificent Yosemite Valley, to be reserved as a Public Park and pleasure domain for the people of the United States forever. It was said to be one of the most imposing and beautiful scenes of nature men had ever gazed on, and its guardianship was committed in trust to the State of California for a period of ten years, when the Republic would again resume its keeping as one of her priceless jewels. Its fame has extended throughout the world, and Art has already despaired in attempting to portray its grandeur and beauty.

The Yellowstone.—This is the second of the National Parks. That region of the Yellowstone Valley which extends nearly 65 miles from North to South, and 55 miles from East to West, comprising 3,575 square miles, lies in the Northwest corner of Wyoming, and stretches a few miles across the border into Montana. The Congressional Act which created this broad domain a National Park, in March 1871, declares that "the district known as the Yellowstone National Park, is reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy or sale under the Laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public Park or pleasure ground, for the benefit and enjoyment of the People." The tract thus embraced is all more than 6,000 feet high, and the Yellowstone Lake, in its midst, is 22 by 15 miles in extent, and has an altitude of 7,788 feet. The mountain ranges which hem in the valleys on either side, rise from 12,000 to 20,000 feet, and are covered with perpetual snow. The whole region indicates signs of a comparative modern geological period. Scientists regard it as more remarkable for natural curiosities, than any equal area in any other known portion of the globe.

It was first definitively brought to notice by a party of surveyors from Helena, Montana, in 1869. In the following year an expedition was equipped for a more thorough examination, under the direction of the Surveyor-General of the Territory. In 1871, Professor Hayden, the able Chief of the Geological Bureau of the General Land Office at Washington, at the head of a perfectly equipped scientific corps, began a complete survey, which revealed the entire features of the region that has been well called *the Wonderland*. It exhibits the grand and magnificent, in its snow-clad mountains and dark cañons; the picturesque, in its fine waterfalls and strangely formed rocks; the beau-

ing power to destroy, so long as the land on the river border remains in private hands, not because of any special greed or blameworthiness of the present proprietors, who are as public-spirited as any successors of theirs are likely to be, but of necessity, from the conditions of the case. The plain and only remedy, then, is for the State to take and dedicate it forever to the noblest service which it can render to mankind."

Also said *The Rochester Herald*: "We think that Governor-elect Cleveland can be relied upon to favor the project of establishing an international or State park at Niagara Falls. Governor Cornell, for some inscrutable reason, frowned upon that scheme, and no progress has been made in the direction of carrying it out under his administration. It was a favorite idea of Lord Dufferin, formerly Governor-General of Can-

ada, now British Ambassador at Constantinople, and that fact was decidedly in its favor, for where such men as Lord Dufferin lead, such men as Governor Cornell may wisely follow. The land around Niagara Falls should be made public property, put into suitable shape and kept free to visitors for all time. The falls at that place are justly regarded with pride by Americans, and admiration and wonder by visitors. They constitute one of the great show attractions of the continent. Thousands of our own people visit them every year, and a multitude of tourists from Europe also do so. Instead of being assaulted by hack-drivers, tormented by Indian curiosity hucksters, and halted at toll-gates every few rods, visitors should find themselves free to pass unmolested to every object of interest at and near the falls."

tiful, in the charming woodland shores of its silver lakes ; and the marvellous, in its geyser hot-springs and sulphur mountains. Learned savants, world-wide travellers, and artists of fame, all say that they have no knowledge of any other portion of the globe which unites so many elements and conditions of contrast and beauty to delight the eye, or so many strange aspects to instruct and fascinate the artist and the student of science.

III. STATE : *The Adirondack Wilderness of New York.*—This extensive region, lying in the Northeastern part of New York, embracing an area of some 5,000 square miles of irregular mountain ranges, clothed with primeval forests, dotted with crystal lakes, and irrigated by dashing trout-streams, had long been regarded as the only large, free, and enchanting resort for Eastern sportsmen and trappers. The State had never parted with its eminent domain of much of this territory, nor been asked to do so ; for it presented but few attractions for agriculturists who found more enticing allurements in the richer fields of the West. Hence it lay like some *terra incognita* from the period of the great migration from New England, which, once set in motion, found no halting-place till it lost itself “ in the murmurs of the Pacific Seas.”

Said Mr. Verplanck Colvin, in his completed Topographical Survey, in 1874 : “ It is a peculiar region ; for though the geographical centre of the Wilderness may be readily and easily reached in the light canoe-like boats of the guides, by lakes and rivers, which form a labyrinth of passages for boats, the core, or rather cores, of this wilderness, extend on either hand from these broad avenues of water, and in their interior remain to-day as untrodden by man, and as unknown and wild, as when the Indian alone paddled his birchen boat upon these streams and lakes. Amid these mountain solitudes are places at this moment, where, in all probability, the foot of man never trod ; and here the panther has his den among the rocks, and rears his savage kittens undisturbed, save by the growls of bear or screech of lynx, or the hoarse croak of raven taking its share of the carcass of slain deer. This region—‘the heart of the Adirondacks,’ that our citizens desire to reserve forever as a public forest park, not only as a resort of rest for themselves and for posterity, but for weighty reasons of political economy, for reservoirs of water for the canals and rivers, for the ameliorating of spring floods by the preservation of the forests sheltering the deep winter snows, but for the salvation of the timber, our only cheap source of lumber supply, should the Canadian and Western markets be ruined by fires, or otherwise lost to us, its preservation as a State forest is urgently demanded. In the verification of my previous discovery of the loftiest pond-source of the Hudson, we obtain the definite and permanent solution of an interesting question, and hand over to Geography the course of the mighty river from the lone lakelet spring, downward by steps of foam to its broad historic tide. From the loftiest lakelet of New York the water descends, gathering volume

at every brook, till in full breadth it swells before the wharves and piers of the metropolis, floating the richly burdened ships of all the nations."

This reliable and admirable report was received with applause, published in full with its numerous maps and drawings, and widely circulated throughout the State. The necessary preparations were made, and ever after, the Empire State could date the existence of what was in the future to constitute the most imposing and beautiful park known in the neighborhood of any great metropolis.

IV. METROPOLITAN PARKS: *New York*.—When that city had outgrown the ideas of its inhabitants of the first half of the present century, the necessity of a larger park demanded serious attention, and before it became too late, a tract of 864 acres was reserved in the then upper portion of the city, and secured, which, not long afterward, was laid out and embellished with taste and beauty, and became the chief attraction of the commercial capital of the Western World. The result far exceeded the expectations or even the hopes of its projectors, and it led to other and broader plans. At length, when the bounds of the city were vastly enlarged by the annexation of a broad territory toward the North—the only direction in which it could expand, being restricted by the East River and the lordly Hudson—our leading citizens united in a Park Association, to promote the acquisition of a large area for one or more public pleasure-grounds which would correspond with the wants of a city to whose growth no probable limits, during one or two hundred years, could be assigned within some scores of millions of inhabitants.

In an eloquent, but well-considered appeal, to Citizens and the Legislature, some persuasive facts were presented, among which the following will be found in the accompanying Note (1):

(1) *Park Area of New York Compared with other Cities*.—The time has arrived when the public mind should be thoroughly aroused to the imperative necessity of providing for the present and future wants of our rapidly increasing population, in the important matter of park area. In view of the limited and wholly inadequate area laid out in the form of public grounds, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the urgent need for more and larger breathing places. Central Park, though deservedly regarded as one of its most attractive features, no longer meets the requirements of our metropolis, and to-day we are, in this essential particular, far behind not only the great capitals of Europe, but several American cities. A comparison of their park acreage with that of New York, is most conclusive on this point, and should dispel all doubt as to the necessity for prompt and effective action. Not only London and Paris, the only two cities in the civilized world which exceed ours in population, but Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco have a larger park territory than New York. The figures are obtained from official sources:

	POPULATION.	ACRES IN PARKS.
New York	1,500,000	1,094
Philadelphia	846,984	3,000
Chicago	503,304	2,000
St. Louis	350,522	2,107
San Francisco	233,936	1,181

Compared with these cities, New York should have 2,319 acres more than Philadelphia; 3,952 acres more than Chicago; 6,929 acres more than St. Louis; and 6,394 acres more than San Francisco.

Or, to present the comparison in another form, it appears that while New York has one acre of park area to every 1,371 inhabitants,

Chicago has one acre to every 252;
Philadelphia one acre to every 282;
St. Louis one acre to every 166; and
San Francisco one acre to every 198.

As to London or Paris, a comparison between New York and either of these cities partakes of the ludicrous, the first having fifteen acres, and the second

SECTION FIFTEENTH.

IN MEMORIAM.

It has often been observed among civilized nations, that the deaths of their most eminent men seem to cluster around certain periods. One of those periods appeared to occur with us, during the few years that succeeded the close of our first century, as we had noted in the decease of so many of the past revolutionary statesmen, a generation ago. To those men we endeavored to pay reverent tributes.

President Garfield.—His assassination on the morning of July 2, 1881, as he was leaving the Capital for a period of relaxation, spread a horror through

eight acres to every one embraced within our park limits.

The Parks of London and Paris.—As already stated the number of acres laid out in public grounds is only one thousand and ninety-four, while the great British metropolis, as will be seen from the following list, has not less than fifteen thousand acres :

	ACRES.
Richmond Park.....	2,253
Windsor Park.....	3,800
Hampton Court and Bushy Parks	1,842
Kew Park and Gardens.....	684
Victoria Park.....	300
Wimbledon Common.....	628
Hyde Park.....	400
Green, St. James', and Regent's Parks.....	450
Hempstead Heath.....	240
Kensington Gardens.....	290
Alexandra Park	192
Greenwich Park.....	174
Finsbury Park.....	115
Total.....	11,368

There are, besides the parks proper, which are included in this list, a large number of so-called "downs," "commons," and fields, some of which have an area of between fifty and one hundred acres, that run the aggregate up to at least fifteen thousand acres.

But with all its munificence in providing breathing places for its teeming population, the great British metropolis is far behind the French capital in this respect. In the extent, picturesque beauty, and artistic embellishment of her magnificent pleasure grounds, Paris is without an equal. All that art in its varied resources could contribute, all that the most generous expenditure of money could accomplish, all that human ingenuity could devise, have united to render the parks of Paris superior to those of any of the other European capitals. Within the limits of the city proper there are, it is true, with the exception of the park Monceaux—which is the perfection of landscape gardening—and a few other highly ornamented spaces, only public squares and places, but beyond the boundaries there are grand parks at distances of from less than one to ten, fifteen, and twenty miles—the Bois de Boulogne, Bois de Vin-

cennes (2,500 acres each), St. Cloud, St. Germain, the Champs Elysées, the Buttes Chaumont, and many others. Then, within a little more than an hour by rail, there is the great Forest of Fontainebleau, extending over an area of forty-two thousand acres, and which, in addition to its natural beauties of grove and meadow, has several beautifully cultivated tracts of land blooming with the choicest plants and flowers. Of so-called parks in Paris and its immediate vicinity, there are about eight thousand acres, but of public grounds, including the Forest of Fontainebleau, there are over one hundred and seventy thousand acres.

The Parks of New York.—The following list of our "Parks" is in striking comparison with those presented above, and is given merely with a view to show our deficiency and to arouse the public to a proper appreciation of the imperative necessity for a largely increased park area. It may be urged that New York has not had the opportunities possessed by Paris and London, but while this reason may apply to the past, it certainly cannot apply to the present. In her material progress, in her rapid strides to the grand position she now holds, as the third great metropolis of the world, and in the certainty of a greater advance in the years to come, New York should find sufficient and conclusive reasons for aspiring at least to rival, if she cannot hope to surpass, London and Paris in this one great essential to the physical health and sanitary welfare of her rapidly increasing population. But here is the list of our parks, and a comparison with those of the British and French capitals renders further remark unnecessary :

	ACRES.
Central Park.....	864
Riverside Park.....	89
Morningside Park.....	31½
Mount Morris Park.....	20
High Bridge.....	23
The Battery.....	21
Tompkins.....	10½
City Hall.....	8½
Washington.....	8
Union.....	3½
Madison.....	6½
Reservoir.....	4½
Stuyvesant.....	4½

the country still greater, if possible, than that which had attended the untimely death of Lincoln. It was the second chief magistrate who had fallen a victim to assassination—sixteen years before. The second tragedy excited still stronger feelings than the first, because it was a repetition of a horrible crime. It had probably not occurred to any American, that a President elected by the free will of the people, incurred any more danger of assassination when clothed with supreme honors, than while walking among the scenes of private life. Perhaps he was justified in a feeling of even greater security. It had created no special surprise that two of Lincoln's predecessors had died in office, and peacefully in their beds, from natural causes. Harrison expired by sudden illness a month after his inauguration; Taylor, only a short year after he took the presidential seat.

But when Garfield met a fate so like Lincoln's, apprehensions painful

Had New York a park area proportioned to her size and population, as compared with London or Paris, she would have to-day at least five thousand acres in this form.

Philadelphia in the Van of American Cities.—It is, however, no longer a question of comparison between our city and the capitals of the Old World in this particular, for even in the United States the great metropolis of the nation has been left behind by cities far inferior in wealth and population. New Yorkers are accustomed to boast of Central Park as the first in size and beauty on this continent, but, whatever truth there may be in the claim to the second, which we have no doubt will be earnestly disputed, she has decidedly none whatever to the first. The facts of the case are all clearly and emphatically against any such pretensions, as will appear from a brief statement regarding the parks of some of our principal cities.

The City of Brotherly Love, which has, according to the last census, about two-thirds the population of New York, has in Fairmount Park alone two thousand seven hundred and ninety-one acres, or one thousand six hundred and seven-nine more than we have in all our parks combined, and over three times the area of Central Park. In fact, Philadelphia's great park is only surpassed by Windsor and Epping Forests, of London, and the Prater, of Vienna. What have the opponents of more metropolitan parks to say to this? But, moreover, Philadelphia has, in addition, the Hunting Park of forty-five acres, and several others, which swell the aggregate to over three thousand acres. Some conception may be formed of the size of Fairmount Park when it is known that it extends five and a half miles on both sides of the Schuylkill, seven and a half miles along the Wissahickon creek, and from Spring Garden to Chamouni and Robert's Hollow, four and a half miles. In diversity of scenery and picturesque views, it is one of the finest in the United States, and is liberally and tastefully ornamented with statuary and handsome architectural structures.

From the records kept by the Commissioners of Philadelphia's superb park, we learn that the number of excursionists increases by tens of thousands a year, and excursion parties come, not only from adjacent counties, but from neighboring States. Especial atten-

tion is paid to the comfort, convenience, and safety of children, and through the kindness of philanthropic citizens multitudes of little waifs, the children of the very poor, are enabled to enjoy, not only the health-giving air, but a sail in the boats or a ride on the flying horses. They pride themselves, and well they may, on the order and decorum that prevails in the park. This is what we want to secure for our city: parks large enough for all legitimate purposes, parks so well managed and rigidly supervised that rowdiness and ruffianism would be unknown therein, and the smallest children in our schools might traverse them without danger.

What Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco have done in the matter of Parks.—Chicago, with a population of a little over half a million of inhabitants—three-fourths of a million less than New York—has nearly double the park area of our city. Lake Shore Park has five hundred and ninety-three acres, South Park three hundred and seventy-two, Lincoln two hundred and fifty, Humboldt two hundred, Central one hundred and eighty-five, and Douglass one hundred and eighty, and in addition to these there are eleven others of less extent. Indeed, the parks of Chicago may be regarded as forming the most prominent as well as the most pleasing feature of that prosperous and rapidly growing city. The boulevards connecting these, when completed, will have a width of two hundred and fifty feet, or one hundred feet wider than ours, while the total length will be over thirty miles. According to the last annual report of the Chicago Park Department, its expenditures for 1880 amounted to \$500,000.

The late census of St. Louis places the number of its inhabitants at three hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and twenty-two, or a little less than one-fourth the population of our city, and yet it has almost double our park area, having no less than two thousand one hundred and seven acres. Of its eighteen parks three—Forest, Carondelet, and O'Fallon—contain one thousand seven hundred and ten acres. In the last annual report of the Park Commissioner he refers with justifiable pride to the magnificent scale on which the system was designed, and adds: "We stand second only to Philadelphia in point of territory devoted to public recreation." If the difference in population between the

and ill-defined were excited, which had not been known before ; and deep as was the sympathy expressed by foreign nations, we were frequently reminded by the devotees of royalty, that the rulers of the greatest republic in the world, were not more secure against fanaticism or ill-will, than kings and emperors had been, who made up a long roll of assassination through the ages. One of the most conspicuous of the satirists in Europe of free government, bitterly suggested to American lexicographers in the future, to call assassination of supreme rulers *a crime of Republics*. We have not yet learned that this suggestion has been adopted. But while such crimes do not grow out of forms of government, so much as from the idiosyncratic depravity of exceptional individuals, it will hardly be denied that the cruelties and injustices of royal and imperial oppressors, have very often provoked their subjects to madness and murder.

Be this as it may, few rulers in all history, however good, have had more sad tears fall over their ashes, or blessings descend on their graves, than Lincoln and Garfield. But the great Republic moved on in both cases, with no shock, except that of grief, and no disturbance to the administration of law, with all its beneficent functions. The successors of these murdered Presidents had no great cause of congratulation that accident or fate had brought about their elevation. It recalls that memorable saying of Webster's, that "carefully as he had studied the Constitution of the United States, he had never discovered that it made any provision for its own death."

Charles Sumner.—We had on other pages of this work given expression to feelings of grief over his death, and paid some tribute to his public and private virtues. But we cannot withhold something further. His mind was so great, his soul so white, and his life so pure, that although but a few years have passed since his death, the verdict of his countrymen, and that of the world, seems to have accorded to him the highest honors of statesmanship amongst all his illustrious contemporaries. His entire public life became so much a part of the life of the Republic, that it requires more space than we

two cities is taken into account, the balance is decidedly in favor of St. Louis, while judged by the same measure New York is altogether in the background. The Fair Grounds deserve to be particularly mentioned as one of the chief attractions, having a seating capacity surpassing any similar place in the world. They inclose a space of eighty-three acres and possess a race-course, a fine zoological garden, a splendid display of machinery and other attractions for the many visitors by which they are frequented. The Missouri Botanical Gardens, which are celebrated for their variety of trees and plants, embrace an extent of fifty acres, a large part of which is literally covered with, and redolent of, the choicest and most beautiful flowers, among which the orchids are conspicuous by their singular forms and beauty. Considerable attention in the management of the St. Louis parks is given to fish cultivation, and the German carp has been introduced with marked success into the various ponds. Although no mention is made of it in the

last annual report, there is another park known as Tower Grove, which contains three hundred and fifty acres, increasing the aggregate park area. It is the gift of a public-spirited citizen of St. Louis, as the Phoenix Park in Dublin was a similar present from a private individual to the population of the Irish capital.

With a population of two hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and thirty-six the great Pacific seaport has one thousand and fifty acres laid out in one park alone, or only forty-four acres less than there are in all the parks of the City of New York with six times its number of inhabitants. In addition, however, to this splendid breathing place there are eleven public squares and a handsome pleasure garden, with a grand display of botanical, zoological, and artistic attractions. The views presented from some of these popular resorts are said to be unsurpassed by those of any city in the world, and the people of San Francisco are, therefore, justly proud of their parks.

can give to any other statesman of his times. Almost at the moment of his death, we paid a feeble tribute to his virtues [Vol. II., pp. 382-384], but other words may supplement that brief record, as so many years have in their flight vindicated that eulogium.

He was, in a special sense, the founder and prophet of the Free Soil Party ; and during his long career in the Senate, sometimes with scarcely a single coadjutor, he steadily pursued the course he had marked out, unawed by intimidation or violence, and which ended in a brutal attempt in the Senate House at assassination—until he saw the last vestige of Slavery swept away, and a long-oppressed and despised race clothed with the rights of citizenship. He was often regarded, even by his friends, and the friends of liberty, as fanatical. He was only paying the penalty which is always exacted of reformers, whose crime is in being beyond their age. But his sublime faith in the early emancipation of the colored race, was never shaken ; in the darkest hours, when the courage of other men gave way, his heroism only blazed out the brighter ; he knew no such word as compromise with wrong ; he never bartered justice or right ; he was the incorrigible foe of all corruption in public life ; he never was tainted with partisanship ; not one impure motive was ever known to sway his public acts ; no man ever approached him with a bribe ; radical and sweeping as were the measures he proposed, he sooner or later brought his own State, the Senate, and the Nation to their adoption ; nor after they had gone into effect, was their wisdom called in question ; and finally, before he died, he enjoyed that rarest of all satisfactions which solaces the departing statesman—he lived to see his great measures triumph. Without derogating credit from any of the great and true men who had begun the battle for freedom, and who continued the struggle to the last, we may with historic accuracy say, that no one had so mighty an agency in bringing about the freedom of the American slave.

All his acts bear the clearest impress of illuminated statesmanship ; and they were all crowned with success. When death struck him, his fame was complete ; his “work,” as he himself said, was done. The greatest social revolution of our times had been achieved. Even the bells of South Carolina, which at the bidding of slavery had rung out their merry peals on the return of Sumner's would-be assassin, were among the first to toll the departure of the great statesman, while the civilized world went into mourning for one of the greatest benefactors of humanity.

I know of no funeral eulogy which the occasion of his death called forth, so worthy to be preserved in this Record, as the sublime tribute paid to him by John G. Whittier, “The Quaker Poet.”

O mother State ! the winds of March
Blue chill o'er Auburn's Field of God,
Where, slow, beneath a leaden arch
Of sky, thy mourning children trod,

And now, with all thy woods in leaf,
Thy fields in flower, beside thy dead
Thou sittest in thy robes of grief,
A Rachel yet uncomforted !

And once again the organ swells,
 Once more the flag is half-way hung,
 And yet again the mournful bells
 In all thy steeple towers are rung.

And I, obedient to thy will,
 Have come a simple wreath to lay,
 Superfluous, on a grave that still
 Is sweet with all the flowers of May.

I take, with awe, the task assigned ;
 It may be that my friend might miss,
 In his new sphere of heart and mind,
 Some token from my hand in this.

By many a tender memory moved,
 Along the past my thought I send :
 The record of the cause he loved
 Is the best record of its friend.

What hath been said, I can but say ;
 All know the work that brave man did,
 For he was open as the day,
 And nothing of himself he hid.

No trumpet sounded in his ear,
 He saw not Sinai's cloud and flame,
 But never yet to Hebrew seer
 A clearer voice of duty came.

God said : " Break thou these yokes ; undo
 These heavy burdens. I ordain
 A work to last thy whole life through,
 A ministry of strife and pain.

Forego thy dreams of lettered ease,
 Put thou the scholar's promise by,
 The rights of man are more than these."
 He heard, and answered : " Here am I ! "

He set his face against the blast,
 His feet against the flinty shard,
 Till the hard service grew, at last,
 Its own exceeding great reward.

The fixed star of his faith, through all
 Loss, doubt, and peril, shone the same,
 As, through a night of storm, some tall,
 Strong light-house lifts its steady flame.

Beyond the dust and smoke he saw
 The sheaves of freedom's large increase,
 The holy fanes of equal law,
 The new Jerusalem of peace.

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No wail was in his voice,—none heard
 When treason's storm-cloud blackest grew,
 The weakness of a doubtful word,
 His duty, and the end, he knew.

The first to smite, the first to spare ;
 When once the hostile ensigns fell,
 He stretched out hands of generous care
 To lift the foe he fought so well.

For there was nothing base or small
 Or craven in his soul's broad plan :
 Forgiving all things personal,
 He only hated wrong to man.

The old traditions of his State,
 The memories of her great and good,
 Took from his life a fresher date,
 And in himself embodied stood.

How felt the greed of gold and place,
 The venal crew that schemed and planned,
 The fine scorn of that haughty face,
 The spurning of that bribless hand !

If than Rome's tribunes statelier
 He wore his senatorial robe,
 His lofty port was all for her,
 The one dear spot on all the globe.

If to the master's plea he gave
 The vast contempt his manhood felt,
 He saw a brother in the slave,—
 With man as equal man he dealt.

Proud was he ? If his presence kept
 Its grandeur wheresoe'er he trod,
 As if from Plutarch's gallery stepped
 The hero and the demi-god.

None failed, at least, to reach his ear,
 Nor want nor woe appealed in vain :
 The homesick soldier knew his cheer,
 And blessed him from his ward of pain.

Safely his dearest friends may own
 The slight defects he never hid,
 The surface-blemish in the stone
 Of the tall, stately pyramid.

Suffice it that he never brought
 His conscience to the public mart ;
 But lived himself the truth he taught,
 White-souled, clean-handed, pure of heart.

What if he felt the natural pride
Of power in noble use, too true
With thin humilities to hide
The work he did, the lore he knew ?

Was he not just ? Was any wronged
By that assured self-estimate ?
He took but what to him belonged,
Unenvious of another's state.

Well might he heed the words he spake,
And scan with care the written page
Through which he still shall warm and wake
The hearts of men from age to age.

Ah ! who shall blame him now because
He solaced thus his hours of pain !
Should not the o'erworn thresher pause,
And hold to light his golden grain ?

No sense of humor dropped its oil
On the hard ways his purpose went ;
Small play of fancy lightened toil :
He spake alone the thing he meant.

He loved his books, the Art that hints
A beauty veiled behind its own,
The graver's line, the pencil's tints,
The chisel's shape evoked from stone.

He cherished, void of selfish ends,
The social courtesies that bless
And sweeten life, and loved his friends
With most unworldly tenderness.

But still his tired eyes rarely learned,
The glad relief by Nature brought ;
Her mountain ranges never turned
His current of persistent thought.

The sea rolled chorus to his speech,
The pine-grove whispered of his theme ;
Where'er he wandered, rock and beach
Were forum and the Academe.

The sensuous joy from all things fair
His strenuous bent of soul repressed,
And left from youth to silvered hair
Few hours for pleasure, none for rest.

For all his life was poor without,
O Nature, make the last amends ;
Train all thy flowers his grave about,
And make thy singing-birds his friends !

Revive again, thou Summer rain,
The broken turf upon his bed !
Breathe, Summer wind, thy tenderest strain,
Of low, sweet music overhead.

Nor cant, nor poor solicitudes
Made weak his life's great argument ;
Small leisure his for frames and moods
Who followed duty where she went.

The broad, fair fields of God he saw
Beyond the bigot's narrow bound ;
The truths he moulded into law,
In Christ's beatitudes he found.

His State-craft was the Golden Rule,
His right of vote a sacred trust ;
Clear, over threat and ridicule,
All heard his challenge : " Is it just ! "

And when the hour supreme had come,
Not for himself a thought he gave ;
In that last pang of martyrdom,
His care was for the half-freed slave.

Not vainly dusky hands upbore,
In prayer, the passing soul to heaven
Whose mercy to the suffering poor
Was service to the Master given.

Long shall the good State's annals tell,
Her children's children long be taught,
How, praised or blamed, he guarded well
The trust he neither shunned nor sought.

If for one moment turned thy face,
O Mother, from thy son, not long
He waited calmly in his place
The sure remorse which follows wrong.

Forgiven be the State he loved,
The one brief lapse, the single blot ;
Forgotten be the stain removed—
Her righted record shows it not.

The lifted sword above her shield
With jealous care shall guard his fame ;
The pine-tree on her ancient field
To all the winds shall speak his name.

The marble image of her son
Her loving hands shall yearly crown,
And from her pictured Pantheon
His grand, majestic face look down.

O State, so passing rich before,
Who now shall doubt thy highest claim ?
The world that counts thy jewels o'er
Shall longest pause at Sumner's name !

And other names of the illustrious departed must not be forgotten, brief though the inscription be—Professor HENRY, of the Smithsonian Institute ; Professor JOHN W. DRAPER, and his hardly less eminent son, Professor HENRY, who stood side by side with his father, both as chemists, in the front ranks of science ; WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, pre-eminent among American poets, and especially the latter, to whom the scholars of England claimed the right to dedicate a bust in Westminster Abbey. Many other men of our times of whom we can hardly speak, but whose honors are perpetuated in enduring memorials.

Silas M. Stilwell.—America should cherish among her best names that of Silas M. Stilwell, whose work, for more than half a century, has been progressive upon great vital questions of philanthropy and governmental policy, and accomplishing his purposes by quiet means, and not by public blazonry.

That great reform was his which culminated in the Act to Abolish Imprisonment for Debt, popularly known as "The Stilwell Act," passed by the New York Legislature, April 26, 1831. He drew the Statute, and the Report which advocated it. It is believed that when he promoted this Act, the incarceration of the persons of debtors, simply because they owed debts which they could not pay, was authorized by law in every State of the Union, and in every civilized country. The benign legislation he originated, spread through his efforts from State to State, till it prevailed over every acre of the United States, and over every country in Christendom !

Well do we remember with what enthusiasm Mr. Stilwell announced, as it occurred, that the last nation of Europe had followed his lead. His unintermitting efforts to accomplish this result brought him into a correspondence with Lord Brougham, Napoleon Third, the Emperor William, and all the Governments of Europe, with a congratulatory letter from the Sultan. It was a misfortune that this interesting correspondence should have been destroyed by an accidental fire.

He strove to have the punishment of death abolished, and imprisonment for life substituted for it, and enforced his theory by a masterly Report, as a member of the New York Legislature, in 1832.

"I had the honor," said Nathaniel P. Tallmadge in the U. S. Senate, in May, 1840, in advocating the bankrupt law, "of presenting the first memorial on this subject. It was prepared and signed by Silas M. Stilwell, of the city of New York. Amongst those who have been the pioneers in this great undertaking, no name stands more conspicuous than that of Silas M. Stilwell, and to none is greater honor due, for unwearied exertions and untiring perseverance, in this great cause of philanthropy. To his talents and eminent exertions is the State of New York and the country indebted for the melioration of the condition of the debtors. He is the father of the Non-imprisonment Act of the State of New York ; and although others co-operated with him in this great work, yet to him is due the honor of having procured an

enactment of the *first law* that absolutely and *unconditionally* abolished imprisonment for debt. To accomplish the great object was a work of no ordinary magnitude ; and as I was also a member of the Legislature, I can bear witness to the thousand obstacles that were overcome, and prejudices encountered in bringing the public mind to consent to this humane experiment."

It was a singular fortune that elected him to the Legislature of the States of New York, of Virginia, and Tennessee.

The stable Banking System of New York acknowledges Mr. Stilwell for its author.

And when the war pressed severely upon the resources of the nation, the arguments and efforts of Mr. Stilwell induced the Secretary of the Treasury to recommend a national Banking System, drawn by him, and copied largely from his own system adopted by New York ; and which, meeting the mighty demands of the war, yet furnishes a medium in peace, without recording a loss to a single bill-holder.

This great and good man only left the field of his labors during the year 1881, at the age of eighty-one.

SECTION SIXTEENTH.

FORESTRY.

Forestry in America.—Akin to all we have said about *public parks* and *pleasure grounds* for the people, is the preservation and culture of American Forests. This important matter has finally begun to receive some attention. It is well, for if we go wrong slow, we can get right quick.

Our first two centuries were spent—not wasted—in destroying them. They had covered the land, and by a divine right had held their sway undisturbed, to enrich the soil, and to secure homes for their denizens, until a new age should come with new occupants to take possession of what had for so many ages been preparing to be a dwelling-place for higher races.

When civilized men came here, endowed with the powers of higher arts, the mission of the woodman's axe displaced the tomahawk, and the empire of the savage beasts, the savage man, and the wild woods passed away. None of them could raise bread. The forests had to fall to let in the light and warmth of the sun, and they fell.

But this thing had at last gone too far, and some remedy had to be found. The approaching possibility of a famine of wood was pressing a new emergency on the minds of our people.

Some of the Eastern States felt the impending danger first, and began to devise some remedy. Massachusetts offered premiums for planting forest trees along the borders of her streets and highways ; and finally a com-

mission was appointed by Congress to inquire into the whole question, and a report was made which ended in enactments designed not only to preserve National forests from devastation by unauthorized invasion, but rewards were offered for planting forest trees over the treeless prairies of the Far West. It was at least a beginning of what promises a great boon in the future.

In this instance, as in most others, our main reliance is on the public journals. They are our most vigilant guardians, and they more faithfully represent the sentiment of the Nation than any legislative body, whether State or National. In illustration, I cite some brief words on the subject from the *New York Sun*: "The farmers of this country are very slow in appreciating the importance of forest culture, notwithstanding that it can be made extremely profitable, and requires very little labor. At this day, notwithstanding the constant decrease in the supply of lumber and the more than corresponding increase in the demand for it, millions of acres of land covered with good forest trees, are annually burned over, and the timber wasted in order to prepare the land for cultivation.

"The great forests of the Western States are fast disappearing; the most of those in the Middle and Eastern States went long ago. In the whole United States, but one vast track of timber is left untouched; that covers about one-half of Washington Territory and one-third of Oregon. Here the yellow pine thrives in the greatest perfection, some of the trees reaching three hundred feet in height; but the Northern Pacific Railroad will soon open these lands to the axe of the lumberman, and it is estimated that it will not require more than ten, or at the most twenty years, to clear the most of the area now occupied by these unbroken forests.

"The demand for lumber increases in the United States at the rate of twenty-five per cent. per annum; the decrease of forests is at the rate of 7,000,000 acres annually. Few people have any idea of the immense value of the wood which is used for purposes generally considered comparatively unimportant. The fences in the United States are now valued at \$1,800,000,000, and it costs annually \$98,000,000 to keep them in repair. By far the greatest proportion of these are of wood. The railroads of the United States use 150,000,000 of ties annually, costing from fifty to eighty cents each, and these have to be renewed once in every seven years. In 1871 10,000 acres of forest land were stripped of their timber to supply fuel for the single city of Chicago. In twenty years scarcely anything will be left of the vast forests of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, and too late our farmers will see how short-sighted they have been in not making provision for supplying the great demand for lumber which this widespread destruction is certain to cause."

The New York Tribune, in speaking in the autumn of 1882, of Forest Protection, uses the following language: "If our law-makers throughout the country represented with anything like faithfulness, the awakened interest of the most intelligent part of their constituents, the coming winter would not pass without some efficient legislative action, State and National, in the

matter of forest protection. Special enactments are needed in different States to meet the dangers which threaten in each. In the Lake region laws to protect the remaining pineries from fires should be passed at once. In the South, where the forests are preyed upon by browsing animals as well as by fire, and devastated by the wasteful production of turpentine, legislation of another sort is demanded. The first duty of our own Legislature is to protect the Adirondack woods from further invasion. In California the imminent danger is from mountain torrents, and the State Government should co-operate with the Federal Government to preserve the forests about the fountains of the streams which head on the western slopes of the Sierras.

"Congress has already passed so-called timber-culture acts, but these have been proved worse than useless. Occasional efforts have been made to protect the forests standing on the public domain. But timber thieves continue to grow rich from their depredations, and then, setting fire to the woods to burn up the evidences of their guilt, they destroy every year ten times as much as they have stolen. Six years ago an act was passed authorizing the appointment of an officer, subordinate to the Commissioner of Agriculture, to collect information and report on matters relating to forestry. Two bulky volumes have been issued under this law, and a third is in press, but everything of value in these compilations can be found elsewhere in more convenient and accessible form. . . . The simple fact is that Congress has never shown any appreciation of the worth of our forests, and has been utterly indifferent as to their future.

"With every year's delay the destruction goes on at an accelerated pace, and it becomes more difficult to devise and apply remedies. No Congress will ever have the opportunity which is offered to that which meets within the next fortnight. It is to be hoped that its members can be made to feel that the prosperity of the country in more ways than one, depends directly upon their action in this matter." Such expressions could be quoted from the leading journals of every State and Territory of the Republic.

Proceedings of the Forestry Congress, held during the International Fair at Vienna in 1873.—It was regarded as a matter of such momentous concern to the whole world, I cannot omit some account of its doings, since it excited the deepest interest, and elicited the eloquence and learning of the greatest scientists of all nations. This being the first International Congress of Land and Forest Culturists of all nations, they adopted a series of resolutions which opened a new era in this department of a higher civilization.

The International Congress of Land and Forest Culturists resolve :

1. We recognize the fact that in order to effectually check the continually increasing devastation of the forest which is being carried on, international agreements are needed, especially in relation to the preservation and proper cultivation (for the end in view) of those forests lying at the sources and along the courses of the great rivers, since it is known that, through their irrational destruction, the results are a great decrease of the volume of water,

causing detriment to trade and commerce, the filling up of the river's bed with sand, caving in of the banks and inundations of agricultural lands along its course.

2. We further recognize it to be the mutual duty of all civilized lands to preserve and to cultivate all such forests as are of vital importance for the well-being—agricultural and otherwise—of the land, such as those on sandy coasts, on the sides and crowns, as well as on the steep declivities of mountains, on the sea-coasts and other exposed places; and that international principles should be laid down, to which the owners of such protecting or “guardian forests” be subject, thus to preserve the land from damage.

3. We recognize further that we have not at present a sufficient knowledge of the evils (disturbances of nature) which are caused by the devastation of the forests, and therefore that the efforts of legislators should be directed to causing exact data to be gathered relating thereto.

A most interesting account of the debates of this Forestry Congress was forwarded to the *New York Herald* at the time, by an accomplished correspondent, whose words deserve permanent preservation. They have besides acquired a deeper significance to the American people, since the subject is now attracting more attention among us than it has ever before commanded.

The reader will find in the following extracts the most important points in the letter spoken of:

THE DECREASE OF WATER IN RIVERS.

Much has been written both in Germany and in America, of the forest and its influence on climate, and consequently on agriculture, on the water-courses, and on health. Instances where the growth or destruction of forests have had a marked influence on the river systems, through the rain-fall, can be recorded by the score, not only in Europe but in the United States. The diminution of the water volume of the Ohio River is at this moment attracting serious attention. In the first quarter of the century it was navigable the whole year for the largest vessels, but is now available but for six months in the year, and “growing beautifully less.” The same thing is said of the Hudson, as I find in an American article handed me the other day in the Congress. “It is notorious that,” says my authority, “even with our vast northern forest remaining intact, the water supply of the Hudson grows less with every year, and its navigation more and more difficult. But for the large annual outlays for the improvement of its channels and the construction of artificial remedies, the upper portion of the river, between New Baltimore and Troy, would long since have been practically closed to commerce.” These are not isolated cases with us, and I trust Professor Marsh will include in the new edition of his “Man and Nature,”—a work largely quoted by German writers on the influence of the forest—all the cases of diminishing rivers that have been noted in the various States. When the results of deforestation are seen and appreciated as they show themselves at home, then we shall be ready to learn from the experience of these older and still worse deforested countries of Europe, though, for the matter of that, Europeans point to America for evidences of deforestation in the New England States and elsewhere, as a warning to their own countrymen.

EUROPEAN RIVERS.

An Italian referred to the United States in this relation yesterday. He gave no particulars, however, and I have no works on American forests to aid me in adducing them here. But then we have scores of striking cases of the effects of deforestation on the rivers of Europe, proving the necessity of international treaties for protecting the sources of the great water arteries. We need only refer to the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Oder, all of which have a lower water mark than formerly. According to measurements taken at Altenbruch, in Hanover, the low-water (summer) mark of the Elbe represented in 1787 forty-eight Hamburg feet; in 1812, forty-six and a half feet; in 1837, thirty-eight feet—showing a diminished supply in half a century of ten feet. The sources of the Elbe are in Austria—in Bohemia—where up to a very recent period the forests were neglected and sadly mutilated. The Rhine, which has a less volume now than formerly, rises in Switzerland, where, as Professor Landolt remarked, the forests have been considered as common property, mutilated and destroyed. Germany is in both cases the chief sufferer here, since she commands the Elbe and the Rhine; and it were quite possible for Bohemia on the one hand and Switzerland on the other, to seriously interfere with the navigation of these rivers did they choose to carry on the destruction of the forests as heretofore. It is in such cases that the want of international treaties are seen. Prussia herself and most of the German States are rational forest culturists, taking good care to preserve and cultivate their forests, and have good cause to protest against the forest crimes committed by their neighbors.

SALT LAKE AND UTAH TERRITORY,

where a desert has been converted into a blooming country, where rivers are filled with water that twenty years ago were nearly dry, and the Salt Lake itself has increased seven feet above its original level. Brigham Young has taught us these very important facts. In this he has "rendered the State some service," that is, if the State is able to appreciate it.

The "guardian forests," to which the second resolution of the International Congress refers, are apparently indispensable in the household of nature to protect sea-coasts, exposed places, and the mountain valleys. The coasts of the province of Prussia, with the exception of fruitful, amber-rich damland, are an almost uninterrupted broad strip of sand-dune (down) 200 miles long and perhaps a mile broad, with sand-hills reaching to a height of 170 feet. Originally these sand-mounds, which were apparently a work of nature to protect the land against the encroachments of the sea, were covered with pine growths. In the past centuries trees were felled. Soon the sparse vegetation died off and the sand drifted away, and on careful examination proved that these very sand-hills, which, under their forest cover, stood firm as sentinels, receded at the rate of from fifty to a hundred feet per year. In the course of the past century and the first decades of the present, whole villages and thousands of acres of fruitful land were thus buried by the drift sand. At the commencement of this century the work of reforesting commenced, and at present there are but few sandy points on the coast which are not made firm, excepting those belonging to communities and private persons, and not the State. Wherever on sandy coasts the forests are destroyed

THE SEA ENCROACHES

with slow but terrible certainty. Where the rocky coasts are deforested, bleak, rocky barrenness is left, and the desert district encroaches inland with every year. Deforest the mountains and the valley it shelters suffers in the loss of fruitfulness and from the inundations which a well-wooded mountain would prevent, by checking the sudden rain downfall. Switzerland has suffered severely from the effects of deforesting the mountains. Professor Landolt, who spoke to the International Congress, attributes the devastations caused in the

Alps by avalanches and land slides, to the destruction of the forests. The poet Schiller attributes to the forest the post of guardian when, in his "William Tell," little Walter says :

Father, is't true, that on the mountain there
The trees do bleed whene'er the woodman strikes,
With cruel blow, his axe into their roots ?
The master herdsman told me that the trees
Are bound, and if we injure them the hand
Is cursed until we reach the grave.

TELL.—The trees are sacred to us ; that is true !
And but for them the avalanche had long,
Long since the village Altdorf buried 'neath
Their load, if they had not, like landwehr, stood
Above to guard it.

Of all central European countries Switzerland occupies the most important position as regards the preservation of the forests, considering that in her mountains are the sources of two of the greatest rivers of this Continent. But nowhere, perhaps, has the devastation of the forests been carried on so recklessly, and centuries of careful cultivation will not make good what the past few generations have sinned. Professor Landolt attributes the fearful inundations which took place in Switzerland in September and October, 1868, to the destruction of the forests on the mountains. Sanffure, in his "Voyages dans les Alps," says that from 1779 to 1796 Lakes Neufchâtel, Biel, and Murten constituted a single sheet of water, but since the destruction of the surrounding forests have so far sunk as to form three distinct lakes. The herds are the greatest foes on the mountains to the new growths of wood ; but the truth is that the people themselves are intensely ignorant of the value of trees to them and their well-being. The people, especially the herdsmen, look upon trees as common property. Of late years there has been considerable agitation in favor of preservation and culture of the forest. The same may be said of Italy, where, some years ago, the academies of Florence, Milan, Palermo, Modena, and Pisano offered premiums for the best methods of reforesting mountain surfaces.

It was easy, unfortunately, to fill column after column with such cases of

DEFORESTATION AND ITS BANEFUL EFFECT.

More difficult by far it is to adduce cases where the forest has proved of direct striking benefit, as it is not long since people began to think the forests were of no use at all. The cases of Egypt, and Triest, and of Salt Lake are valuable to us. We have not touched upon the important influences which the forests are admitted to have on the general sanitary condition of the country. We know that the health of Rome suffers under the baneful miasmata arising from the Campagna, which was formerly covered with forest, and it has been proposed to bring it to its original condition. The question of forest culture as it must present itself to us sooner or later, is an all-important one. And we have everything to learn before making the attempt ; for, as a member of the Vienna Congress remarked, Europe cannot offer any data, since she is herself a scholar. But we know that a climate becomes milder and warmer and more fit for habitation by thinning the forests by the progress of agriculture ; but beyond a certain limit we cannot go. We have yet to find out this just mean. One fact we can accept from the hands of this and former congresses, that it is absolutely necessary to preserve the forests at the sources of our streams, on which so much of our agricultural and commercial prosperity depends ; that we should preserve the forests on all the mountain sides, so that the culture of the valleys be tempered and preserved. One speaker of the Vienna Congress urged that the State should in all cases be the possessor or have control of forests which are acknowledged to be "guardian forests," on the sea-shore, on the mountains, or at the source of rivers. It is, indeed, hardly probable that private parties can be got to preserve tracts of forest "for the public good." The landed proprietor demands in-

terest for his capital invested, and forests pay but small returns. The good produced is for the community or the State, or for the entire land, and it seems only just that the State should take upon itself the duty of preserving and culturing those forests which are rendered necessary to the State's welfare. The subject of forests is one of great importance to us. We regret that our authorities at Washington did not see fit to have us fitly represented here at the Congress.

Ernst Moritz Arndt, the German poet and patriot, uttered a great truth when he said that the axe applied to the root of a tree was, in too many cases, an axe laid to the well-being of the people.

MAN CAN DESTROY RIVERS; HE CAN CREATE THEM.

Many rivers have totally disappeared or have been reduced to mere streams by an irrational and heinous felling of the forests. In the northeast of Germany the Narp and Gold Rivers exist only in name. The classic lands of antiquity are rich in sad lessons of deforestation. The springs and brooks of Palestine are dry, and the fruitfulness of the land has disappeared. The Jordan is four feet lower than it was in the New Testament days. Greece and Spain suffer to this day severely from the effects of destroying their forests. Many parts of the Kingdom of Würtemberg have been rendered almost barren by the felling of the trees. In Hungary the periodically returning drought is universally attributed to the extermination of the forest. We attribute the present unfruitfulness of Asia Minor and Greece to the destruction of the woods; steppes, ruins, and tombs have taken the place of what was the highest culture. Sardinia and Sicily were once the granaries of Italy, but have long since lost their fruitfulness sung by the ancient poets. On the other hand, man can improve the condition of the land in which he lives, more slowly indeed, but equally as certainly, by cultivating and preserving the forests. In earlier years reliable authorities have told us that in the Delta of Upper Egypt there were only five or six days of rain in the year, but that since the time when Mehemet Ali caused some 20,000,000 of trees to be planted the number of days of rain in the year has increased to forty-five or forty-six. The Suez Canal has produced remarkable results. Ismailia is built on what was a sandy desert; but since the ground has become saturated with canal water, trees, bushes, and plants have sprung up as if by magic, and with the reappearance of the vegetation the climate has changed. Four or five years ago rain was unknown in those regions, while from May, 1868, to May, 1869, fourteen days of rain were recorded, and once such a rain-storm that the natives looked upon it as a supernatural event. (Facts recorded in the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, May 10, 1869, and in the English journals.)

AUSTRIA.

Austria herself has a very striking instance of a change of climate being produced by deforestation and replanting. We refer to that stretch of miles of country over which the railroad passes, near Triest, as you go from Austria to Italy, bleak, barren, stony, with hardly earth sufficient for a weed to take root in, a stretch of barrenness on which some dread anathema seems to rest. It is a curse that rests on it called down from heaven by man. Five hundred years ago an immense forest stood on the ground where now is nothing but a sea of stone. Venetians came and they hewed down the forest in order to procure wood for piles and for mercantile purposes, and took the wood across the Adriatic, which you can see at your feet. After the trees had been felled the result was that the storms soon washed away the earth, no longer protected by the trees, and it took very few years for the once blooming forest to become a dreary waste. Twenty-five years ago and rain ceased to fall on this region. The attention of the Austrian Government was called to the necessity of doing something to preserve the communities living in the district from impoverishment, and it was decided to plant some millions of olive trees, in order to vegetate the hillsides. It was a

difficult undertaking, the very soil for planting the young trees had to be transported by the basketful, but the result was equal to the expectations. After a careful culture of some years the trees thrived, the rains were induced to fall regularly and beneficially, and in course of time it is probable that the immense district will be again given up to culture and prosperity. And if we need a still more striking instance of man's power to alter the climate, we need but refer to Egypt.

SECTION SEVENTEENTH.

AMERICAN EXPLORERS.

THE roll of American Explorers who have contributed to a knowledge of the earth, since the first discovery of the Continent, is yet to be inscribed on the column that will hereafter be raised to the bold adventurers who risked all to tell us more of the Home of the Human Race. This work is waiting for the Historian—the greatest of all artists—for he must furnish them the themes for their best creations.

This Record has not yet been made complete by a single writer. The deeds of many American Explorers, from the Tropics to the Poles, have been preserved in fragmentary forms, and more satisfactory accounts had appeared at intervals, of greater pretension. But little in this way had commanded much attention, till Dr. Kane told us of his brave efforts to reach the Pole. His stirring Narrative delighted the world, and inspired his countrymen with a fresh spirit of Exploration which was to find new fields for adventure. Already our home work had been achieved by John Charles Fremont, who opened our way across the Continent.¹

Stanley Africanus.—This epithet has been appropriately bestowed on the most daring, successful, and illustrious explorer of our times. As his wonderful achievements, which have, by the consent of mankind, given him the Crown of all his contemporaries in the brilliant line of modern discovery, and the means for his romantic Expedition were furnished by the munificence of an American Journalist, I could not close this book without some tribute to the young American Newspaper reporter, who restored the lost, heroic, and beloved Livingstone to a grateful world, and solved forever that mystery of the Ages—the *Source of the Nile*.

If we had the amplest space, we should feel no inclination to use it for an extended account of what Stanley did, for the simple record he has given to the world in his entrancing writings, can never tempt any prudent author to go beyond them. In the Introduction to his *How I Found Livingstone*, he says: "On the sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one

¹ The reader will find—Vol. II., pp. 200–203 of this work, some account of the explorations of this eminent other man. The world has long waited for a complete *Pathfinder*, to whom the nation is more indebted for account of his expeditions.

thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, I am in Madrid, fresh from the carnage at Valencia. At 10 A.M., Jacobo, at No. —, Calle de la Cruz, hands me a telegram: on opening it, I find it reads, 'Come to Paris on important business.' The telegram is from Jas. Gordon Bennett, Jun., the young manager of the *New York Herald*."

In two hours he was on the train for Paris, and on the second night "the flying journalist" knocks at the door of Mr. Bennett's room at the Grand Hotel and finds him in bed. "Who are you?" "Stanley." "Ah, yes! sit down; I have important business on hand for you. Where do you think Livingstone is? I think he is alive, and that he can be found, and I am going to send you to find him." "What! do you really think I can find Dr. Livingstone? Do you mean me to go to Central Africa?" "Yes! I mean that you shall go, and find him wherever you may hear that he is, and get what news you can of him, and perhaps"—delivering himself thoughtfully and deliberately—"the old man may be in want; take enough with you to help him should he require it. Of course you will act according to your own plans, and do what you think best—BUT FIND LIVINGSTONE." "—," said I, wondering at the cool order of sending one to Central Africa to search for a man whom I, in common with almost every other man, believed to be dead, "have you considered seriously the great expense you are likely to incur on account of this little journey?" "What will it cost?" he asked abruptly. "Burton and Speke's journey to Central Africa cost between £3,000 and £5,000, and I fear it cannot be done under £2,500." "Well, I will tell you what you will do. Draw a thousand pounds now; and when you have got through that, draw another thousand, and when that is spent, draw another thousand, and when you have finished that, draw another thousand, and so on; BUT FIND LIVINGSTONE."

He reached Zanzibar January 6, 1871. "It was," he says, "an Icarian flight of journalism, I confess; some have even called it Quixotic; but this is a word I can now refute, as will be seen before the reader arrives at the *Finis*." Before he started, and on the voyage, he had devoured everything in print the world had ever seen of the dark land he was approaching, especially the records of the latest African explorers, and among others, Captain Burton's, whose book, "although wonderful clever and truthful, he had found somewhat bilious in tone, and its effect was manifest in me by a rush of a part of its bile into my head, for while I read it, I saw a lethal stream, which drifted with me toward the eternal feverish region of Africa, from which a sickening presentiment said there was no return. But hail! to the blessed dawn that dispels the dreadful dream under which I groaned throughout the night. Hail! to the letter which brings good news, and hail! to the verdant shores of Zanzibar, that said to me, 'Hope: things are seldom so bad as they are painted.'"

As a sample of the radiant spirit of the man, and the charming style of

the author, read his description of his approach to the African coast : "It was in the early morning when I sailed through the channel that separates Zanzibar from Africa. The highlands of the continent loomed like a lengthening shadow in the grey of dawn. The island lay on our left, a mile distant, coming out of its shroud of foggy folds, bit by bit, as the day advanced, until it finally rose clearly into view, as fair in appearance as the fairest gems of creation."

He landed, and at once began to organize and equip the completest expedition which had ever attempted to penetrate "the Dark Continent." And never had an explorer begun a more difficult task with rarer qualifications for its achievement. With much experience in former travels and explorations, though still in the buoyancy of health and youthful vigor, fired by a burning ambition to win the loftiest fame, full of daring controlled by supreme common-sense, a genius for the control of men, and under no restrictions of means, he prepared to penetrate the heart of the continent, and find the lost Livingstone, if he still lived, and wring from its obstinate bosom the secret of *old* Father Nile.

For the history of the organization and exploits of his expedition and its adventures, the reader must go to Stanley's own charming volumes. He alone can interpret himself. There, alone, will my reader find the way Stanley found Livingstone.

At last, the brave American was to win the goal for which he had so long toiled and suffered. It was the 236th day since the expedition had gotten underway from Bagamoyo, and it was Friday, the 10th of November, 1871. One day's march more would bring him to the presence of the white man with the grey beard, whom he hoped would prove to be the lost explorer. Here Stanley alone must speak. The day before he had made this entry in his diary : "While I write of this day's proceedings, I tell Selim to lay out my new flannel suit, to oil my boots, to chalk my helmet, and fold a new puggaree around it, that I make as presentable an appearance as possible before 'the white man with the grey beard,' and before the Arabs of Ujiji ; for the clothes I have worn through jungle and forest are in tatters. Good-night ; only let one day come again and we shall see what we shall see." Next day : "It is a happy glorious morning. The air is fresh and cool. The sky lovingly smiles on the earth and her children. The deep woods are crowned in bright green leafage ; the water of the Mkuti, rushing under the emerald shade afforded by the bearded banks, seems to challenge us for the race to Ujiji with its continual brawl. We are all outside the village fence, every man of us looking as spruce, as neat, and happy as when we embarked on the dhous at Zanzibar, which seems to us to have been ages ago, we have witnessed and experienced so much.

"In two hours I am warned to prepare for a view of the Tanganika ; for from the top of a steep mountain the kirangozi says I can see it. I almost

vent the feelings of my heart in cries. But wait ; we must see it first. And we press forward and up the hill breathlessly, lest the scene hasten away. We are at last on the summit. Ah ! not yet can it be seen. A little further on—just yonder. Oh ! there it is—a silver gleam ! I merely catch sight of it between the trees, and here it is at last ! True—THE TANGANIKA ! and there are the blue-black mountains of Ugoma and Ukaramba. An immense broad sheet—a burnished bed of silver ; lucid canopy of blue above ; lofty mountains are its valances ; palm forests form its fringes ! The Tanganika !—Hurrah ! and the men respond to the exultant cry of the Anglo-Saxon with ‘the lungs of Stentors, and the great forests and the hills seem to share in our triumph.’ The American had found the lost Scotchman, and he had his reward. I cannot transcribe the scene of this strange meeting—the reader must refer to Stanley’s account in *How I Found Livingstone*. A few words only : “I pushed back the crowds, and passing from the rear, walked down a living avenue of people until I came in front of the semicircle of Arabs, in front of which stood ‘the white man with the grey beard.’ As I advanced slowly toward him I noticed he was pale, looked wearied, had a grey beard, wore a bluish cap with a faded gold band round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of grey tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was cowardly in the presence of such a mob ; would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me ; so I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing—walked deliberately to him, took off my hat and said : ‘Dr. Livingstone, I presume.’ ‘Yes,’ said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly. We both grasped hands, and I said aloud, ‘I thank God, doctor, I have been permitted to see you.’ He answered, ‘I feel thankful that I am here to welcome you.’ Conversation began. What about ? I declare I have forgotten,”—and thus the hours of the day wore away far into the night. Livingstone had five or six years to tell of his own life which had been lost to the world, and Stanley the same number of years of the world’s history to tell to Livingstone. An abundant repast was spread by the Arab chiefs, who retired, when they drank each other’s health over a bottle of Sillery champagne, in two silver goblets, all safely brought from Europe by Stanley. “I brought this bottle on purpose for this event, which I hoped would come to pass, though often it seemed useless to expect it.” Livingstone said, “*You have brought me new life ! You have brought me new life !*”

Stanley and Livingstone Sojourn and Explore together.—The next few weeks were halcyon days for the two great explorers, and the account given of them by Stanley will fascinate young and old alike for all time to come.

. . . Two years went by, and Livingstone was dead ! Stanley was one of the honored pall-bearers who helped to lay that sacred body in its tomb in Westminster Abbey. The source of the Nile was still undiscovered, and Stanley was sent to find it.

"A telegram was despatched to Mr. Bennett, at New York. 'Would he join the *Daily Telegraph* in sending Stanley out to Africa, to complete the discoveries of Speke, Burton, and Livingstone?' and within twenty-four hours my 'New Mission' to Africa was determined on as a joint expedition, by the laconic answer flashed by the cable under the Atlantic: 'Yes, Bennett.'"

Preparations were at once begun. Twenty-one days were given the explorer to cross over to New York to bid farewell to his friends, and be again in London; and on August 15, 1874, he left England for the east coast of Africa to begin his new explorations. After two years, eight months, and twenty days the now veteran explorer emerged from the mouth of the Congo, forever after to bear the name of Livingstone, a worn and wasted man, but his brow crowned with immortal laurels.

From the burning sands of the Equator we turn toward the frozen gates of the Pole. We leave Stanley to open Central Africa to commerce, but we meet Bennett again with ardor unabated and munificence still more than regal. The *Jeannette* is fitted out for her fearful battle with the frost-king, and committed to the charge of the gallant De Long. She lifted her anchor from the hospitable shore of Golden Gate under the fairest skies and turned her prow to the Far North. Never before had so many true-hearted prayers at a single hour flooded heaven with incense, as were breathed on that auspicious morning for a successful voyage and a safe return. But the mournful fate of the doomed *Jeannette* is all told in Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope."

Thy woes, Arion! and thy simple tale,
O'er all the heart shall triumph and prevail!
Charm'd as they read the verse too sadly true,
How gallant Albert, and his weary crew,
Heaved o'er their guns, their foundering bark to save,
And toil'd—and shriek'd—and perished in the wave.

OUTLOOK OF SCIENCE IN AMERICA.

Our achievements during the first century of our national existence are the fruitage of three potent influences—race, characteristics, freedom of thought and action, and opportunities for development due to the occupancy of a new country. Each of these will continue through an indefinite future, and lend their influences, greatly enlarged and strengthened beyond what they have been, to shape and sustain our accelerating progress.

The vision of our coming achievements in the arts and sciences, looms above the horizon like orient gleams foretelling the glory of the coming day. As a people, we have adopted more generously than have others, the sciences as a basis of educational methods. We encourage invention, and are gaining therefrom an unparalleled profusion of mechanical aids in the promotion of our manufacturing industries, in the conveniences of domestic life, and in

facilities for scientific research. The fruitage of all this will be, that we shall lead other nations in the commerce of the world, without degrading the operative; domestic life will command more luxurious conveniences beyond past comprehension, and students will delight in the contemplation of laws of nature not yet recognized.

In a few years our houses will be supplied with gaseous fuel, abolishing all the labor, dirt, and inconvenience arising from the distribution and use of coal and wood. The slavery of animal life is to be ameliorated; mechanical motors will propel all classes of vehicles in our cities and towns, the streets of which will be covered with pavements as smooth and clean as are now the walks in our parks. The air in our cities will then be clear from the vile dust which now contaminates it, injuring health and property. Steam and magnetism will be supplied from great establishments, through mains traversing the streets, for all their varied applications. A system of national telephone exchange will enable one to talk as if face to face, with people in any part of the country. We shall send autographic letters by telegraph, and travel with such speed that, in cases of need, a person can breakfast in New York, and dine the same day in the centre of the continent. The weather will be heralded in advance far more completely than now. The cold wave from Siberia, and the cyclone from the Antilles, will be reported in every degree of their progress, from their cradle to the European coasts, and being thus known and heralded, their dangers will be guarded against. Magnetic currents in and around the earth will be tapped, and made to charge storage batteries for service, as we now divert to our use the winds and waters which were once equally free and unvexed.

Electric lights and luminous paints will dispel the darkness of night, and many of the asperities of life be smoothed away, through the agencies of a multiplicity of arts and inventions already struggling for recognition.

In the domain of science, the spectroscope and the telescope are fast revealing the data from which a consistent history of the universe can be portrayed; one which will be for the solar system what geology is for the earth. The various, and, in many cases, new and undescribed forms of radiant energy which traverse space around us in illimitable tides, will be directed into new channels, ministering to our welfare and subjected to study for our enlightenment. Transcendental physics will be installed as a domain for research; the unity of matter established as a theory; the laws of evolution applied to guide mechanical invention; creative mineralogy pursued; the growth of articulated members in the higher grade of life-forms attempted; and, more portentous than all else, the great problems of sociology will dominate the thoughts of mankind.

FIFTH PERIOD.

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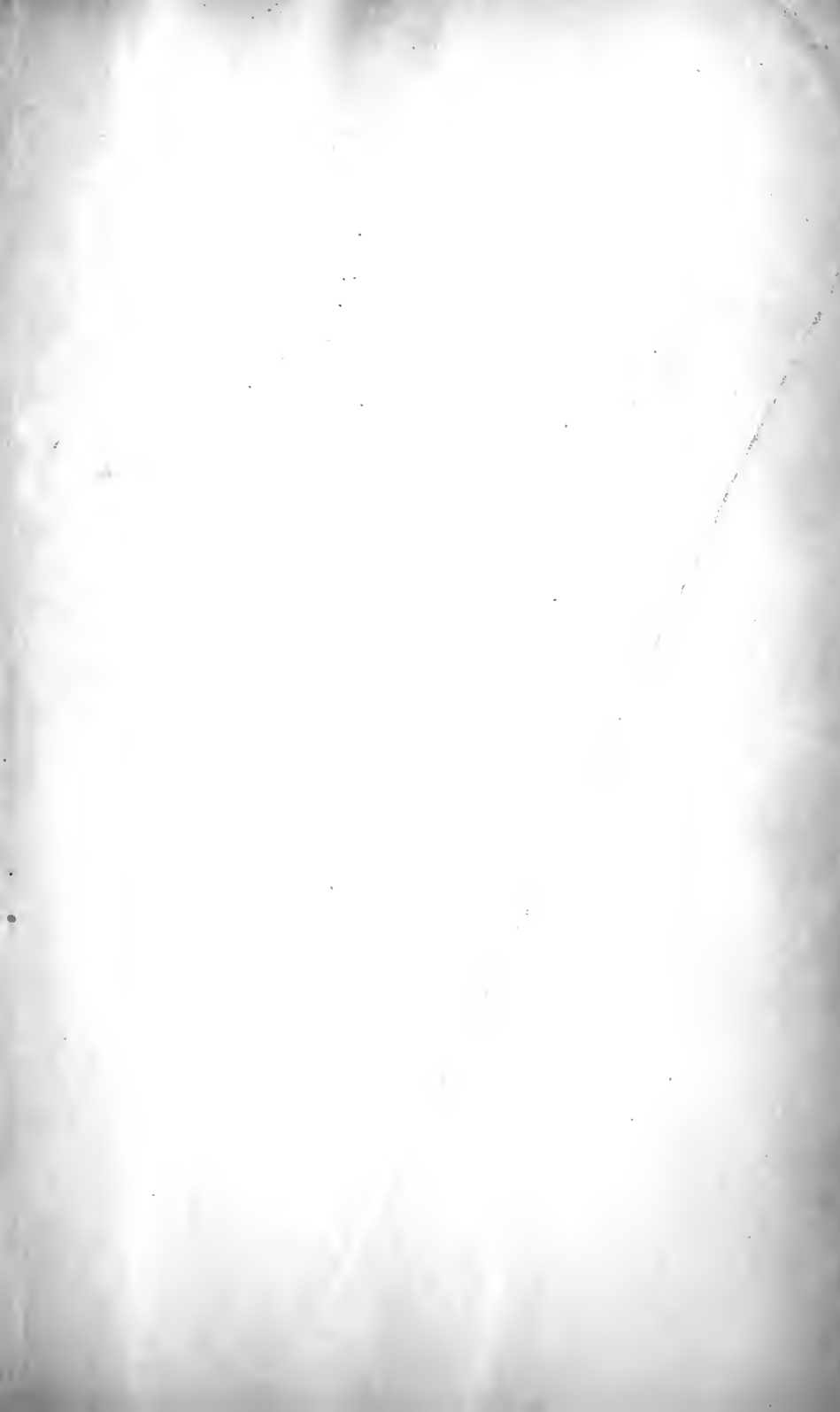
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